



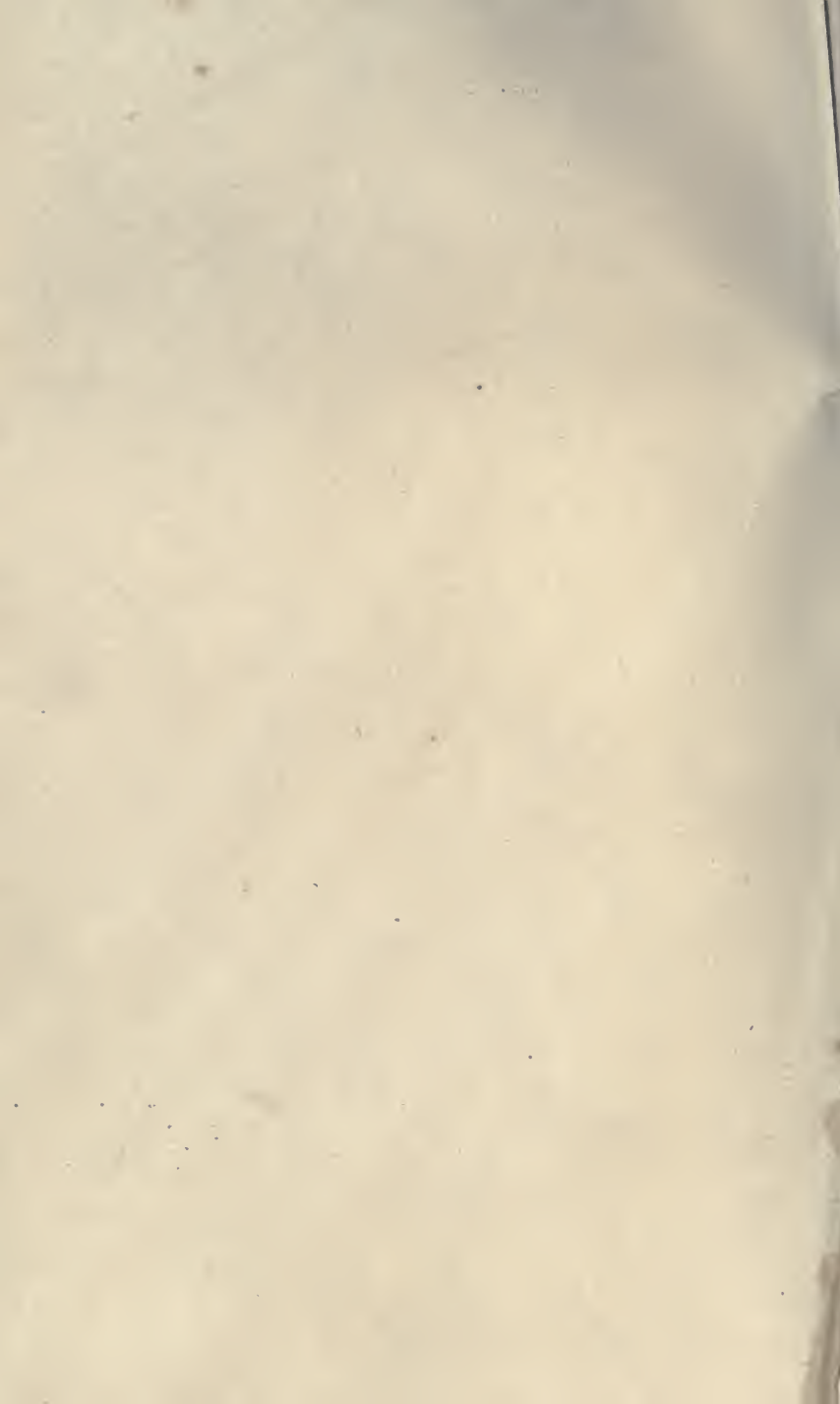






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THE JOURNAL

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OF

PSYCHOLOGICAL MEDICINE

AND

MENTAL PATHOLOGY.

EDITED BY

FORBES WINSLOW, M.D., D.C.L. Oxon.



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BY

DR. WINSLOW.

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One Vol. 8vo,

*On Softening, and other Obscure Diseases  
of the Brain.*

One Vol. 8vo,

*The Physician: His Vocation.*

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In No. II. of this Journal will be published,

Part I. of a Series of Papers on

*Idiocy, and other Forms of Arrest of Intelligence  
occurring in Early Life,*

BY

DR. WINSLOW.

## *A Psychological Quarterly Retrospect.*

[BY THE EDITOR.]

DURING the past quarter, two vacancies on the Board of Lunacy Commissioners have occurred; one occasioned by the retirement of Dr. Turner, and the second by the death of Mr. Mylne, the barrister. Dr. Turner's unfortunate infirmity of sight was considered materially to interfere with his usefulness and the efficient performance of his duties; and, consequently, it was considered necessary that he should vacate his official position, if not to a better man, at least to one who had a perfect use of his visual powers. Dr. Turner was much esteemed by all who had an opportunity of witnessing the unvarying gentlemanly urbanity, kindness, and tact with which he uniformly performed the duties assigned to him as one of the Medical Commissioners in Lunacy. He always exhibited great judgment in the exercise of his responsible functions; and whenever he had suggestions to make with reference to the domestic conduct of lunatic asylums, or the treatment of those confined in institutions licensed for the care and treatment of the insane, it was done with great gentlemanly discrimination, and with a kind and delicate consideration and regard for the feelings of others. Although exercising great authority, and armed with stringent legal powers, he had the good taste never to let others feel that they were in a position subordinate to himself. His loss will be, on this account, severely felt. His great experience in the investigation of cases of insanity much enhanced the value of his opinion on all occasions, and gave undeniable confidence in his judgment. It is understood that the Treasury has granted Dr. Turner a retiring pension of £350 per annum,—a small pittance considering his advanced age, and the lengthened period zealously devoted to anxious and important official services.

Mr. Mylne's death has caused a vacancy among the legal members of the board of the Commissioners. This gentleman's health had for some time given his family and friends cause for much anxiety. He suffered from great bronchial irritation, of which he is reported ultimately to have died at his residence in Onslow Square. One vacancy has been filled up by the appointment of Dr. Wilkes, for many years Medical Superintendent of the Stafford County Lunatic Asylum; and Mr. Lutwidge, who for a considerable period has efficiently occupied the post of



Secretary to the Board of Commissioners in Lunacy, is appointed successor to Mr. Mylne. Dr. Wilkes brings to the performance of his duties a large amount of practical experience. He was appointed, within the last twelve months, one of the Commissioners to visit and report on the condition of Irish Lunatic Asylums; and in the performance of this duty he is said to have exhibited great business and administrative talent. Dr. Wilkes's antecedents are all in his favour: he will undoubtedly earn fresh laurels in his new sphere of usefulness. Mr. Lutwidge for many years acted as a commissioner in lunacy under a former statute, having been appointed to that post by Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst. He, therefore, possesses the recommendation of experience. His appointment will give unqualified satisfaction to the profession as well as the public. He is an active, accomplished, and sagacious lawyer, and will resume his post of Visiting Commissioner with a conscientious determination to discharge the duties devolving upon him with judicious zeal.

The nomination of Dr. Wilkes to the Medical Commissionership has created a vacancy of Medical Superintendent at the Stafford County Asylum. The post is a lucrative one, the salary being £700 per annum.

The subject of intemperance, *as a type of disease* requiring legal interference, has frequently been a topic of discussion in the "Psychological Journal." This question has recently been litigated in the High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh. We extract from a local paper the following report of the proceedings, which will, no doubt, prove of interest to the English public:—

"The Court met to-day, December 8, on the rising of the Second Division, to consider the note of suspension and liberation, previously before them in preliminary stages, of Mr. Giles Gerard—lately residing in Elgin, and now a prisoner in Morningside Asylum—against Mr. William Grigor, Procurator-Fiscal of Elgin. The complainant—a gentleman of independent fortune—had been examined by the Sheriff Substitute of Elgin, under the Lunacy Act, and, on the evidence of his wife, his medical attendant, and others, been found by the sheriff to be 'furious and fatuous, or a lunatic, and in a state threatening danger to the lieges,' and was by him committed to a lunatic asylum, which it was eventually arranged should be the asylum at Morningside. From the evidence taken before the sheriff, it appeared that Mr. Gerard was subject to frequent fits of furiosity; arising, it was said, among other causes, from intemperance, and in this condition was dangerous to his family. The complainer craved liberation on the plea principally of wrongous detention and sanity, and subsidiarily on several grounds of informality. He adduced the joint certificate of Dr. Christison and Dr. Combe, that they were unable to discover any indications of insanity, and believed him to be at the present time sane. A certificate was produced, on the other hand, from the physicians of the asylum, stating they had not, during his brief residence there, been able to satisfy themselves that he was of perfectly sound mind, or capable of so regulating his conduct as not to be dangerous either to himself or others. The principal question argued on Saturday was the competency of the sheriff's judgment. Mr. Logan and Mr. Young appeared for the complainer; the Dean of Faculty

and Mr. A. R. Clark for the respondent ; and Mr. Andrew Mure for Mrs. Gerard. After hearing the case, the Court were divided in opinion. The Lord Justice-Clerk, Lord Cowan, and Lord Deas, were of opinion it was sufficient in the case that the sheriff should be satisfied, and that, therefore, his judgment was perfectly correct. Without deciding that point, or reviewing his decision, they also thought that, upon the evidence, it was a right one. What the result of throwing further light on the complainer's past and present state might be, their lordships did not anticipate, but this detention was not necessarily a permanent one ; it being only 'until cured.' It was unnecessary, on the other hand, that the furiosity should be continuous ; for occasional and intermittent bursts of furiosity on the part of a person, at other moments sane, might be sufficient to warrant such proceedings ; while the danger to his family, from these fits, entitled them to this protection. Lords Handside and Ardmillan took a different view. Ascribing the furiosity to intemperance, they thought the application of the Lunacy Act an extreme and unusual remedy. It was proved, said Lord Ardmillan, that the complainer was a violent man ; but it was not proved he was a madman. It was no proof that a man was mad, because, when drunk, he did violent or furious things. That might make him a fit subject for police restraint, but it did not justify his being shut up as a lunatic. Many thousand husbands, perhaps, were drunk in Glasgow every Saturday night, and a large proportion of them probably were violent, but were they to crowd their lunatic asylums with these men ? The Court, by a majority, thus sustained the sheriff's decision. The case, however, will come up again, on an application by Mr. Gerard's counsel to have a fuller inquiry into his present and past condition."

There has been much gossip in the literary and scientific world relative to some *Spirit Rapping* experiments, alleged to have been performed at the private residence of Mr. Rymer, a London solicitor, at Ealing, in the presence of Lord Brougham, Sir David Brewster, Mr. Hume, and Mrs. Trollope. All these distinguished individuals are reported to have become converts to the spiritual phenomena. Sir David Brewster has, however, since deemed it necessary to repudiate the fact of his conversion. Lord Brougham and Mrs. Trollope have not spoken out on the subject. Sir David Brewster's letter will be read with interest, and deserves to be placed permanently on record. He writes,—

"It is true that I saw at Cox's Hotel, in company with Lord Brougham, and at Ealing, in company with Mrs. Trollope, several mechanical effects which I was unable to explain. But though I could not account for all these effects, I never thought of ascribing them to spirits stalking beneath the drapery of the table ; and I saw enough to satisfy myself that they could all be produced by human hands and feet, and to prove to others that some of them, at least, had such an origin. Were Mr. Hume (the American medium) to assume the character of the Wizard of the West, I would enjoy his exhibition as much as that of other conjurers ; but when he pretends to possess the power of introducing among the feet of his audience the spirits of the dead, of bringing them into physical communication with their dearest relatives, and of revealing the secrets of the grave, he insults religion and common sense, and tampers with the most sacred feelings of his victims." In another letter Sir David enters in more detail into what Lord Brougham and he saw done by "the spirits," and what they did *not* see : "It is not true that the accordion *played an air throughout* in Lord Brougham's hands. It merely squeaked. It is not true, as stated in an article referred to by Mr. Hume, that Lord Brougham's 'watch was taken

out of his pocket, and found in the hands of some other person in the room.' No such experiment was tried. . . . At Mr. Cox's house, Mr. Hume, Mr. Cox, Lord Brougham, and myself sat down to a small table, Mr. Hume having previously requested us to examine if there was any machinery about his person, an examination, however, which we declined to make. When all our hands were upon the table noises were heard—rappings in abundance; and, finally, when we rose up the table actually rose, as appeared to me, from the ground. . . . Besides the experiments with the accordion, already mentioned, a small hand-bell to be rung by the spirits, was placed on the ground, near my feet. I placed my feet round it in the form of an angle, to catch any intrusive apparatus. The bell did not ring; but when taken to a place near Mr. Hume's feet, it speedily came across and placed its handle in my hand. This was amusing. It did the same thing bunglingly to Lord Brougham, by knocking itself against his lordship's knuckles, and after a jingle it fell. The *séance* was most curious at Ealing, where I was a more watchful and a more successful observer. I will not repeat the revelations made to Mrs. Trollope, who was there, lest I should wound the feelings of one so accomplished and sensible. I remember them with unmingled pain. The spirits were here very active, prolific in raps of various intonations, making long tables heavy or light at command; tickling knees, male and female, but always on the side next the medium; tying knots in handkerchiefs drawn down from the table, and afterwards tossed upon it; and prompting Mr. Hume, when he had thrown himself into a trance, to a miserable paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer. During these experiments I made some observations worthy of notice. On one occasion, the Spirit gave a strong affirmative answer to a question by *three raps*, unusually loud. They proceeded from a part of the table exactly within the reach of Mr. Hume's foot, and I distinctly saw three movements in his loins, perfectly simultaneous with the three raps."

We have to record among the deaths the decease of Dr. T. Romeyn Beck, one of the able and active managers of the *New York State Lunatic Asylum*. The readers of the "American Journal of Insanity" are, no doubt, familiar with his name. He took a deep interest in the success of our accomplished American contemporary, and watched with great care the progress of the cases under treatment in the State Asylum previously referred to. The following eloquent eulogium on Dr. Beck is copied from the *Albany Evening Journal* of November 19th:—

"Dr. Beck's health had been gradually declining for several months. In the absence of any organic disease, hopes of his recovery were entertained until some few weeks ago, when an unfavourable opinion was obtained from high medical authority. Since that period his family and friends, prepared for the worst, have awaited an event which bereaves them and the community of a man who in all things was the type and exemplar of his race.

"Dr. Beck's mission was one of practical usefulness. During the quarter of a century that he devoted himself laboriously to the instruction of youth, as the principal of our academy, people wondered how a man so gifted could content himself with a position so comparatively humble. The answer is, that Dr. Beck was unselfish and unambitious. He loved his school, his friends, his associates, and above all his home. These were, to him, sources of happiness too precious to be sacrificed. He pursued, therefore, with diligence and cheerfulness, the 'even tenor of his way,' raising up generation after generation of thoroughly educated young men, whose first duty and highest privilege through



life has been to acknowledge, with grateful hearts, obligations to their beloved preceptor.

"Dr. Beck aimed to render all his scientific and literary acquirements available. His knowledge was held in trust for the benefit of others. His mind, like a tree upon a common, bore fruit for the community. He was a man of simple manners, genial nature, social habits, large humanity, and radiant faith. Almost half a century was passed among us in the active discharge of responsible public duties. His efforts to promote education, science, improvement, virtue, and Christianity, were always well and wisely directed.

"Dr. Beck's associations through life have been with the truly good and great. His society was sought by all who appreciated public worth and social excellence. Those who for so many years enjoyed both in their daily intercourse with him, while deploring his loss will cherish his memory. But to other hearts—hearts with which his own was intertwined—the bereavement comes with a crushing weight. In the halls his presence brightened and gladdened, there is now darkness and sorrow."

The christian and enlightened sentiments of a large body of American citizens have been outraged by the barbarous, cruel, and unjustifiable execution at Alexandria of a boy only ten years of age! It is indeed a sad and painful duty to have to record so horrible and lamentable a catastrophe. A New Orleans paper thus speaks of the execution of this unhappy and irresponsible youth:—

"The execution of a boy named Frank, for the murder of Rev. J. J. Weems, took place in the United States lately. It is strange to say that the majority of the citizens of Alexandria, and, in fact, the inhabitants all round, were anxious to see him executed; though on the fatal day, when it came to pass, there were not a dozen people there. Some rode forty miles to witness this painful drama, but he was executed and buried by the time they reached Alexandria. On the day before he was called to face death, some gentlemen visited him and propounded questions to him; but his answers were and could be no other than childish. He was only ten years old. The gentlemen told him the sheriff was to hang him on the next morning, and asked him what he thought of it, and whether he had made his peace with God, and why he did not pray? His answer was, 'I have been hung many a time!' He was, at the time, amusing himself with some marbles he had in his cell. He was playing all the time in jail, never once thinking that death was soon to claim him as his victim. To show you how a child's mind ranges when about to die, I will mention that, when upon the scaffold, he begged to be permitted to pray, which was granted, and then he commenced to cry. O what a horrible sight it was!"

Our readers will recollect that we published in the "Psychological Journal," during the preceding year, an elaborate extract from one of the Boston medical journals relative to certain hallucinations alleged to be induced by chloroform. The observations referred to sprang out of the case of Mr. Beale, an American dentist, who was accused of having acted with extreme indelicacy and impropriety towards a female patient to whom he had exhibited chloroform preparatory to performing some trifling operation in dental surgery. The patient in question, after recovering from the effects of chloroform, charged Mr. Beale with having committed some serious professional

indiscretion. Mr. Beale was publicly brought to trial, found guilty, and sentenced to prolonged imprisonment. It appears from the subjoined extract from the *Philadelphia Ledger*, that this gentleman has received a free pardon. We are pleased to have it in our power to announce this gratifying fact, for the evidence of his guilt was anything but conclusive.

"Governor Pollock has extended his clemency to Dr. Beale, and remitted the remainder of his sentence of imprisonment, which was four years and six months, beginning on the 28th of November, 1854. He has served, therefore, about one year of his term. The pardon states the reasons which induced the Governor to extend this favour.

"He had received communications from about one hundred and forty dentists and twenty-three physicians of this city and the country, stating their belief that testimony as to matters transpiring under the influence of ether is unsafe and unreliable; from a number of other physicians named, that they believe him innocent; from a large number of the bar and citizens of various States, including the names of Governors, Attorneys-General, &c., that they believe he was convicted on insufficient testimony; from a number of clergymen, that they believe him innocent; from the Mayor of Philadelphia and fifty members of the Philadelphia City Councils; from members of the Legislature, Judges of the Supreme Court, editors of Philadelphia newspapers, and five thousand other citizens of Pennsylvania and New York, with five of the jury on the trial, all asking for his pardon. After enumerating all these facts, the Governor says:—

"And whereas the Board of Inspectors of the said Philadelphia County Prison (as appears by their communication on file in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth) have unanimously recommended the pardon of the said Dr. Stephen T. Beale, because, in their opinion, the end contemplated by the law in the moral reform of the prisoner has been attained—because full and ample satisfaction has been rendered to public sentiment by the imprisonment he has already undergone—because his health is undoubtedly breaking down under the sufferings of body and mind which he has already endured; and because the destitute condition of his aged parents and bereaved and sorrowing wife and children imperatively demand the presence and support of their son, husband, and father.

"And whereas, after a full and careful examination of the facts and evidence in the case, aided by the scientific discussions to which it has given rise, (without any intention to reflect upon the prosecutrix, who no doubt testified to what she believed did occur—nor to impugn the integrity of the learned Judge who tried the case—nor the honesty of the Jury who convicted the prisoner,) *I am now satisfied* that the defendant, Dr. Stephen T. Beale, is *not guilty* of the crime whereof he stands charged, and was convicted upon evidence unreliable in its character and insufficient in amount.

"I do, therefore, in consideration of the premises, pardon the said Dr. Stephen T. Beale of the crime whereof he is convicted as aforesaid, and he is hereby fully pardoned accordingly."

Mr. G. W. Lewes' charming Life of the great and illustrious Goethe has formed the subject of general conversation and criticism in all the literary circles of the metropolis. We quite agree with the writer of an analysis of the work that appeared in No. VI. of the *Saturday Review*, that few Englishmen were better fitted to be the biographer of Goethe than Mr. Lewes. His deeply interesting work will find a

permanent position among the standard British classics. It is written with great good taste and feeling, with an elevated and correct appreciation of the character of the great German dramatic poet and novelist, a profound acquaintance with the philosophy with which that eminent man was so richly imbued, and which gave tone, character, and dignity to the eventful epoch in which he flourished. We refer to Mr. Lewes' able production for the purpose of quoting his graphic account of Goethe's singularly affecting and touching death. It has a deep psychological import:—

"It was the 22nd March, 1832, he tried to walk a little up and down the room, but after a turn, he found himself too feeble to continue. Reseating himself in the easy chair, he chatted cheerfully with Ottilie on the approaching Spring, which would be sure to restore him. He had no idea of his end being so near.

"The name of Ottilie was frequently on his lips. She sat beside him, holding his hand in both of hers. It was now observed that his thoughts began to wander incoherently. 'See,' he exclaimed, 'the lovely woman's head—with black curls—in splendid colours—a dark background!' Presently he saw a piece of paper on the floor, and asked them how they could leave Schiller's letters so carelessly lying about. Then he slept softly, and on awakening, asked for the sketches he had just seen—the sketches of his dream. In silent anguish they awaited the close now so surely approaching. His speech was becoming less and less distinct. The last words audible were: *More light!* The final darkness grew apace, and he, whose eternal longings had been for more Light, gave a parting cry for it, as he was passing under the shadow of Death.

"He continued to express himself by signs, drawing letters with his forefinger in the air, while he had strength, and finally, as life ebbed, drawing figures slowly on the shawl which covered his legs. At half-past twelve he composed himself in the corner of the chair. The watcher placed a finger on her lip to intimate that he was asleep. If sleep it was, it was a sleep in which a life glided from the world. He woke no more.

"So died," says the eloquent writer of the analysis to which we have referred, "Germany's greatest son—great as a dramatist—great as a novelist, holding no mean rank in physical science, pre-eminently great as a lyric and idyllic poet, great as a man, were it but for the wonderful variety of his gifts and the harmony of his intellectual powers; but greatest of all because of his noble charity, his large, loving, kind heart. To admit that he had errors and weakness withal, is but to admit that he was a man. In youth, especially, his ardent and impressionable temperament made him at times fickle, selfish, and cruel, to those that loved him. At a later period, his conduct in regard to Christiane Vulpius, gave just offence and scandal to his countrymen; but we must not forget that he did afterwards all that could be done to repair the sin and blot out the shame. We may regret not to find in his writings and his conversation more explicit recognition of the doctrines of our common Christian faith; but, take him all in all, few men have lived lives so great, so good as his. At any rate, it does not belong to us to judge him. One day, we too, like him, shall have '*MORE LIGHT.*'"\*

In our *résumé* of the literature of the quarter, we first proceed to a consideration of Mr. Charles Dickens' new serial publication "*Little Dorrit.*" This new picture of English life and character is susceptible

\* "*The Saturday Review,*" No. 6.



of a psychological interpretation. Mr. Dickens will be doing a great national service if he succeed in *popularizing* among the working classes the Sabbath day, and enshrouding this holy festival of the church with a halo of sunny cheerfulness. In Mrs. Clennam, he endeavours to delineate the hard, rigorous puritan; a Mawworm, "stern of face and unrelenting of heart, making religion a weapon of defence, and a pretext for the indulgence of tyranny." Mrs. Clennam is considered as a *type* of pseudo-religionists who scowl, shake their heads, groan and look unutterable things if a smile is but permitted to play upon the countenance during the day set apart for devotional exercises. God never designed the pure worship of Himself to be synonymous with gloom, melancholy, despondency, and insanity. Bishop South says, "to be religious, it is not necessary to be dull." And Dr. Watts still more emphatically declares, that

"Religion never was designed  
To make our pleasures less."

It will be a source of satisfaction to many that Mr. Dickens is directing his great talents to the consideration of this important social question. No man exercises, for good or for evil, so overwhelming an influence upon the national mind and character. "To whom much is given, much will be required." We have no fear of Mr. Dickens stamping by the authority of his great name anything that has not a moral tendency; and although he is now travelling upon slippery, dangerous, and delicate ground, and battling with principles deeply rooted in the human heart—we have no misgivings or apprehension for the result. Such a subject in less gifted and injudicious hands might be productive of serious mischief; but we feel assured that Mr. Dickens will never forget that he is dealing with a topic fraught with the deepest interest to the eternal welfare of the human race; and, with a right regard for what he may conceive to be the prejudices, as well as the failings, foibles, and weaknesses of others, he will, by exposing hollow-hearted, selfish hypocrisy, hugging and protecting itself under the cloak of a false and affected sanctity, rid the religion of our common SAVIOUR, and the christianity of the BIBLE, of much that now tends to impede its practical usefulness, and to obscure its bright and cheerful effulgence.

Mr. Dickens thus describes an English gloomy Sunday evening:—

"It was a Sunday evening in London, gloomy, close, and stale. Maddening church bells of all degrees of dissonance, sharp and flat, cracked and clear, fast and slow, made the brick and mortar echoes hideous. Melancholy streets in a penitential garb of soot, steeped the souls of the people who were condemned to look at them out of windows in dire despondency. In every thoroughfare, up almost every alley, and down almost every turning, some doleful bell was throbbing, jerking, tolling, as if the plague were in the city and the dead-carts were going round. Everything was bolted and barred that

could by possibility furnish relief to an overworked people. No pictures, no unfamiliar animals, no rare plants or flowers, no natural or artificial wonders of the ancient world—all *taboo* with that enlightened strictness, that the ugly South Sea gods in the British Museum might have supposed themselves at home again. Nothing to see but streets, streets, streets. Nothing to breathe but streets, street, streets. Nothing to change the brooding mind, or raise it up. Nothing for the spent toiler to do, but to compare the monotony of his seventh day with the monotony of his six days, think what a weary life he led, and make the best of it—the worst, according to the probabilities.”

To the poor half-starved, weary, anxious, heart-broken, and overworked mechanic who is compelled, in order to preserve a decent position amongst his fellow men, to devote twelve or fifteen hours out of the twenty-four for six days in the week, to hard and unceasing toil in an atmosphere redolent of odious, offensive, and noxious particles, the Sunday as delineated by Dickens may not engender feelings of a pleasurable or religious character. We deeply regret that such should be the case. It is to be lamented that the seventh day of the week is not emphatically to the working population a day of *bonâ fide* rest. It would be so if by common consent some other day or even part of a day were set aside as a national holiday for recreation, pleasure, and health, and the Sabbath day be properly viewed as one that ought to be devoted to religious exercises. The mind requires relaxation and amusement. Without a certain amount of pleasurable excitement, there cannot exist a healthy state of intellect or moral feeling. This is practicable without any desecration of the Sabbath day. Mr. Dickens continues:—

“At such a happy time, so propitious to the interests of religion and morality, Mr. Arthur Glennam, newly arrived from Marseilles by way of Dover, and by Dover coach the Blue-eyed Maid, sat in the window of a coffee-house on Ludgate-hill. Ten thousand responsible houses surrounded him, frowning as heavily on the streets they composed as if they were every one inhabited by the ten young men of the Calender’s story, who blackened their faces and bemoaned their miseries every night. Fifty thousand lairs surrounded him where people lived so unwholesomely, that fair water put into their crowded rooms on Saturday night, would be corrupt on Sunday morning; albeit my lord, their county member, was amazed that they failed to sleep in company with their butcher’s meat. Miles of close wells and pits of houses, where the inhabitants gasped for air, stretched far away towards every point of the compass. Through the heart of the town a deadly sewer ebbed and flowed, in the place of a fine fresh river. What secular want could the million or so of human beings whose daily labour, six days in the week, lay among these Arcadian objects, from the sweet sameness of which they had no escape between the cradle and the grave—what secular want could they possibly have upon their seventh day? Clearly they could want nothing but a stringent policeman.

“Mr. Arthur Clennam sat in the window of the coffee-house on Ludgate-hill, counting one of the neighbouring bells, making sentences and burdens of songs out of it in spite of himself, and wondering how many sick people it might be the death of in the course of the year. As the hour approached, its changes of measure made it more and more exasperating. At a quarter, it went off into a condition of deadly lively importunity, urging the populace in



a voluble manner to Come to Church, Come to Church, Come to Church! At the ten minutes, it became aware that the congregation would be scanty, and slowly hammered out in low spirits, They *wont* come, they *wont* come, they *wont* come! At the five minutes, it abandoned hope, and shook every house in the neighbourhood for three hundred seconds, with one dismal swing per second, as a groan of despair."

To minds properly imbued with religious feelings, and with hearts attuned to sacred melody, the church bells calling the population together to join in the worship of God ought not to excite any but elevating and pleasurable emotions.

"There is in souls a sympathy with sounds,  
And as the mind is pitch'd, the ear is pleased;  
With melting airs, or martial, brisk, or grave.  
Some chord in unison with what we hear  
Is touch'd within us, and the heart replies.  
How soft the music of these village bells  
Falling at intervals upon the ear  
In cadence sweet! now dying all away,  
Now pealing loud again, and louder still;  
Clear and sonorous as the gale comes on  
With easy force it opens all the cells  
Where mem'ry slept."

There is a charming and soothing music in the merry chimes of church bells, as they echo through the copse, and are wafted across the flowery mead, and float along the village green. How often do they on a quiet Sabbath morn fall with sweetness upon the ear, as their peals encircle the neighbouring hills, or joyously rush down into the woodland dale, sounding like the revelry of friends:—

"So have I stood alone on Isis bank,  
To hear the merry Christchurch bells rejoice;  
So have I sat, too, in thy honour'd shades,  
Distinguished Magdalen on Cherwell's banks,  
To hear thy silver Wolsey tones so sweet," &c.

The church bells, whether in town or country, *should* speak of LOVE, of HOPE, of PEACE, of CHARITY: of FORGIVENESS OF SINS; of GOODWILL TOWARD MEN; of REST—eternal and happy REST—to the weary traveller, when he arrives at the termination of his sad earthly pilgrimage.

"Thank Heaven!" said Clennam, when the hour struck, and the bell stopped.

"But its sound had revived a long train of miserable Sundays, and the procession would not stop with the bell, but continued to march on." "Heaven forgive me," said he, "and those who trained me. How I have hated this day!"

"There was the dreary Sunday of his childhood, when he sat with his hands before him, scared out of his senses by a horrible tract which commenced business with the poor child by asking him in its title, why he was going to perdition?—a piece of curiosity that he really in a frock and drawers was not

in a condition to satisfy . . . . There was the sleepy Sunday of his boyhood, when, like a military deserter, he was marched to chapel by a piqueet of teachers three times a day, morally handcuffed to another boy; and when he would willingly have bartered two meals of indigestible sermon for another ounce or two of inferior mutton at his scanty dinner in the flesh. There was the interminable Sunday of his nonage; when his mother, stern of face and unrelenting of heart, would sit all day behind a Bible—bound like her own construction of it in the hardest, barest, and straightest boards, with one dented ornament on the cover like the drag of a chain, and a wrathful sprinkling of red upon the edges of the leaves—as if it, of all books! were a fortification against sweetness of temper, natural affection, and gentle intercourse. There was the resentful Sunday of a little later, when he sat glowering and glooming through the tardy length of the day, with a sullen sense of injury in his heart, and no more real knowledge of the beneficent history of the New Testament, than if he had been bred among idolaters. There was a legion of Sundays, all days of unserviceable bitterness and mortification, slowly passing before him.”

The poor child leaves his home, and does not return until he is a man. How graphic is Mr. Dickens’s account of Mr. Arthur Clennam’s interview with his mother!

“Arthur followed him up the staircase, which was panelled off into spaces like so many mourning tablets, into a dim bedchamber, the floor of which had gradually so sunk and settled, that the fireplace was in a dell. On a black bier-like sofa in this hollow, propped up behind with one great angular black bolster, like the block at a state execution in the good old times, sat his mother in a widow’s dress.

“She and his father had been at variance from his earliest remembrance. To sit speechless himself in the midst of rigid silence, glancing in dread from the one averted face to the other, had been the peace fullest occupation of his childhood. She gave him one glassy kiss, and four stiff fingers muffled in worsted. This embrace concluded, he sat down on the opposite side of her little table. There was a fire in the grate, as there had been night and day for fifteen years. There was a kettle on the hob, as there had been night and day for fifteen years. There was a little mound of damped ashes on the top of the fire, and another little mound swept together under the grate, as there had been night and day for fifteen years. There was a smell of black dye in the airless room, which the fire had been drawing out of the crape and stuff of the widow’s dress for fifteen months, and out of the bier-like sofa for fifteen years.

“‘Mother, this is a change from your old active habits.’

“‘The world has narrowed to these dimensions, Arthur,’ she replied, glancing round the room. ‘It is well for me that I never set my heart upon its hollow vanities.’

“The old influence of her presence and her stern strong voice, so gathered about her son, that he felt conscious of a renewal of the timid chill and reserve of his childhood.”

How much insanity, what an amount of miserable and incurable religious thought, we have known to spring out of such asceticism. It is a frightful cause of mental derangement, nervous and hysterical disorder. In the wards of our lunatic asylums, private as well as public, may be seen many sad cases of this type. Gloomy, false, and misanthropic views of religion, and mistaken notions of man’s relation to his great and wise Creator, are, alas! frequent causes of mental aliena-

tion in its most distressing and incurable form. Mr. Dickens's "Little Dorrit" will conduce greatly to the public advantage, by rousing our attention to this subject, as he has in his former writings enlisted our sympathies in behalf of our over-worked and half-starved population. The picture which the poet Massey draws of his own early career is a truthful description of what thousands of our fellow creatures have to encounter in early life in our manufacturing districts.

"Born in a little house, the roof of which no man could stand upright under; at eight years of age earning his meagre living in the adjacent silk mills; rising at five, and toiling there till half-past six in the evening; seeing the sun only through factory windows, breathing an atmosphere laden with oily vapour;—what a life for a child!" The mill is burnt down, and the children hold a jubilee (and who can wonder?) over its blazing ruins.

"I have had no childhood," says Gerald Massey. "Ever since I can remember, I have had the aching fear of want throbbing in heart and brow. The child comes into the world like a new coin with the stamp of God upon it; and in like manner as sovereigns are sweated down by hustling them in a bag to get gold dust out of them, so is the poor man's child hustled and sweated down in this bag of society to get wealth out of it."

The portion of our population who unhappily breathe God's glorious air under circumstances so graphically portrayed by one who thus touchingly records

"The short, but simple annals of the poor,"

enter the world with a stern and unalterable conviction that the rich and aristocratic classes of society have no kind, generous, and yearning impulses towards their poorer brethren. We regret to say that such is the *general* impression among those who form the bone, the muscle, and sinews of the population of this country. The writings, the speeches, the poetry, the songs of the working classes constitute an embodiment of this idea. Take, for instance, Mr. Noel's affecting description of the "Pauper's Drive," a poem only second to Hood's immortal "Song of the Shirt," and the "Bridge of Sighs."

There's a grim one-horse hearse in a jolly round trot,  
To the churchyard a pauper is going, I wot;  
The road it is rough, and the hearse has no springs,  
And hark to the dirge that the sad driver sings:  
Rattle his bones over the stones;  
He's only a pauper whom nobody owns.

Oh, where are the mourners? alas, there are none!  
He has left not a gap in the world now he's gone—  
Not a tear in the eye of child, woman, or man:  
To the grave with his carcase as fast as you can.  
Rattle, &c.

What a jolting, and creaking, and splashing, and din!  
The whip, how it cracks—and the wheels, how they spin!  
How the dirt right and left o'er the hedges is hurled!  
The pauper at length makes a noise in the world.  
Rattle, &c.



Poor pauper defunct ! he has made some approach  
 To gentility now that he's stretched in a coach :  
 He's taking a drive in his carriage at last,  
 But it will not be long if he goes on so fast.  
 Rattle, &c.

But a truce to this strain, for my soul it is sad  
 To think that a heart in humanity clad  
 Should make, like the brutes, such a desolate end,  
 And depart from the light without leaving a friend.  
 Rattle his bones over the stones ;  
 Though a pauper, he's one WHOM HIS MAKER YET OWNS.

Mr. Samuel Baily's "Letters on the Philosophy of the Human Mind," will not detract from this gentleman's well-earned reputation as a liberal and profound thinker and an elegant and accomplished writer. Mr. Baily's "Letters" contain no novel or striking metaphysical views ; but the principles as taught by Reid and Stewart are lucidly enunciated. Karl Fortlage's "System der Psychologie" is exciting some notice in Germany. Fortlage is already favourably known by his countrymen for his work, entitled "Genetische Geschichte der Philosophie seit Kant." In speaking of the "System der Psychologie," an able contemporary remarks, that the point of view from which the author presents psychology is the experimental. He totally rejects the speculative *à priori* method as having been the bane of this subject, and as having, not unnaturally, created an opinion of the uncertainty of all mental philosophy—an opinion really as unfounded as that of antiquity on the uncertainty of natural philosophy. In an able criticism of this work that appeared in the "Westminster Review," the writer observes :—

"But in establishing psychology as an empirical science, we are not to resolve it as has been sometimes done into a branch of the inductive knowledge of nature—a physiology of nervous process. This is to confound two distinct spheres of observation—the inner and the outer. The outer is observed by the senses, and is the sphere of the natural sciences ; the inner is observed by the inner sense or consciousness. This determination of the peculiar field of observation forms the starting point which discriminates this method from the speculative, which starts from an *à priori* conception of the nature of physical life. But though we discard the speculative, and take our stand on observation, yet we must have a scientific element in our psychology, which would be otherwise a mere record of phenomena. The merely empirical psychologist would resemble an anatomist who should fancy that in anatomy he possessed a complete physiology. The experimentalists hitherto have treated the mind as a sort of 'camera obscura,' into which we had but to look and photograph what went on there. In this way empirical psychology has fallen as much short of a science of mind as the speculatists had overleapt it. The first hopes for a better era of mental science began with the double method or the union of the speculative with the empirical. Of this double method there are two types. The first that of which Herbert is the representative. In this certain speculative laws—any that have probability in their favour—are assumed for the purpose of serving as a clue through the chaos of observations. But with this difference from the old purely speculative method, that the observation is not

employed to prove assumed laws, but the principles are used to aid in collating the observations. The other form of the double method is represented by Beneke. This seeks in observation itself for any empirical laws which it can apparently establish, and having got such, it erects them into universal laws of mind. This latter method is obviously that which has approached nearest to the true method of psychological study. It has the defect of jumping too abruptly from the phenomenological to the ætiological. But Beneke is, after all, the predecessor with whom the author considers his own labours to be in the closest connexion. We must not, however, in condemning this method, overlook the great services rendered to the science by the sensualistic psychologist of the old school, now entirely passed away. They brought various phenomena to light, while the speculative schools have done nothing but encumber the ground with empty theories. Besides this general relation to Beneke, Professor Fortlage adopts a principle from Reinhold, Freudenberg, and Schopenhauer, respectively. From Reinhold—the active ingredient in sensuous perception, which furnishes the link between the *à priori* and *à posteriori* so much wanted in the Kantian system; and the Schopenhauer—the will as underlying consciousness, or forming the substratum of all psychical existence.

“The present ‘first part’ contains, besides an introduction and statement of the view point, four chapters; 1. On the Consciousness; 2. On the General, 3. On the Particular Properties of the Contents of a Presentation; 4. On the relation of the Consciousness to the contents of a Presentation.”

Dr. Noble has brought out a new and more elaborate edition of his “Elements of Psychological Medicine.” He has re-written several portions of his treatise. It is a creditable production, and should be read by all psychological students. The work is what Dr. Noble purports it to be—namely, an elementary essay; but nevertheless it may be read with profit by all interested in the subject of medical psychology. We direct attention to Dr. Noble’s labours in this part of our journal, as want of space will prevent the publication in this number of the full analysis of his views, which we had prepared for the first number of our new series.

Dr. Hume Williams’s work on “Mental Unsoundness in its Medical and Legal Relations,” is one of the most important psychological productions of the day. We have no treatise on the subject in the English language to equal it in interest and value. Dr. Williams’s style is vigorous, terse, classical, and lucid. He is evidently master of his subject. He develops in his work principles of judicial psychology of the deepest importance to the administration of justice in cases involving the existence of insanity, and to all questions of a civil and criminal responsibility relating to the insane. We intend to return to this essay in a future number.

We must not omit to refer to Dr. Steinthal’s “Logik, Grammatik, u. Psychologie, ihre Principien und ihr Verhältniss zu einander.”\* It consists in a violent attack upon Wilhelm Von Humboldt and the Beck-erians, MM. Muller and Aufrecht, for asserting “that the philosophy of language has now attained its maturity.” Dr. Steinthal asserts that

\* Berlin, 1855.

these authorities neither feel or comprehend the necessity for such a philosophy, and still less have the means of satisfying such necessity.

Mr. Bain's "Senses and the Intellect"\* has come in for its full share of critical analysis and commendation. It is an admirable metaphysical essay, and may, it is said, be compared with the best productions of German industry, and deserves a place by the side of Mill's "Treatise on Logic." Mr. Bain advocates a closer relationship between psychology and the higher branches of physiology than has hitherto been deemed necessary. He considers it indispensable that the psychologist should be well versed in the higher departments of anatomy, as well as special physiology,

Dr. Ferrier's "Institutes of Metaphysic" demands more than a passing notice. It is an able and philosophical essay. His attempt to bring the great subject of metaphysics within the range of ordinary comprehension, and to simplify the most abstruse and subtle of human investigations, deserves our warmest praise. There is a freshness and originality about the work, which strongly commends it to the reader's attention.

An essay on the "Philosophy of the Infinite, with special reference to the theories of Sir W. Hamilton and M. Cousin," by Mr. H. Calderwood, has excited some attention among metaphysicians. It requires no little moral courage to break a lance with such acute metaphysicians as Sir W. Hamilton and M. Cousin. Mr. Calderwood's essay is said to be, "to a degree almost laughable, a repetition of Sir W. Hamilton;" using the arguments, and even the identical language of the great Edinburgh metaphysician. But we must reserve any further criticism of this, and Mr. Spencer's valuable work on the "Principles of Psychology," for our next number.

The late remarkable and mysterious deaths of Dr. Franck and his son at the Albion Hotel, Brighton, cannot be passed over in silence. The question involved is one deeply interesting to the physician engaged in the study of judicial psychology. We subjoin an epitome of the facts illustrative of this deeply affecting tragedy:—

Dr. Herman Franck, a gentleman about fifty years of age, arrived at Brighton, from Gosport, accompanied by his son Hugo, a fine lad of seventeen or eighteen years of age. They were visited in the course of the evening by their friend, the well known Dr. Ruge, professor of German in Brighton, who found them playing at chess together. He took tea with them, and in the course of the evening, during the occasional absence of the young man, Dr. Franck referred to him in the most affectionate manner, praising him highly for his studies, and looking forward to his success in his profession. Both father and son

\* London, 1855.



were perfectly cheerful, and on the best of terms; and not a circumstance could afterwards be remembered by Dr. Ruge which would give rise to the slightest suspicion or apprehension of the dreadful deeds that were so shortly afterwards committed.

Dr. Franck was a native of Breslau, in Silesia, and one of the most respectable and learned men in Germany. He was well known in Berlin, where he moved in the first circles, being an intimate acquaintance of Baron Von Humboldt, Varnhagen Von Ense, and Chevalier Bunsen. He had a world-wide reputation among all the men of literary and scientific celebrity in Europe. He was formerly editor of the well-known *Allgemeine Zeitung*, at Leipsic, where he had lately resided. His father was a banker, and the deceased himself was very wealthy. About eighteen years ago he was married, at Rome, to a daughter of Prince Henry of Prussia, who died about ten years ago, leaving an only son, Hugo. When this latter had reached the age of thirteen he expressed a desire to enter the English navy, but his father wished him to remain until he was older. Six months ago, the son keeping to his original wish, the father brought him to England, and placed him at Dr. Burney's naval academy, at Gosport; he himself taking up his abode at Portsmouth. It appears that, in consequence of being over age there was a difficulty in getting the young man into the Royal Navy, and steps were consequently taken by his father to enter him at Mr. Green's, at Blackwall, his first voyage being to India, and the ship being fixed to sail in December next. The intermediate time, it was resolved, should be spent by Dr. Franck and his son with his intimate friend and countryman Dr. Ruge. Hence their arrival at Brighton on Friday afternoon, as above mentioned, where, preparatory to taking up their quarters at Dr. Ruge's, they took apartments at the Albion Hotel.

Dr. Ruge left the hotel about eleven o'clock, the young man having gone to bed about half an hour before, having with him a volume of Bulwer's novels. After Dr. Ruge's departure, Dr. Franck retired to rest, occupying with his son a double-bedded sleeping apartment at the loftiest part of the hotel. Nothing to attract attention occurred between this time and a quarter to six o'clock on the following morning, when a servant was alarmed by the crash of some falling body on the outside of the hotel, and on looking out of her bedroom window she perceived the body of a man in the area below. She immediately gave an alarm; some militiamen billeted in the hotel went out, and picked up the body, which was recognised as that of Dr. Franck. Life was found to be extinct. The large bone of the hip was completely crushed, and the bleeding from the ruptured vessels was excessive.

Dr. Carter proceeded up stairs, where the lad was supposed to be

asleep, and knocked at the bedroom door. No response was given to repeated knocking and shouting. The door was then broken open, and there lay the son, strangled in his bed. Life was extinct, though the body was still warm. A silk handkerchief was found lightly tied round his neck, but not, to all appearance, in such a manner as to have been the instrument of death; nor was there any appearance of a struggle having taken place in the bed or the room. The younger deceased was in his night clothes. The father had on slippers, drawers, a shirt, and dress coat, but no trowsers. His last act before going to bed was to ask for a newspaper, a copy of which was found by the side of the bed. He had previously asked for a candle, doubtless for the purpose of reading the paper. It is stated that in the course of the evening, while the two deceased were playing at chess, the waiter was struck by the peculiar manner in which Dr. Franck looked at his son when the young man made a move. This is the only thing that can be recalled by the waiter as having excited his particular notice.

The inquest was held at one o'clock on Saturday, at the Albion Hotel, before Mr. D. Black, coroner for the borough. In addition to the above facts, which were elicited during the inquiry, the following evidence was adduced:—

Dr. Arnold Ruge deposed—I have been acquainted with the elder deceased since 1840. He was about fifty-four years of age, and was a doctor of philosophy. I knew the son when he was a child, in Dresden and Berlin. The father was in easy circumstances. He at all times appeared sane, and of good understanding. He was a very sharp critic and a learned man, and he numbered amongst his friends all the learned men of his country. The boy yesterday said he thought he should go to sea about December. He said he still wished to go; he was quite determined upon that. There was no conversation with a view to persuade the boy not to go to sea. I asked the boy respecting his prospects, and he said he was determined to go to sea. The father and son appeared to be on the most affectionate terms. The father had been ill; yesterday he seemed in his usual health. He looked better, and was in a better humour than ever before. There was nothing in the conversation to induce me to contemplate the fearful result which followed. The mother died about ten years ago. As far as I know, the elder deceased had suffered no loss in fortune; I think not. The father said it was an unusual determination for a boy in Germany to wish to go to sea, and that it was very difficult for him to part from his son, as you will see by his letters. The father spoke on other indifferent subjects. Nothing was said of a desponding character, except of his son's attachment to the sea. The son bade his father good night in a most affectionate way. It did not appear that the son wished to go to sea in opposition to his father. Although the father did not wish it, there was nothing like opposition to it. The son was fond of horses and ships, and the father preferred ships to horses. The father's general demeanour was calm. I have never seen him excited. At the time of the movement in 1848, for instance, he was exceedingly calm. Although of the Democratic party, he took no part in the movement. His health was generally bad. He did not complain of a goitre, or large swelling, which he had in his throat. He kept it a secret. I don't know that the swelling affects the general health. The natives of Germany are very subject to it.

One or two of the hotel attendants having been examined with respect to the finding of deceased in the area, &c.,

Dr. Carter was called; and having deposed to the nature of the injuries inflicted, and other matters above referred to, continued in reply to various questions:—On the door of the younger deceased's bedroom being burst open, I found the young man lying on his back in the bed. I detected a silk scarf tied round his neck. Life was extinct. I immediately examined the state of the bed-clothes, which were unruffled. The posture of deceased showed no evidence whatever of a struggle, and I was particularly impressed with the fact that the silk scarf was so lightly tied round the neck, that I do not believe, as a surgeon, the stricture so caused could have produced death.\* This necessitated the tightening of the scarf, if it were suicide. For many years the possibility of self-strangulation was denied; and I cannot, on the spur of the moment, remember but one such case, and that a disputed one. Pichegru is said to have been murdered, because he was found strangled, as was said, by his own hands, with ligature and a stick. It was denied that he could so have produced death, which would have been far easier than in this case. The determined Greenacre failed in self-strangulation. On the other hand, the whole history of the life of the father—his affection for his son, his strong mind, his strong principles—really seem to prove the improbability of his having destroyed his own son; but they equally point to the impossibility of his having destroyed himself. Looking at the state of health of the father; bearing in mind that he suffered habitually from dyspepsia—a most depressing disease; seeing, likewise, that he presented an enormous goitre in his throat, which was so large that it must have pressed considerably upon the blood vessels, and might have so disturbed the circulation of the brain; remembering that parting from his son appears ever to have been most distasteful to him, I think it more reasonable to suppose that the father, whilst under the influence of a temporary attack of insanity from those causes, should have decided, not only on stopping his son going to another hemisphere, but upon destroying his own life and his son's at one and the same time, that they might die together and not be separated. I can conceive that, with the cunning peculiar to such a homicidal idea, he should have crept out of bed whilst his dear son lay sleeping; that he should have passed the scarf without awaking him under his neck. So learned a man would be most likely to understand sufficient of physiology to know that slight pressure upon the surface veins, by retarding the flow of venous blood from the brain, and stopping the efflux of arterial blood to it, would have the effect of poisoning the brain with impure or carbonized blood. He would know that, without pain and without a struggle, he could so convert the sleep of fatigue into the sleep of death—a death as easy and similar to that produced by burning charcoal in a close chamber. I believe this explanation to be far more likely to be correct than that a youth in the heyday of life, about to join a profession he delighted in, should have committed suicide, and that his father should have done the same at the same moment in consequence of it. The handkerchief was tied very firmly indeed in a common sort of knot. I could get my two fingers in it. Pulling the ends would not tighten the knot. I don't think the son had been dead but a very few minutes. I believe the father and son died nearly together.

Police-officer Blaber deposed that he found two gold watches lying on the dressing-table, and three sovereigns, 11s. 9d., and a Bank of England note. He found in one of the portmanteaus a purse containing £8 10s. in gold, some clothes, books, and other things. The window was wide open.

The Coroner, whilst allowing full force to the opinion of Dr. Carter, held it to be improbable for a scarf to be inserted round the neck of the young man, in the heyday of youth, as it had been stated, and at six in the morning, with-

\* It appears from a letter published in *The Times* that the youth had been in the habit of going to bed with a silk scarf round his neck.



out waking him. He inclined to the belief that the son, who, perhaps from reading, had been induced to adopt the sea as a profession, but who, from being brought into contact with the sailors at Portsmouth, had taken a disgust to the choice so long adhered to, and being too proud to confess his change of mind to his parent, might have perpetrated the horrid deed of suicide to get himself out of the difficulty. There was nothing improbable, also, in believing that the father, being a fond parent, should have committed the act of self-destruction immediately on discovering the position of his son.

The jury retired, and after an absence of about ten minutes, returned as their verdict—"That the son was found strangled in bed, but whether by his own hands, or by the hands of another, there was no evidence to prove; that the father destroyed himself, by throwing himself from the window, whilst labouring under an unsound state of mind."

The questions for the consideration of the jurist are as follows: was this a case of self-strangulation, the father destroying himself after discovering the fact of his son's suicide? or did Dr. Franck strangle his son, in a fit of homicidal insanity, whilst he was sleeping, and afterwards destroy himself? or did the son die suddenly from disease of the heart or brain, and the father, in a paroxysm of delirium brought on by the discovery of the fact, precipitate himself from the window of his bed-room? It will be well, before discussing these various points, to obtain, if possible, some insight into the constitution of Dr. Franck's mind. Mr. Henry Reeve, in his interesting letter to *The Times*, affords us some valuable information on the point.

"To those who were personally acquainted with this unfortunate gentleman (and in the number of his friends I might reckon no inconsiderable number of the first names in Germany and in other parts of Europe) it would be needless to repeat that the whole tenour of his life and character rebuts in the very strongest manner the suspicion of even an involuntary crime. He was a man of singularly clear and calm judgment, methodical and temperate in his habits, quiet and refined in his manners, endowed with the nicest sense of propriety and honour, of strong reasoning powers, often playful and humorous in his mode of expressing his opinions, and free from all the influences which commonly disturb the passions or distort the mind. His most absorbing interest in life was the education and future welfare of his son, to whom he was devoted with more than paternal tenderness; and, as an example of the affectionate care with which he watched over him, I am informed that it had been his practice to cause the boy from infancy to occupy a separate bed in his own sleeping apartment. This circumstance has proved, by an extraordinary fatality, one of the causes which aggravate this inexplicable catastrophe by some suspicions of madness or even of guilt. Dr. Franck has unhappily perished in a manner the most sudden and the most awful; though it is impossible to conceive that he was a voluntary agent in this scene of horror, or that he could have violated all the strongest feelings of his nature by the murder of his child. But neither can any traces be discovered, as far as I am informed, of the slightest tendency to insanity in his former life or conduct. He spent the previous evening with his son and Dr. Ruge in games of chess and tranquil conversation. No trace of a difference had been observed between himself and his son; and, although he had undoubtedly regretted and opposed the strong desire of the lad to go to sea when first that desire was manifested, yet he had often expressed to myself and other friends his conviction that it was better to gratify than to thwart so decided an inclina-

tion, and he had come to this country solely for the purpose of assisting in the fulfilment of this project. In one of the last letters addressed by Dr. Franck to the oldest of his friends in this country, on the 17th of October, the following passage occurs with reference to the measures which had been taken in concert with some members of her Majesty's Government to enable his son to enter the Royal navy—an object which he had much at heart. His words (written by himself in English) are deeply touching when contrasted with the terrible event which has blasted so much affection and so much hope. He wrote,—

“Do not wonder at the singular importance I attach to this matter—(the admission of his son into the Royal navy). I am sure you will have remarked a great deal of concern about me with respect to it; but nothing is more pardonable, and I dare even say more justified by circumstances. If I say that he is one of the rarest specimens of a boy, I am by no means afraid to be under any paternal illusions, for I repeat only what everybody who has the opportunity of observing him says, and what Mr. Burney (his master) more than once declared and lately wrote about him. To do my best that he may be placed in an adequate condition is an impulse of an aggregate of feelings for which *duty* is a poor word. I was troubled as long as I was kept uncertain whether I should be able to do really my best; now, as I have succeeded in this, and even far better than I expected, I feel comfortable, because I cannot pretend to have the command of the result.”

In a letter which *The Times* did us the honour to publish in relation to this mysterious tragedy, we entered somewhat at length into this subject. We make no apology for reprinting a portion of this communication in our “Quarterly Psychological Retrospect.”

“There appears to have been no assignable motive for the suicide of the son. Admitting that there was a prior unrecognised state of morbid mental depression, likely to originate a suicidal idea, the question is, could the son strangle himself in bed by tying a handkerchief with sufficient tightness round his throat to effectually impede the circulation of the vessels of the neck, or obstruct the act of respiration? Is this possible? There are too many instances of voluntary strangulation upon record to make the matter at all doubtful. General Pichegru's case is one remarkably in point. He was found strangled in prison during the consulate of Buonaparte. The body was found lying in the bed on the left side in an easy attitude, with the knees bent, and the arms lying down by the side. A black silk handkerchief was found twisted tightly round the neck by means of a stick passed under it. The cheek was torn by the ends of the stick during its rotations. There was no doubt of the case being one of voluntary strangulation. The Malays frequently commit suicide in the same way; cases of a similar character have come under my own observation. Was Dr. Franck's son a case of voluntary strangulation? There is no evidence of the fact. The loose condition of the handkerchief, the appearance of the countenance, the absence of all symptoms of a ligature having been applied round the neck, according to my judgment, is strong, if not demonstrative evidence of the son's death not being self-inflicted. Did the son die a natural but a sudden death, caused by disease of the heart, or did he expire during a fit of apoplexy or of epileptic convulsions? If such was the case, it would not be difficult to realize the terrible agony of the fond father upon making the sad discovery, and one can well conceive that the severe shock he would experience might give rise to temporary suicidal delirium. It will be impossible to settle the first point in the absence of a post-mortem examination. The heart, upon investigation, may be found organically diseased; if so, the death is easily accounted for. The state of the bed-clothes and the position of the body forbid



altogether the supposition of a struggle having taken place between the father and his son. If he had died in a convulsive fit, the bed-clothes, the physiognomy, and state of the tongue would have indicated the fact. Again, death may have been caused by apoplexy without convulsions; but this is an unusual mode of death at so early an age, unless the heart is at the same time extensively diseased. A post-mortem examination of the brain could alone solve the point. If the son did not die by his own hands, or suddenly of disease of the heart or brain, what was the cause of his death? I repeat, that I do not believe that Dr. Franck, in the possession of his right mind, murdered his son. It is possible, I grant, that in a sudden paroxysm of homicidal insanity he may have done so. If this supposition is at all tenable, there would have been some signs of the struggle that must have ensued. It is very improbable that the father, in a paroxysm of suddenly-developed insanity, could have murdered his son without a fearful and hard-fought struggle for life having taken place. Again, setting aside altogether the hypothesis of insanity, may not the father have rushed upon and murdered his son while under the influence of a nocturnal vision, or some horrid phantasy originating during a troubled dream, and, while in this state of mind, have walked out of the window, or even have thrown himself from the window after being restored to healthy consciousness? Persons have been known to commit murder while in a state of somnambulism, or sleep-walking, and also during the half-unconscious condition between sleeping and waking. A person has been suddenly roused by a frightful dream, and while under its influence has been known to take away human life. Suicide has been committed under analogous circumstances. A person apparently well has gone to bed without manifesting the slightest tendency to self-destruction; he awoke suddenly and destroyed himself. An old lady residing in London awoke in the middle of the night, went down stairs, and threw herself into a cistern of water, where she was found drowned. It is supposed that the suicide was the result of certain mental impressions conjured up in the mind during a dream. Dr. Pagan refers to the following interesting case, to prove that murder may be committed by a person when under the effects of a frightful vision:—Bernard Schedmaizig suddenly awoke at midnight. At the moment he saw a frightful phantom, or what his imagination represented as such—a fearful spectre. He twice called out, “Who is that?” and receiving no answer, and imagining that the phantom was advancing upon him, and having altogether lost his self-possession, he raised a hatchet which was beside him and attacked the spectre, and it was found, alas! that he had murdered his wife. A pedler, who was in the habit of walking about the country armed with a sword-stick, was awakened one evening while lying asleep on the high road by a man suddenly seizing him and shaking him by the shoulders. The man, who was walking by with some companions, had done this jocosely. The pedler, suddenly roused from his sleep, drew his sword and stabbed the man, who soon afterwards died from the effects of the wound. He was tried for manslaughter. His irresponsibility was strongly urged by his counsel, on the ground that he could not have been conscious of his act in the half-waking state. He was, however, found guilty, and subjected to imprisonment.

I am inclined to believe, from an attentive consideration of the facts of the distressing and remarkable case under review, that Dr. Franck’s son died a natural, but a sudden death, and that if the body were exhumed and a post-mortem examination instituted, such would be found to be the fact. The father, I think, destroyed himself while in a paroxysm of temporary delirium, frenzy, or mental aberration, induced by the mental shock consequent upon the appalling discovery of his son’s awfully sudden death.

Nothing that has subsequently been published on the subject has,

in the slightest degree, altered our opinion as to the cause of death. We believe that Dr. Franck's son died suddenly, and it is quite reasonable to imagine that during the excitement and anguish which would necessarily arise on its discovery, the wretched father, in his anxiety to make the fact known in the hotel, and to obtain assistance, *either mistook, in the dark, the window for the door, and accidentally fell into the street, or, in a paroxysm of delirium, threw himself from the window.*

Is this an improbable occurrence? Dr. Hall, in an account of an examination he made of the body of the son some time after death and published in *The Lancet*, alleges that he discovered obvious marks of violence on the neck of the son; but are these alleged marks of finger-nails, detected some period after death, and subsequently to putrefaction having taken place, of any scientific value? We think not. If these marks had existed when Dr. Carter saw and examined the body, he certainly would have deposed to them when giving evidence at the Coroner's inquest. The hypothesis of sudden death is greatly strengthened by the important fact referred to in the subjoined extract from a letter written by a physician resident at Berlin:—

“Hermann Franck lived in high life, and in easy circumstances. By a long sojourn in England, France, and Italy, he had acquired a profound knowledge of the treasures of art and literature of those countries. He is well known as a public character with us; he was a man of kind feelings and the most refined education—beloved and esteemed by Varnhagen Von Ense, by Humboldt, by Bunsen, an intimate friend of Felix Mendelssohn, and of my brother.

*“The early death of his wife had made him look upon his son as the only earthly blessing left to him. He loved, he adored the youth; he watched him with anxiety, because the boy, being the very image of his mother, who suddenly died from a disease of the heart, showed apparent symptoms of that disease.*

“What is now more likely to be supposed, but that the youth, excited by the decisive events of the last days, died by a similar disease? Who can think, in this case, of suicide of the boy, which, indeed, is not admitted by the surgeon at the inquest; or of murder, which the coroner declined to believe, and the jury did not think proper to decide upon?

“The corpse of the youth lay in bed like a sleeping one. The handkerchief round his neck was not drawn tight enough to produce death. It is to be regretted that in the English reports nothing is to be found respecting the dissection of the body.

“The frightful aspect of his destroyed son drove the poor father to despair, and he finished his life by throwing himself out of the window.”

The Coroner has been greatly censured for neglecting to order a post-mortem examination of the body. In order to ascertain the cause of death under the suspicious circumstances accompanying the decease of Dr. Franck, a searching post-mortem examination should have been instituted into the state of the heart and brain, and the contents of the stomach ought to have been subjected to a chemical analysis, with the view of ascertaining whether poison had been

taken. A case of this grave importance should not have been left enshrouded in doubt and mystery, when the scalpel of the morbid anatomist could so easily have solved the question as to the true cause of death.

It was our intention to print in detail the report of the important trial to which the subjoined criticism refers, but want of space compels us to abandon the idea. The animadversions of our able and acute contemporary, *The Lancet*, are so pertinent and just, that we should only weaken the case if we were to add any comment of our own on the subject.

"A recent case, heard before Mr. Justice Erle, strikingly exemplifies the confusion that reigns in our legal treatment of insanity. A man possessed with the belief that his wife's children were not his own, but begotten by a clergyman, threatened repeatedly that he would shoot the latter in his pulpit. Nor was his threat an unmeaning one. He went to the church, provided with percussion-caps, Minié balls, and, as he thought, a Minié pistol in a bag; but he had by a fortunate mistake taken up the wrong—or we ought rather to say the right—bag, leaving behind at his hotel that which contained the pistol. That he was acting under an insane delusion—that there was no ground for his belief, is fully admitted. The clergyman very properly applies to the law for protection. Mr. Justice Erle expounds the law, and the result is this: The Judge starts by saying that the defendant is evidently '*more diseased than guilty*;' but since he is not proved to have more than *this one delusion*, it would not be right to take him away from his wife and family, or to restrain his liberty; he *therefore* decides that this man, more diseased than guilty, is to enter into his own recognizances to keep the peace towards the clergyman whom he had sought to shoot in his pulpit! and *if he should threaten again*, that he should be brought before the Court to receive judgment!!

"Will he *threaten* again? Is not it quite as probable that he will carry his design into execution without saying a word more about it? Mr. Justice Erle, no doubt, thinks he will not; for Mr. Justice Erle is of opinion that, although the defendant was more diseased than guilty, his disease was so essentially a moral and not a physical one, that it was to be cured by a judicial admonition administered from the bench! His lordship solemnly appealed to the delusionist to dismiss his delusion from his mind, and not to threaten or molest the clergyman any more. We sincerely hope, for the clergyman's sake, that this admonition will have a curative effect; and if it should, it will then become a question calling for the most serious consideration, whether Mr. Justice Erle should not receive her Majesty's commission to visit all the lunatic asylums, to administer judicial exhortations to madmen to give up their delusions—in short, to order them to cure themselves, and on the strength of their assurances and recognizances to discharge them! But we fear it may happen that this admonition may not prove curative, and that the next intimation of the persistence of the defendant's delusion may be the homicide of its object.

"What will be the logical conclusion from this issue of the practice of treating insanity in courts of justice? The madman will of course be put upon his trial for murder. We will suppose that Mr. Justice Erle is again his judge. What will be his lordship's judgment when he finds that his admonition has failed? Will he still regard him as guilty as well as diseased? Will he punish the guilt notwithstanding the disease? Will he sentence him to be hanged? Or will he try the effect of another admonition? Or will he, taught by his little success in the cure of insanity, regard the disease as the cause of the homicide,



that this causation excludes the idea of guilt, and come to the conclusion that the physician would do more good than hangman or judge?

"Yet this case is but the practical application of the views advocated by Dr. Mayo, which confound insanity and sin, by maintaining the possibility of their simultaneous existence in the same person, by making the man more diseased than guilty responsible alike for his disease and its consequences. It was this doctrine that led to the judicial murder of Buranelli, and which, if carried out logically, will in all likelihood end in the homicide of a clergyman and the legal murder of another madman."

With the preceding able comments upon a case having an important medico-legal bearing we close our first Quarterly Psychological Retrospect. There were other topics of deep psychological import to which it was our intention to have adverted, but the Retrospect, having already considerably exceeded the prescribed limits, must be brought to a conclusion. We hope for the future to make this department of the Journal one of its most important and interesting features. It will be our object to collect from various sources, foreign as well as British, the salient facts which, according to our judgment, may be considered illustrative of the psychological history of the times. In this busy world, and during the eventful epoch in which we live, events of an important nature are daily occurring necessarily involving in their consideration and discussion questions of a psychological character. These matters will constitute in the main the basis of our future Quarterly Psychological Retrospect.

23, Cavendish Square,  
January 1, 1856.

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## *Psychological Quarterly Retrospect.*

[BY THE EDITOR.]

THE preceding quarter has been replete with important psychological data. We have endeavoured to seize upon some of the more important salient points, with a view of permanently placing them upon record in this department of the journal, as illustrations of the social, moral, and religious progress of the age. The subject of crime, as a type of epidemic disorder, is fully considered in another part of the *Psychological Journal*. To this elaborate article we earnestly direct the attention of our readers. The subject is one of deep and philosophic interest.

During the preceding quarter the much-vexed question of capital punishment has again been brought under public notice and discussion, by Mr. Bright, in an able and spirited speech, recently delivered by that honourable gentleman to his Manchester constituents. He states the grievance of those who oppose the punishment of death with his usual acuteness, sagacity, and vigour of illustration. We must, however, confess that we are not made a convert to his opinions. What other punishment could be substituted in lieu of the gallows for the crime of murder at all calculated to protect society? We have uniformly expressed strong opinions against all undue severity of punishment, and have never failed to protest against the existing inequality between certain criminal offences and the punishment generally awarded for their commission; but for the crime of murder, what punishment short of death upon the scaffold would meet the exigencies of the case? But let Mr. Bright speak for himself.

"If I meet with a man who argues in favour of hanging, and listen to his conversation, I find that he uses exactly the same arguments that were used thirty years ago in favour of hanging for all those offences that Mr. Dymond has described. I remember reading a speech of Sir Fowell Buxton's in the House of Commons, in which he said that if a young man murdered his grandfather, or if he cut down a young tree, then the law imposed just the same penalty for each offence. Some years ago, more than 200 offences were punishable with death. A bloody and a horrible system of law grew up chiefly since the Revolution of 1688; and during the time the present family have been on the throne of this country—and we have been under the government of an aristocracy assumed to be very enlightened, and a Government much more free than we had before that Revolution—more than 200 offences, such as the stealing of a fowl, or of 5s. worth out of a shop, were punishable with death. Only conceive how perverted men's minds must have become by this common custom of hanging to tolerate such things. I recollect hearing of the case of a woman whose husband had been kidnapped by the pressgang, and she stole

something from a shop in Ludgate-hill. Well, for the sake of example, and to preserve the property of Ludgate-hill shopkeepers, she was hanged, and nobody at that time was shocked at the matter. I have read the memoirs of Elizabeth Fry—an excellent person, whom I consider it a happiness that I have been acquainted with—in which she describes that for the issuing of a bad half-crown, or a bad pound-note, persons were in Newgate in great numbers; and out of twenty or thirty convicted, the custom was to select a certain number—three or four, or eight or ten—and doom them to the gallows. This was common—at that time almost every week, in London—and the people passed by Newgate every week, and saw human beings strung up, swinging in the breeze, and separated after the execution; and the great statesmen of that generation never asked scarcely whether this horrible custom might not be mitigated or abolished. The world, however, was not all in that darkness. There was one country in the world where the law was not so brutal,—a great country on the other side of the Atlantic, springing up from colonies founded by ourselves. In the year 1675, William Penn founded the state of Pennsylvania—that is, in the reign of Charles II. Consider how long ago that is. Now we are accustomed to fancy that we have made prodigious strides in science and everything else since that time; but when William Penn drew up the laws of Pennsylvania, assisted by the great and good men who were his helpers, they did not carry with them the 200 capital offences we had here, but struck them all out, with the exception of one, that being the one we are now chiefly discussing—namely, capital punishment for murder. They retained that punishment for only aggravated cases of murder; and Penn is understood to have retained it only in deference to the wishes of others, and not from any belief in its necessity or propriety. The State of Pennsylvania is now a great commonwealth, and during the whole of the time that has elapsed since its foundation, no person has been put to death in it for any crime save aggravated murder, and for even aggravated murder in extremely few cases. But your great statesmen that you read of in your histories—the men that shone in the House of Lords and the House of Commons—what were they doing then? Why, extending this law for scores of offences; and since William Penn's time, many thousands have been hanged in this country for offences that never were capitally punished in Pennsylvania, and for which the punishment of death has since been abolished without the slightest injury to any one. All these persons, if the law were as rational as it was in Pennsylvania, would not have been executed, and I am satisfied that it would have been of enormous advantage to the country if it had been so, for it is impossible to bring a human being into a street, in front of several hundred persons, and hang him, with all the indignity that you would treat a dog with, without doing damage to the moral sense of every man and woman who shall gaze on that horrid spectacle. While such was the state of things in Pennsylvania—I take that merely as an example, for there are other countries I might mention—men were hanged in this country needlessly; and during all that period you had great authorities for what you did. I recollect dining in Dublin some few years ago, and sitting at table next to a judge on the Irish bench. I was discussing this question with him, and in the course of our conversation he said to me, 'Never take the opinions of judges on a question of that nature. They are accustomed to the thing. They are brought up to look upon it from a particular and peculiar point of view. If judges only had been consulted, you would probably still be hanging for horse stealing and sheep stealing, as you were a few years ago.' I am happy to say there are, and have been, of late years, not a few judges, and some of the highest in character and reputation, who have been quite willing that the punishment of death should be abolished; and we may expect that the experience they receive, if they are men of ordinary enlightenment, must bring them more and more to that conclusion. But governments do not like to part



with any power, and they do not like to part with any power over the lives of their subjects. For offences against the Sovereign or the State, look at the horrible punishment the law enacts. Hanging, cutting up, tearing out the heart, drawing, quartering, every description of cruelty, was, until within a very short time since, the law; and a portion of these horrors is still the law with regard to offences that go under the name of high treason. These persons don't examine this question. Politicians are quite willing to do nothing except what they are driven to, and to make their game of politics in things as they are, if the people do not force a change."

Mr. Bright much questions whether the punishment of death has at all diminished the crime of murder.

"One argument, and a most potent one, in convincing me that hanging was a blunder, is this; and I ask your attention to it for one moment. What we all want is, to make human life as secure as possible, and there are two modes by which it is proposed to effect it. One is by punishment by the law—the law hopes to deter and frighten men. The other is by inculcating everywhere a deep reverence for human life. Does anybody in England believe that human life is not more secure in England now than it was 100 or 200 years ago, when there was far more hanging than there is now? The reason why we feel more secure is because we know there is a less reckless, savage, and brutal character among all classes now than there was then; that there is more politeness, gentleness, courtesy, benevolence, and kindness of every description now than at former periods. There is a greater belief, arising from religious knowledge, that human life is a thing of infinite estimation in the eyes of the Creator, and it is this greater reverence for it which is the great and, I hope, the growing security for human life. I will assume—but I doubt it—that the practice of hanging men has the effect of deterring somebody, in some place, at some time, in some degree, from the crime of murder. How many do we save by reason of hanging, and how many are saved by reason of an increased reverence for human life? Don't you think that the reverence for human life that exists more or less in everybody, is a thousand times more effective in preventing murder than the fear of the gallows? But if it should happen that the system of hanging, however it may deter to some small extent, does to a great extent diminish the reverence for human life—don't you think that what it does in deterring is far less than what it does in destroying, by diminishing the sanctity of human life? I am perfectly certain—I know from my own feelings and from all human history—that participation in horror of any kind familiarizes the mind to it. Don't we know that when the news of the battle of the Alma was received, people shuddered when they read the account of the losses of that short but bloody battle? Don't you know that now we can read of losses far greater without being affected by them? It is so with everything of the kind, and so with public executions. That man who murdered his master in Drury-lane some time ago was a case in point. The very day that man was apprehended, I happened to be at the police-office in Westminster, where I went with a gentleman, now a member of the House of Commons, to give notice of a person who had run away with 200*l.* or 300*l.* belonging to him. In the office there was a policeman, more intelligent than many of that class, who addressed me by name. I asked, 'How do you know me?' 'I know you very well,' said he; 'have you never seen me in the lobby of the House of Commons?' 'Yes, I recollect you now,' I said, adding, 'You seem to have had some very bad cases latterly; I see a lad has committed a murder.' He said, 'Ay, sir, as long as there's hanging there will be murders.' I thought that this would have been excellent for a judge, and I wanted to know how he got to that conclusion. 'They don't care about it,' he said. 'Why, what did Weeks do (that was the name of the man who committed the murder)? He



went to see a man hanged at Newgate in the morning. He ran at half-past nine o'clock the same morning to see a woman hanged at Horsemonger-lane, and what he said was this, 'Why, it's nothing—it's but a kick, and it's over in a minute.'

But, as the Editor of the *Examiner* asks, how can Mr. Bright's theory of capital punishment be brought in harmony with his practice? "How is it that he is found a frequent applicant at the Home Office for the commutation of the sentence of death? If the convict thinks so little of the scaffold, and so much of the secondary punishment, how can Mr. Bright be so cruel as to use his influence and powers of persuasion to get the man subjected to the severer and more dreaded penalty? Surely the Home Secretary has henceforth a reply out of his own mouth for him. 'Why, Friend Bright, after all, no one knows better than you, who have profited by the experience of letter D No. 1, that it's only a kick.'

"Yes,' our friend would rejoin, 'it is only a kick, but it is a last kick, and no one likes to do anything, no matter how trifling, for the last time.'

The point in dispute in a great measure hangs upon this question—does the fear of death deter from the commission of capital offences? does it operate as an effective restraint upon the murderous propensities of others? That it does so to a certain degree there can be no doubt. Many a man is deterred from sacrificing human life, even under extreme provocation, and with certain stringent penalties and great severity of punishment staring him in the face, influenced solely by the love of life and the fear of suffering a painful and ignominious death upon the scaffold. There is a certain type of criminals, devoid of all moral sense, having neither the fear of God or man before their eyes, who, reckless of all consequences, commit the most atrocious crimes. No amount of ingenious torture, or certainty of punishment in perspective, would deter a particular class of criminals from the commission of capital offences. It is not, however, with small sections of society that legislation has to deal: the laws cannot be so framed as to mete out even-handed justice to exceptional cases. The criminal code must be general in its operation; and there can be no exemption from punishment, except in cases of clearly-established moral irresponsibility, associated with positive mental aberration. The Editor of the *Examiner* maintains that the chances in favour of the worst guilt, have increased, and are alarmingly increasing. He says:

"The technicalities of the law give the murderer his chances; the spurious sensibility of jurors and the crotchets of abolitionists give him his chances; and the influences which operate at the Home Office give him his chances. See how much he has to calculate upon. First, he may not be found out; secondly, if found out, he may not be convicted. Is there not a Wilkins at the bar, and may there not be a Quaker on the jury? Thirdly, if con-

victed, is there not a Home Office where a man with active friends may have his case brought under review with all the pleadings on the side of indulgence?—we use not the word mercy, for mercy regards the safety of the many, and will not expose them to danger to spare the guilty.

“The consequence of all this is, that criminal justice is affected with the very highest degree of uncertainty, and crime proportionately encouraged. A man who meditates murder now is not scared by the thought that the capital penalty follows the crime as its very shadow. *Il y a fagots et fagots.* There are murders and murders. There are discriminating penalties on the varieties. There is indulgence for murder without aggravating circumstances. Who knows till he has tried what will be considered aggravation, what not? It is all a lottery, and with few bad billets. The most select of all circles is now the halter. What a man must do to get hanged now-a-days is something prodigious. He has, as it were, to pass a competitive examination without parallel for difficulty. And for the deserving candidates their name is legion.”

The suggestive and demoralizing effect of *public* executions on the criminal population is a point entirely apart from the question of the abolition of capital punishment. The mischief resulting from public executions is undoubtedly great. The fact that so many thousands rush with eagerness to see a fellow-creature strangled to death is in itself sad and melancholy evidence of the existence, in a considerable portion of our population, of a very questionable state of moral sense. We subjoin the following account of a public execution in California, and ask our readers whether such a revolting spectacle was not calculated to demoralize the mind, vitiate the feelings, and harden the hearts of those who witnessed it?

“The execution of two men, named Crane and Free, took place recently in California, which was attended by upwards of 5,000 persons. The *Placerwell* gives the following account of the revolting affair:—‘At one o’clock, p.m., accompanied by Sheriff Carson and his assistants, the prisoners came forth and took their seats quite gaily in a waggon. Crane was elegantly dressed in a full summer suit of white—pants trimmed with blue, a blue sash, with rosette or star upon his breast, and looked and acted the perfect Kentucky gentleman. Free was also well dressed; light coat, trimmed with red; a red sash; black pants, trimmed with red; an elegant low-crowned black rowdy hat, which he wore a little to one side, and appeared not unlike an unconcerned jolly sailor. Arriving at the foot of the gallows, both ascended with a firm step to the platform. Free quite gaily (both being entirely unconfined) skipped upon the drop and round the platform, smiling upon the arrangement. They were now permitted to address the assemblage. Crane, in a very gentlemanly manner, and apparently without the slightest hesitation, read in a loud, firm voice his address. He seemed to regret nothing, except that he had not been permitted to take his own life long before; that he was soon to be with his beloved bride, but who the world called his murdered victim, and continued to speak for nearly twenty minutes. Free said he had concluded not to make any remarks, as it would only excite the people present, and stepped back from the edge of the scaffold. Calls from the crowd to go on! let us have it! brought him forward. He then said, ‘I’ll give you Micky Free’s scaffold song;’ commenced, but after singing three lines, stopped, saying, ‘Gentlemen, I can’t go through with it; you must excuse me.’ Crane came forward and commenced singing a hymn from

manuscript, probably of his own composition, in which Free heartily joined. They were clothed in the habiliments of the grave, and stepped upon the drop without the slightest apparent reluctance. The ropes were adjusted about their necks, a prayer offered up to the God of heaven and of earth for mercy on their souls, and with the 'Amen' fell the drop and the two murderers. The last words of Free were: 'Now, boys, see that this is done right.' Crane's last words were: 'Susan receive me; I will soon be with you.' Crane was tried and found guilty of the murder of Miss Susan M. Newenham, near Ringgold, El Dorado county. He shot her with a Colt's revolver. Free had, according to his confession, and the evidence adduced on his trial, led a long career of crime."

Let us turn from these disgusting details to a published account of a triple execution in Indiana. We place the facts upon record in order that they may form material for future psychological reflection. We live in an age of advancement—moral, social, religious, and political progression; and important facts like those just referred to may constitute *data* for grave legislative consideration:—

"Three men, named Rice, Driskill, and Stocking, were recently hung at Lafayette, Indiana; the scene is thus described in a local journal:—At twelve o'clock they were asked if they were ready for dinner. Rice replied, 'Yes; I am hungry.' Driskill said that he wanted 'a good old dinner, as it was the last;' he didn't 'want to die hungry.' He remarked to Rice, 'We'll get supper somewhere else, Abe.' The dinners were brought in and despatched with great heartiness. After dinner each of them in turn washed and dressed himself for the final moment. They could not have made their toilet with more deliberation and coolness if they had been going to a frolic. Driskill, when washing, remarked through the window, near which he was standing, to some one outside, that he was 'getting a good ready.' In putting on his shirt, Rice discovered that there was a button missing. Driskill told him to sew one on; Rice replied that he hadn't time. Driskill nonchalantly rejoined, that there was 'an hour yet!' He complimented Rice with looking 'd—d starchy.' Rice, as he finished, observed, 'Well, gentlemen, I reckon there never was a willinger soul to die than I am.' Stocking said nothing, but conducted himself (as he did throughout) with dignity and firmness. He was dressed in a blue frock coat, black cloth pants, black satin vest, boots, and hat, presenting a very respectable appearance. When he was done and his arms had been pinioned; he sat down on a bench and picked up a newspaper, which he composedly read until the preparations of the others were completed. Rice was dressed in two pairs of drawers, the outward pair being woollen knit and fitting close, and shoes. He wore neither coat nor vest. Driskill wore nothing but shirt, pants, and socks. Before they were led out to the scaffold, they passed around the cells and bid adieu to the other prisoners. Stocking presented one of them with some shirts and a handkerchief and hat, and to another a Bible and Prayer-book. He vouchsafed to them all a word of advice, telling them to avoid bad company and liquor, and to treat their parents, if they had any, well; he had never done justice to his. At two o'clock they were brought upon the scaffold, which, as we have previously described, was erected at the north-east window of the court-house. Some thirty or forty persons were within the enclosure. Rice, on entering, addressed them with 'How do you do, gentlemen?' and on recognising a number of acquaintance, called them up and shook hands with them. They were then asked by the sheriff if they had anything to say. They then each delivered an address, protesting their innocence, but stating they died willingly. The sheriff proceeded to adjust the fatal ropes. Rice requested that a stool which had been placed for his accommodation on the



scaffold might be removed, and on his request not being immediately complied with, he removed it himself. He then knelt down, inclined his head forward, remarking that he had 'seen men hung,' by which we understood that he regarded that as the proper position. Driskill on observing it, said, 'Abe, are you going to kneel?' Rice answered 'Yes.' He then turned to Stocking and said, 'Stock, which way is the easiest to die—kneel or stand? I want to die the easiest way.' Stocking replied that he should stand, unless there was danger of the rope breaking. The sheriff assured him there was no danger. He therefore stood up, but Driskill kneeled. The caps were then drawn over their faces, and at twenty-two minutes and a half after two o'clock the bolt was withdrawn, and the culprits lunched into eternity. None of them gave evidence of protracted suffering.'\*\*\*

Can scenes like these elevate the moral character of a nation? Are they not calculated to call into active exercise the most depraved and ferocious of human passions and instincts? It is a great, a fatal mistake, to imagine that the dross, the refuse of the population of great cities, that are usually found congregated in the immediate precincts of the scaffold, are at all elevated in the social scale by the sickening sight of a fellow-creature dangling in the convulsive agonies of death at the end of a rope. Such exhibitions, even when conducted with the greatest consideration for public feeling, only tend to brutalize the mind and paralyze the better aspirations of the heart. We subjoin a passage from the "History of a Wasted Life," that speaks trumpet-tongued on the subject:—

"I had been many hours on Waterloo-bridge. And now I discovered that passengers across it, going towards the Strand end, became frequent. Singly and in groups passed hurriedly by me hundreds of poorly-dressed men, women, boys, and girls—all pushing forward to one point. One would have imagined from their jokes, as they hurried by, that something mightily amusing was in prospect. I was not long in doubt as to what it really was.

"'Wonder wot he's doing on't now!' said one of the youths.

"'Tom 'll die game, I know,' remarked one of the girls. 'He's a regular brick. Lord! how he used to go and see the hangings hisself!'

"'Come along,' remarked another of the party, 'or we sha'n't get nigh the drop;' and the whole of them closely wrapping their rags about them, joined the eager crowds who were still hurrying towards, as I now knew, the Old Bailey, in which stands Newgate prison.

"I soon learned from the passers-by that a young man was to be executed within eight hours from that time—Monday is always the hanging day in London—and hence this unusual travel over the bridge at midnight.

"It was fine overhead, and though by no means partial to such sights, I resolved to go to the Old Bailey. In the bustle and excitement, I thought the dark hours would pass less wearily away, and so I followed, and made one of the multitude, which now, in dense masses, thronged up Ludgate-hill. . . .

"Six weeks before the period to which I am now especially alluding, I was compelled, in the exercise of my newspaper duties, to attend at the Old Bailey in order to furnish particulars of the execution of a woman. The wretched creature about to suffer had been a servant to an old lady in Westminster, whom she had strangled in order to procure a five-pound note—which note, after the crime was committed, the murderess discovered to be a counterfeit one.

"In order to have a good place, I secured a seat in the window of a public-

\* *Times*, Feb. 6, 1856.

house directly opposite the scaffold, for which I, or rather the proprietor of the journal, had to pay five shillings. At about an hour before the time of execution, then, I got with much difficulty through the crowd, and established myself in my position.

"I had not long been seated, when another individual entered the room. He, too, I saw, paid five shillings—a sum which I should not have thought, from his appearance, he could have at all afforded. He was a young man of apparently eighteen or nineteen years of age, and bore the appearance of a worker at the anvil. He had a low, sulky, hangdog sort of a look, his eyes were bloodshot, and a great heavy under jaw gave an animal expression to his countenance, and a short, thick, bull-neck, conferred on him quite the stamp of ferocity. A short black pipe was stuck in his mouth, and in his hand, as he entered, was a jug of 'dog's nose,' a compound of beer, gin, and nutmeg. This he set down on the sill of the open window, and then sprawling on a chair, he began whistling an air which was at that time remarkably popular among the ragamuffins and rascals of London.

"'Drink, mister,' said the blacksmith, pushing his jug towards me. The invitation, however, I respectfully declined, the consequence of which was, that I evidently sunk many degrees in the young fellow's estimation. He was glum and silent for some time, but at length he knocked the ashes from his pipe, and said:—

"'By —! only think of the girl's being scragged for a bad flimsy. Curious, now, aint it?'

"I said something or other, I forget what, and then he became quite communicative about the hangman; it was evidently a favourite topic of his.

"'I knows Calcraft well enough; I have smoked many's the pipe with him. He's a shoemaker up in the New North-road, just out of City-road. Meet 'im in the street, and he's dressed so spicy you'd take 'im for a reglar swell.'

"'Indeed,' I remarked.

"'Yes,' said he, 'a hout and houter.'

"'You seem fond of this sort of thing,' I hinted.

"'I just am, and no mistake. Vy, I ha'n't missed a hanging this five year —what d'ye think o' that, old feller?'

"Being on the spot myself just then, I could not with a very good grace say much in depreciation of his taste, so I held my tongue."

"It was positively awful to see how he gloated over the spectacle. As the moments flew he actually became impatient, and cursed the time that it did not fly faster—it was rapid enough for the poor victim within. When St. Sepulchre's bell commenced tolling eight, he leaned from the window, his eyes glaring with excitement, and his frame actually quivering with joyful anticipation. A cheer actually burst from his lips when the gaol-door opened, and the criminal, pinioned and pale, tottered forth. As his practised eye marked her emotion, he ground his teeth and cursed her for her 'want of pluck.'

"No sooner had the drop fallen, than he hurried from the room. I remained to pen my notes, and when I went down stairs half an hour after, the execution hunter was sitting, surrounded by a select circle of admiring listeners, to whom he was relating his hanging experience in general, and his impressions respecting the affair of that morning in particular. He was very much intoxicated, and, glad to escape his recognition, I hurried away.

"And now, reader, let me take up the thread of this narrative just where I snapped it a few moments ago.

"When I reached the end of the Old Bailey, on Ludgate-hill, the crowd became so dense that it was with the utmost difficulty I could force my way through the somewhat narrow street toward the well-known 'debtors'-door' of Newgate. All along the road to this place, the taverns were opened, and doing a thriving business. The gin-palaces were thronged, and coarse jukes



respecting the coming dreadful event were heard in all directions, for Hang-Monday was a holiday in the calendar of crime. It seemed that on this particular occasion, more than usual interest was felt in the criminal. He was an apprentice who had killed his master whilst intoxicated with drink and passion, and the crime had been perpetrated in the most daring manner, in the very heart of London. Thousands of apprentices swelled the mob, and most of them seemed to think that they were doing honour to Tom Wicks (for that was the victim's name) by attending his execution.

"Just as two o'clock sounded from the church steeples, a bustle was seen in front of the prison, and a huge wooden machine was drawn out from the great doors. Men then began to work by the light of torches, and yell after yell of savage satisfaction was heard as the different portions of the scaffold were put together. And (will it be believed?) when the upright and the cross-beam, constituting the gallows, were raised and fixed, one huzza burst from the crowd. Some women, with children in their arms, indeed, shuddered and turned pale; but the jeers of their brutal companions speedily banished all feeling, and they became as fierce and foul as others. Many of the persons present had come provided with bottles of spirits, and whenever a poor, shivering infant wailed or wept with cold, or screamed from the pain caused by pressure, it was dosed into quiet by gin. And fearful was it to see how those infants sucked in the poison—that poison which caused the gibbet to be erected, and which, in the fog and mist, loomed up before the eyes of men and women who, even then, were preparing for it new victims.

"Three—four—five o'clock; and the crowd became terrific. I stood close to the barriers, and at times the pressure of the enormous host behind me was fearful. At length, by a mighty wave, as it were, of that sea of humanity, I was dashed forward, taken off my feet, and borne I know not whither. Instinctively I clutched at a lamp-post as I was being carried past it, and holding firmly on, the current swept by, and left me safe in an elevated position.

"At length seven o'clock came, and with it the grey light of morning; and what a spectacle did that light reveal! Not a spot within sight but was covered with haggard, anxious, staring humanity; and all in that crowd had come to see a fellow-creature die in mortal agony. But none appeared awed; the very boys seemed to enjoy the scene.

"As the appointed hour—that of eight—drew nigh, still greater became the anxiety. At length the bell of St. Sepulchre's commenced tolling one—two—three—(cries of 'Hats off')—four—five—six—seven—eight.

"And before the last bell-note died away, the debtors' door opened, and the buzz of twenty thousand tongues died away into silence. Then came the doomed man forth, preceded by a clergyman, and followed by the executioner and other officials.

"From my raised position, I could, without any intervening obstacle, gaze on the criminal as he stood under the beam. Possessed with a horrible curiosity, I leaned forward as far as possible, and, just as the miserable wretch lifted his head to take a farewell glance at the world—his eyes met mine. I fancied he started—I knew he did—for we recognised each other.

"Another instant and the white cap was drawn over the pale, wild face; a dull "thud" was heard as the rope tightened, and the quivering form of the murderer dangled from the gallows.

"He was the very same young man who with me sat in the tavern opposite, but six weeks before, gazing on the gallows which had now terminated his existence. Strangely enough, too—from that very tavern he had rushed, whilst intoxicated, for the purpose of shooting his master in Drury Lane; and in that same tavern the officers of justice found him when they sought his capture a few hours afterwards."

We cannot altogether omit to refer to one singularly remarkable



and important sign of the social progress of the age, which has developed itself during the preceding quarter. The times certainly cannot be considered "out of joint," when a noble, wealthy Marchioness, of high and exalted descent, and educated in an ultra-political school, feels it to be her duty to leave the walks of private and domestic life, and assume the position of a public lecturer. It is not difficult to conceive what would have been the sentiments of the late Marquis, if he could have revisited the "pale glimpses of the moon," and have listened to the able address of the Dowager Marchioness of Londonderry, replete as it was with good sense, wisdom, generous, kind and liberal sentiments. During the delivery of this able address, which was particularly directed to the homely sympathies of her hearers, the Marchioness was interrupted by frequent manifestations of loud applause. At the termination of the speech, the audience rose in a body, and gave their fair and noble orator three hearty British cheers. The assembly consisted of nearly four thousand men, employed in her ladyship's collieries, on Chilton-moor. The entertainment consisted of a very liberal and substantial feast. A finer body of men than those three thousand sturdy pitmen who turned out at the bidding of their noble mistress could not have been assembled in any agricultural district in the kingdom. They all looked stout, well-fed, and merry; had clean, shining faces; were well clothed, and in intelligence were certainly superior to many working men who are conventionally looked upon as their superiors. The Earl Vane occupied the chair, and after the usual preliminaries, solicited, on behalf of his mother, the attention of the meeting for a few moments. Her ladyship, at first, spoke in a voice tremulous with emotion, but, as she warmed with the subject, her confidence in herself gained strength, and she proceeded with emphasis and marked feeling to address the meeting as follows:—

"My friends,—I have invited you all to dinner to-day that we may become better acquainted—that you may hear from my own lips the assurance of the deep interest I feel in your welfare, and that I may have an opportunity of expressing the pride and satisfaction I have in presiding over so large a body of intelligent and well-conducted people. I have asked all in my employ to participate in this feast, and I bid you a friendly welcome. But I address myself principally to the pitmen, many of whose fathers worked under my ancestors. It is pleasing to trace back this bond of union, which I fondly hope may extend to the next generation, and that their children may continue to serve under mine. I regret that since the management of these great concerns has devolved on me I have not had health or strength to visit you underground as I could have wished. Indeed, I have never been able to persuade Mr. Elliot to promise to take me down, and I am afraid I should not succeed in finding my way alone. But I hope nevertheless, I may be permitted to say without vanity or presumption, that no colliers are more carefully looked after. Your comforts, your homes, and your schools, have been anxiously watched over. The latter have long enjoyed a proud pre-eminence; and although I have refused to place them under Government inspection and supervision, I know that they are well

managed, and it is your own fault if you take your children away too soon and thus deprive them of the benefit of the good education that is provided for them. You well know how necessary that is for success in after life. We need not travel beyond the precincts of this building for instances of persons who have been the architects of their own fortune. It is the pride and boast of your head viewer that he was reared and nursed a boy in these pits, and it must be encouraging to look around this great mining country and see the many instances of men who have won their way to wealth and fame by labour and perseverance. On the other hand, I am proud to say you have set an example to the whole trade. You were the first to return to the old-fashioned system of 'binding,' and you have worked on steadily when the men in adjoining collieries were on the strike. You have seen them turned out of their homes—their furniture lying on the roads, and they and their belongings seeking shelter, while you have been comfortable by your own hearths in your peaceful homes, enjoying the reward of honest industry. Long may this happy state continue, and may you ever feel how much your interests are entwined with those of your employer. It is a subject of great thankfulness that these collieries have been for some time spared and exempt from any serious accident. Casualties will sometimes occur, notwithstanding all the precaution and vigilance of overmen and your viewers. And here let me endeavour to impress strongly upon your minds how much depends on your own prudence and care. I would I could find words or had eloquence to make this warning emphatic, for, I regret to say, the reports I receive of recklessness fill me with pain and alarm, and I know that Mr. Elliot has lately had occasion to visit most severely some fearful instances of negligence with the safety-lamp, that might have caused the most terrific results. You see that, although I have not been down, I am well informed of what passes below. You are all aware of the circumstances I allude to, and that those careless people have been punished, some by law, some by dismissal. Let me implore, I beseech you, that you will be careful and watchful, and remember, each of you, that not only your own lives, but those of hundreds, hang upon a thread—the gauze of your lamps—the shutting or the opening of a door. And while I ask for God's blessing on your undertaking, fail not to do all in your humble power to deserve it. I advise you to frequent and support your reading rooms, your mechanics' institutions, your temperance societies, and to avoid the public-house—to be orderly, industrious, and religious. I speak not of men's creeds,—they rest between man and his Maker. Nor do I presume to dictate on this momentous subject beyond expressing my anxious hope that you will hallow the Sabbath, and each attend your own place of worship. That duty paid, you will better enjoy the rest and recreation the Sunday afternoon should bring for yourselves and your families. (Cheers.) As a friend of religious liberty, I have not refused sites for chapels of different persuasions, where the numbers have justified my doing so, and I hope, in a few months, the church at New Seaham will be finished and available for the mining population residing there. I wish you were nearer to Wynward, which was lately visited by 600 members of the Stockton Mechanics' Institute, who applied to me for permission to see the house. They expressed themselves highly gratified, and were most orderly, quiet, respectable, and well-conducted. And now, my friends, I will not detain you longer than to tell you how much pleasure it has given me to see you all here, and to express my hope that you will remember and heed my words. I feel deeply the responsibility of my position, and I have thought it right to advise and counsel you to the best of my humble power; and I hope that while I am permitted to preside over you, we may each, individually and collectively, continue to endeavour to do our duty in that state of life to which it has pleased God to call us."

It is not our intention to consider, in this part of our journal, the

many important points involved in the disputed question relative to the strictly religious observance of the Sunday. We may on a future occasion discuss this matter in detail. We now only allude to the subject with a view of quoting an extract from a beautiful Latin poem, published by his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, when a scholar of Eton, in 1798, upon the words, *Parvus Deorum cultor et Etonensis*. This poem has recently been published in a fasciculus of "Musæ Etonenses," by the learned Provost of King's College, Cambridge. The poem is a bucolic, in which two parties, Mopsus and Amyntas, respectively advocate the duty and ridicule the superstition of religious observances on the Sunday. The passage referred to deserves to be permanently placed upon record:—

" MOPSUS.

" Non equidem invides : audivi quod in urbe profanis,  
Tunc quoque, cum meliora audire et discere fas est,  
Luditur ac bibitur : choreis epulisque vacantes  
Vel proceres, aiunt (at vix ego credulus) ipsos  
Septima lux frustra vocat ad delubra ! Quis olim  
Proteget heu miseros, si sint ea vera, Britannos ?  
Ast egomet grates refero, si videt agellus ;  
Sui, auctore Deo, cadit adversissimus annus,  
Ut modo, cum thalami consortem Baucida febris  
Abripuit, geminosque mihi contagia tauros,  
Non queror impatiens, spero at meliora precorque.  
Ast alii potius taurivi, vel altera conjux  
Ante diem pereat, quam flectere genera negantem  
Ludentemve notent redeuntia Sabbata Mopsam !  
Nam, si forte greges, hac luce aut jugera curo,  
Nescio quid sub corde dolet, nec tristius angor,  
Cum ruit infestus mediis in messibus imber."\*

At the recent Reading Assizes, a boy of twelve was indicted for murdering a boy four years old. The boys had been seen together, cutting furze, and the body of the younger one was found in a pit. On being questioned, the elder boy, who had gone home and behaved as though nothing whatever unusual had occurred, very coolly denied having seen the other, or having had anything to do with the matter : spoke of him as "a poor little fellow whom he knew very well, and was very sorry for;" adding, that he must be a very hard-hearted man who could so knock about the head of such a child. On finding that there was evidence to prove some of his statements false, he changed his tactics, and said that while he was cutting the furze the bill-hook came off the handle and struck the child, and that he became so frightened at what he had done that he killed him. This version Baron Bramwell and the jury appear to have kindly accepted, and the boy was acquitted ! The Judge did indeed go so far as to give

\* *The Churchman.*



him an admonition, telling him that whenever any accident happened to us it was always best to go and confess it, and not seek to cover it by doing worse things, &c. &c. Not a single witness to character was called, and a local paper intimates that such witnesses would not have promoted an acquittal. Why the boy should not have been indicted also for manslaughter, on his own version of the case, we cannot comprehend, for we suspect that his acquittal was mainly owing to the reluctance to condemn so young a boy to death. On the acquittal being known in the locality of the murder, a crowd of persons assembled at the railway station to meet the young murderer—for such we have no doubt that he is—and it was with difficulty that he could get home. The crowd then gathered round the cottage, broke the door and windows, and would have proceeded to further violence had not the father come out and promised that he should be removed out of the parish by daybreak. This satisfied them, and the promise was fulfilled by the boy proceeding to a neighbouring town or village; but we believe that he was ejected from that place also, and is about to be “sent to sea.” Was not this boy known to his neighbours as one quite capable of such a crime? If not, would they have acted thus? The only mystery in the matter is the motive for such a crime, and of this no explanation is given.

There have been many strange rumours afloat, both in Paris and London, relative to the mental condition of the late Emperor of Russia. The Paris correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* relates the particulars of a ghostly “warning” that the late Czar is said to have had in 1854. The statement is a curious and interesting one; and, without vouching for its authenticity, we lay it before our readers:—

“Towards the last days of January, 1854, (my informant being then at the French embassy in St. Petersburg,) a most extraordinary story was whispered about in the *salons* of the Russian capital, and was to the effect that the Czar Nicholas, alone in his study, saw all at once before him a monk of gigantic stature, of whom instantly the Emperor asked, ‘what he wanted.’ The monk said he wanted to talk with the Czar upon the war he was about to rush into. The Czar said that was not his business; whereto the monk answered, ‘I have come to warn you. Remember this: if you are really undertaking this war for pure motives, and for the glory of the orthodox Church, you will succeed; but, if not—if you are obeying the dictates of your ambition, you will fail; and not only will your armies be vanquished, *but you yourself will come to an untimely end before the close of the war!*’ The Czar, exasperated, rushed at the monk, and called the guards from the waiting-room. The guards came in, and found the Czar clutching at thin air, and apparently in a great rage, and constantly calling out to them—‘The monk! the monk! who among you has seen the monk? Stop him! prevent him from escaping.’ Here was the history as it circulated stealthily in the *salons* of St. Petersburg, in the last days of January, 1854.”

The melancholy suicide of Mr. John Sadleir, M.P. for Sligo, has cast a dark cloud over the metropolis, and has afforded material for

much newspaper comment and animadversion. It seems that the deceased was at his club up till half-past ten on Saturday night, at which hour he returned home to his residence, 11, Gloucester-square. At the club his friends observed nothing strange in his manner, and when he arrived home he seemed in his usual state of mind. He then ordered coffee; and as he required nothing further, the servants, as was usual with them at that hour, retired to rest, leaving their master up drinking his coffee. Whether he went out immediately after partaking of the coffee, or remained in until early the following morning, and then strolled up to Hampstead, no one can say; but it is clearly certain that he did not go to bed that night, as his bed was found undisturbed the following (Sunday) morning, and when the servants got up they found their master absent. It seems that he was in the habit frequently of staying several days at Hampstead, his friends stating that he invariably resided at Jack Straw's Castle Tavern.

When the deceased was found he was lying, as if asleep, on a small mound, which he had evidently picked out for the occasion, and a silver cup, together with a large-sized bottle, marked with several labels, "Poison," by his side. Life had been extinct some time, although the body was then warm. Inspector Green had the body removed to the workhouse, and, upon examining the deceased's pockets, he found a small slip of paper, on which was written, in a clear bold hand, "John Sadleir, 11, Gloucester-square, Hyde Park." There was also some money in gold and notes in the deceased's pockets, as also a case containing two razors, and several lumps of loaf-sugar, which the deceased, no doubt, contemplated taking the poison in. Inspector Green, through the slip of paper alluded to, was at once enabled to send to town and have the deceased identified, the writing on the paper being recognised as his own; so that the ill-fated gentleman must have prepared it with the express intention of its being the means of leading to his identification. The silver cup was also immediately recognised as the deceased's own property, through its bearing his crest, a "lion rampant." The dispenser's name and address was on the bottle, "John Maitland, 10, Chesterfield-terrace, Hyde Park-square;" and Inspector Green has been enabled to ascertain that the deceased sent to Mr. Maitland a written communication by his maid-servant, who brought the bottle containing the poison back to her master on the Saturday evening. The servant believes that a sovereign was paid for the poison, so that there is little doubt but that the bottle was full when supplied by Mr. Maitland. The deceased was a bachelor.

The extent of frauds and forgeries committed by the late Mr. John

Sadleir has not been ascertained; but there is every reason to believe that it will not be much under 1,000,000*l*.

It has already been ascertained that Mr. Sadleir had forged no fewer than 50,000 Royal Swedish Railway Company's shares and obligations for 5*l*. each, on which large sums of money were raised. This forgery alone is to the nominal sum of 250,000*l*. It is not yet known what amount he was able to raise on the shares and obligations.

In addition to these forgeries, there are forgeries of several deeds and mortgages of estates in Ireland. As regards these, however, the extent is not yet known.

The boldest and most daring forgeries of all are those which relate to deeds for the purchase of property in the Encumbered Estates' Court of Ireland. These forged deeds purport to bear the signatures of the commissioners, the registrar, the chief clerk, the solicitors in the various causes, and the commissioners' seal. The extent to which this class of forgeries has been committed may be inferred from the fact, that the stamp duty alone on the deeds amounted to several hundreds of pounds.

A considerable number of forgeries on private individuals have been discovered, and there is every reason to believe that others yet remain to be ascertained. Those which have been detected are supposed to amount to nearly 100,000*l*.

In addition to the classes of forgeries already enumerated, Mr. Sadleir has been guilty of the assignment of deeds, held in trust by him, to an enormous amount.

The drafts of all the forged deeds and mortgages are in Mr. Sadleir's own handwriting. The forgeries of signatures are, in every case, remarkably successful. Those of the Encumbered Estates' Commissioners are said to be so perfect that the most experienced eye could not detect the forged deeds from the genuine.

The act of self-destruction was, it is believed, precipitated by the circumstance of one of the holders of deeds relative to the purchase of one of the encumbered estates, an attorney in this country, who had advanced 10,000*l*. to Mr. Sadleir, having just gone over to Ireland with his solicitor for the purpose of getting the deed registered. Mr. Sadleir endeavoured to frustrate the intention of the party, but failed. Hence, it is presumed, the commission of suicide at the particular time it took place—longer concealment of his crimes being seen to be impossible.

On Saturday afternoon, at five o'clock, Mr. Sadleir met a large speculator in the City, Mr. \* \* \* \*, it is said, as he was in the act of starting for home. He shook his City friend cordially by the hand,



and said to him cheerfully on parting, "Good bye; I am going to make a long journey, and we may not meet for some time."

It has been forcibly observed by a contemporary, that the "last scene of Mr. Sadleir's life was in keeping with his whole career. As he stood alone in the darkness of the midnight hour upon that solitary heath, at the portals of eternity, and saw the world for which he had sacrificed so much shrivel up like a parched scroll, the agony of the moment must have been too bitter to imagine. At the same time, it may truly be said of John Sadleir, that nothing in his life became him so much as leaving it. He perished in his prime, a criminal of the first magnitude,

"And left a name at which the world grows pale,  
To point a moral and adorn a tale."

At the coroner's inquest the jury unanimously recorded a verdict of *felo-de-se*. Mr. Wakley's address on the occasion was marked by his usual good sense, shrewdness, ability, and eloquence. The question involved is one of such deep interest to the psychologist that we should ill discharge our duty if we omitted to place a full report of Mr. Wakley's masterly charge to the jury before our readers. After recapitulating the salient facts of the case, and referring to the mischief resulting from the common practice of returning verdicts of insanity, as "a matter of course," in every case of suicide, Mr. Wakley observes:

"The practice has this pernicious effect,—that jurymen, getting into the habit of returning such verdicts in cases where there are no crimes apparently charged, subsequently have to go to the Old Bailey and try cases of murder, and recollecting on what slight grounds they have returned verdicts of insanity before, every now and then, by this practice, the worst of criminals altogether escape the hands of justice, and the real madman gets executed. Nothing, therefore, can be more unfortunate than such investigations as to the state of mind of the person who commits the act of self-destruction. Mr. Manning has alluded to an issue directed by the Court of Chancery. I am not at all sorry that he has done so. Because, what happens? There are twenty-four intelligent jurymen, eight or ten medical practitioners, six or eight remarkably clever counsel, and sometimes half a dozen solicitors. They sit from day to day, conduct their investigation with the utmost assiduity, inquire into the state of mind of the party who is before them. By the ingenuity of counsel, the brain of the party is, as it were, rasped for the purpose of ascertaining its quality. Questions of the most searching character are put to the individual who is supposed to be insane. His manner is observed. The catenation of his ideas or the breaches in the links of the chain of connexion of his ideas are looked into. But in such cases the jury have the opportunity of seeing and hearing all that transpires in relation to the individual. They can exercise their own sense by observing his conduct, and the concretions of his mind. They also hear the elaborate opinions of medical men. And what frequently is the result? Why, at the end of the inquiry, four or five medical men believe the party to be sane, and four or five believe him to be insane. The counsel entertain the opinions which they did when the inquiry commenced, and there is only a very small majority of the jury on one side of the question.

If that be the condition of a court inquiring into the state of mind of a person in their presence, what is our condition when an individual has entirely passed from us, and when we can only form an opinion from such fragments of evidence as he has left behind him? Mr. Manning has alluded to the consequences of your verdict. Now, I am bound to tell you, that you must not take the consequences of your verdict into consideration at all. If you do, you may be altogether misled, and not guided by the evidence. The inquiry and the verdict are legitimate, and are the limits of your duty, and you must not consider the consequences in coming to your decision. In going from the dead back to the living individual, we must begin with the last link in the chain of life, as far as it is before us in evidence. It appears that the last person who saw Mr. Sadleir alive was the butler, who says he left him at eleven o'clock at night, and that at a quarter to one in the morning he found three letters on the hall slab, two of them addressed to Mr. Keating and one to Mr. Norris. He then ascertained that Mr. Sadleir had taken his greatcoat and hat and left the house. After that time we are not aware that Mr. Sadleir was seen alive by any person that knew him. The butler says he had lived with Mr. Sadleir eighteen months—that he was a man of sober and frugal habits, very temperate indeed in his mode of living—that he only took a glass or two of wine at dinner, and that no wine was put upon the table afterwards. The truth is, that every person who knew Mr. Sadleir, was well aware that he was an exceedingly temperate man. I have sat in the same room with him myself, and it was scarcely possible to find a man of more moderate and rational habits in ordinary society. The butler states that during that eighteen months he had not known Mr. Sadleir attempt to commit suicide, or threaten to commit suicide, and that he had observed nothing peculiar in his manner during the whole period he lived with him; that he had observed no change in him within the last month, fortnight, or week. He stated that a few minutes before seven o'clock on the Saturday evening, Mr. Sadleir requested him to go to Mr. Maitland's for the essential oil of almonds, and that at nine o'clock Mr. Sadleir rang the bell and asked if that had come—and that he placed it by the side of Mr. Sadleir without Mr. Sadleir making any remark. It seems that during the evening the butler had noticed that Mr. Sadleir was more hurried in his manner than usual, and that having got into a cab on one occasion he ran back into the house again, and that on another occasion when a cab had crossed the square he came back and ran up stairs, but that usually he was a cold and self-possessed man. At a quarter to eleven Mr. Norris left Mr. Sadleir, having been with him about half an hour. Mr. Norris stated that he observed a redness about Mr. Sadleir's eyes as if he had been weeping, and that when he arrived Mr. Sadleir was walking about the room, which he said was a very unusual occurrence. Whilst Mr. Norris was with Mr. Sadleir a telegraph message was brought in from the Reform Club, to the following effect:—“Telegraph message from James Sadleir, Merrion-square, to John Sadleir, Reform Club, Pall-mall, London.—Dublin Station.—“All right at all the branches; only a few small things refused here. If from £20,000 to £30,000 over here on Monday morning, all is safe.” Probably at that time Mr. Sadleir knew the impossibility of remitting so large a sum of money. But it appears that the poison had been sent for three hours before the arrival of that message. It also appears from the evidence of Mr. Norris that he had been with Mr. Sadleir on the afternoon of that day at Mr. Gurney's office, and Mr. Norris stated that he was so impressed with the effects likely to be produced on the mind and feelings of Mr. Sadleir by the reverses he had met with, that he should not be surprised if he shot himself. That was the remark made by Mr. Norris in the course of the afternoon, and it showed that something had occurred to impress Mr. Norris's mind with the conviction that there was the possibility in that case of suicide. Now, after Mr. Norris left Mr.



Sadleir's house, at a quarter to eleven, the letters addressed to Mr. Keating and Mr. Norris appear to have been written. These letters therefore contain the latest evidence we have as to the condition of the unfortunate gentleman's mind. Mr. Manning says he would have you attach little importance to the declarations in these letters, but they are presented to you in the character of dying letters. Mr. Manning says, and says truly, that Mr. Sadleir might have been in a state of great depression of mind in consequence of the losses he had met with, and the disasters which had occurred. That might bring you to the consideration of the question, 'What is insanity?' It is not depression of spirits. Insanity is not remorse—insanity is not agony of mind. I am sorry to say there is not a single sentence on record which gives an accurate definition of what is insanity in the eye of the law, and I fear such a definition will never be given. It is a subject which has engaged the attention of some of the ablest thinkers who have ever lived, psychologists of the highest reputation; but the whole question is environed with difficulties in consequence of the chameleon character of the varieties of insanity, and the causes of insanity. The one are as numerous as the other. If insanity could be defined by the words grief, or sorrow, or remorse, or even despair, greatly as insanity exists now, it would exist then in a tenfold, a thousandfold greater degree. But what you have to look to with reference to the evidence is this. Do you believe that at the time Mr. Sadleir committed the act of self-destruction he was a responsible agent—in other words, that he was in such a condition of mind as made him morally and legally responsible for his actions? You have to ask yourselves this question, and you have to refer to the evidence for the answer you must give in recording your verdict. It is very much to be regretted that the subject is one of so much difficulty, especially as these inquiries have to be instituted. But I have always seen through my experience that jurors are disposed to lean to the side of mercy and humanity. It should, however, be borne in mind that if there be mercy and humanity with reference to the individual, the same thing refers more largely to society; and it is on this point that I think the practice of returning verdicts of insanity, and temporary insanity, where the evidence is slight, is operating most disastrously in this country in our criminal courts of justice, and I trust the day is not far distant when such a change will be made in the law as will entirely put an end to that practice. Now, you have before you in evidence the fact that Mr. Sadleir had sustained great losses, and in his own communications he states that he has committed great crimes."

Mr. Wakley then laid the following correspondence before the jury as important evidence of Mr. Sadleir's state of mind just prior to the commission of suicide:

"Saturday night.

"I cannot live; I have ruined too many. I cannot live and see their agony. I have committed abominable crimes, unknown to any human being; they will now appear to light, bringing my family and others to distress—causing to all shame and grief that they should have ever known me. I blame no one, but attribute all to my own infamous villany. . . . And hundreds of others are ruined by my villany. I could go through any torture as a punishment for my crimes. No torture could be too much for such crimes, but I cannot live to see the tortures I inflict upon others.—J. SADLEIR.—Telegraph to — and otherwise when you read."

"In that note all the sentences are accurately placed, and it does not betray the least confusion of ideas. Then comes the first note addressed to Mr. Keating:—



“‘DEAR ROBERT,—James sent me his title-deeds of the Coolmanack and Kilkonnell estates. I have not used these deeds in any way. I gave J. Gurney a letter from James, entrusted to me by him, which J. Gurney had sent to him. This letter cannot be acted on by J. Gurney without my brother’s express authority.

“‘R. Keating, Esq., M.P.’

“‘JOHN SADLEIR.

“‘February 16, 1856.

“‘T. Uzielli has a bank bill for 2000*l.*, on which nothing is due. It should be at once cancelled. If on Monday the bank is to be saved, 8200*l.* must be paid to the East Kent Railway for two orders—6200*l.* and 2000*l.* 2500*l.* must be paid into Glyn’s, to meet an order at sight issued to-day at Carrick. Gurney knows the orders falling due on Tuesday are all advanced, save the one for 6200*l.* in my favour.

“‘This must be taken up on Monday next, being advised. I cannot live.

“‘J. S.’

“‘When he concludes this note on all these matters of business, he says, ‘I cannot live.—J. S.’ His mind is not then in such a state of disturbance even as to create a confusion of ideas; but matters of business are accurately stated and represented to the gentleman whom he addressed. The next letter is also written to Mr. Keating. The hour is not stated, but it is one of the letters left on the hall slab:—

“‘1, Gloucester-terrace, Feb. 16, 1856.

“‘DEAR ROBERT,—To what infamy have I come, step by step, heaping crime upon crime! and now I find myself the author of numberless crimes of a diabolical character, and the cause of ruin, and misery, and disgrace to thousands—ay, of tens of thousands!

“‘Oh, how I feel for those on whom all this ruin must fall! I could bear all punishments, but I could never bear to witness the sufferings of those on whom I have brought such ruin. It must be better that I should not live.

“‘No one has been privy to my crimes. They sprang from my own cursed brain alone. I have swindled and deceived without the knowledge of any one. Stevens and Norris are both innocent, and have no knowledge of the fabrication of deeds and forgeries by me, and by which I have sought to go on in the honeyed hope of retrieving.

“‘It was a sad day for all when I came to London.

“‘I can give but little aid to unravel assets and transactions.

“‘There are serious questions as to my interest in the Grand Junction and other undertakings.

“‘Much will be lost to my creditors if these cases are not fairly treated.

“‘The Grand Junction, the East Kent, and the Swiss line, the Rome line, and the Coal Company, are all liable to be entirely lost now, so far as my assets are concerned.

“‘I authorize you to take possession of all my letters, papers, property, &c., in this house, and at Wilkinson’s, and at 18, Cannon-street.

“‘Return my brother his letters to me, and all other papers. The prayers of one so wicked could not avail, or I would seek to pray for those I leave after me, who will have to suffer agony, and all owing to my criminal acts.

“‘Oh, that I had never quitted Ireland! Oh, that I had resisted the first attempts to launch me into speculations!

“‘If I had had less talents of a worthless kind, and more firmness, I might have remained as I once was, honest and truthful, and I would have lived to see my dear father and mother in their old age. I weep, and weep now, but what can that avail?

‘J. SADLEIR.’

"Then comes the letter addressed to Mrs. James Sadleir :—

"James is not to blame. I alone have caused all this dreadful ruin.

"James was to me too fond a brother, but he is not to blame for being deceived and led astray by my diabolical acts.

"Be to him at this moment all the support you can.

"Oh, what would I not suffer with gladness to save those whom I have ruined!

"My end will prove, at least, that I was not callous to their agony."

"Now, in these letters, written at almost the last moment before Mr. Sadleir died, there is nothing inconsistent with the perfect retention of the reasoning and reflecting powers, and also the maintenance of a correct memory. At the same time, it is impossible not to know and feel that from the very manner in which the letters are expressed, he must have been suffering the most intense agony. The very act which he committed must of itself prove the mental suffering which drove him to such a measure of desperation. But still, again arises the question, was he in that state of mind which made him irresponsible—was he aware of the character of the act he was about to commit—was he driven to it by an uncontrollable impulse that entirely weighed down his reasoning and reflecting powers—or did he know perfectly well what he was doing, and had the power of controlling his actions, and of controlling them to such a degree as to make him responsible? These are the questions which you will have to answer by your verdict. In the examination of the bodies of persons who die from suicide, we generally wish the most careful research to be made into the state of the brain. That examination appears to have been made in this case by Mr. Nicholl, but it appears that no disease of the brain was found to exist, nor was any disease found in the membranes of the brain. There was a slight effusion at the base of the skull, but nothing to which any great consequence can be attached. There was no inflammatory action going on in the brain, although the membranes were rather more congested than usual. Mr. Nicholl found no sufficient disease to lead him to believe there was any malady affecting that organ. Sometimes in the heads of persons committing suicide, extensive disease is found, sufficient to account for insanity. Although disease was not found, disease to a slight extent may have existed, and it may have escaped observation in consequence of the peculiar texture of the brain itself. You will weigh everything which has been adduced in the shape of evidence—even the allusion to the opium. There can be no objection to your taking that into account. Mr. Nicholl believes that he found particles of opium in the stomach. But it does not appear that Mr. Sadleir had purchased opium, or that he was an opium eater, or had been affected by the use of that drug, and there was no indication of it in his manner on the Saturday night. But you will take all the evidence which has been adduced into your consideration. If you believe he was of unsound mind and was irresponsible for his actions—that he was so far driven by an impulse to commit the act, and committed no moral offence in so doing, you will say he was of unsound mind at the time he took the poison. But if, on the other hand, you believe he was of perfect memory and understanding at that time, and that he knew perfectly well what he was doing, and that he could have controlled his act if he had thought proper to do so, you can come to no other conclusion than that he committed murder, and murdered himself whilst in a sane state of mind. If you believe the contrary, you will say he was of an unsound state of mind. If you have any doubt on the subject, I would call on you to give his memory the benefit of that doubt; but if you have no doubt, it is impossible you can come to any other conclusion than that it was an act of self-murder.

"The jury then retired, and after an absence of about twenty minutes, re-

turned into court, when the Foreman said : We are of opinion that the deceased died by his own hand when he was in a perfectly sane state of mind.

"The Coroner : Are you unanimous ?

"The Foreman : We are unanimous.

"The Coroner : My own opinion is, after the most mature and deliberate consideration, that you could have come to no other conclusion.

"The inquisition was then signed in the usual manner, and the proceedings terminated."

It is much to be regretted that a verdict of *felo-de-se* should, in these enlightened times, be considered necessary in order to satisfy the demands of justice. In the case of Mr. Sadleir, we agree with Mr. Wakley, that there was no positive and conclusive evidence before the court to establish the insanity of the deceased. The jury might, however, have escaped from the difficulty, and have protected the bereaved family of this unhappy gentleman from further obloquy and disgrace, by adopting a common practice, of returning, what is termed, an *open verdict*. Verdicts of *felo-de-se* can lead to no good, satisfactory, or practical result.

We are but now re-echoing opinions expressed by ourselves in print sixteen years ago, at which period we thus record our sentiments in respect to verdicts of *felo-de-se* : \*

"The act of suicide ought not to be considered as a crime in the legal definition of the term. It is not an offence that can be deemed cognizable by the civil magistrate. It is to be considered a sinful and vicious action. To punish suicide as a crime is to commit a solecism in legislation. The unfortunate individual by the very act of suicide places himself beyond the vengeance of the law ; he has anticipated its operation ; he has rendered himself amenable to the highest tribunal, viz., that of his Creator ; no penal enactments, however stringent, can affect him. What is the operation of the law under these circumstances ? A verdict of *felo-de-se* is returned, and the innocent relations of the suicide are disgraced and branded with infamy, and that too on evidence of an *ex parte* nature. It is unjust, inhuman, unnatural, and unchristian, that the law should punish the innocent family of the man who, in a moment of frenzy, terminates his own miserable existence. It was clearly established, that before the alteration in the law respecting suicide, the fear of being buried in a cross-road, and having a stake driven through the body, had no beneficial effect in decreasing the number of suicides ; and the verdict of *felo-de-se*, now occasionally returned, is productive of no advantage whatever, and only injures the surviving relatives.

"When a man contemplates an outrage of the law, the fear of the punishment awarded for the offence may deter him from its commission ; but the unhappy person whose desperate circumstances impel him to sacrifice his own life can be influenced by no such fear. His whole mind is absorbed in the consideration of his own miseries, and he even cuts asunder those ties that ought to bind him closely and tenderly to the world he is about to leave. If an affectionate wife and endearing family have no influence in deterring a man from suicide, is it reasonable to suppose that he will be influenced by penal laws ?

"If the view which has been taken in this work of the cause of suicide be a correct one, no stronger argument can be urged for the impropriety of bringing the strong arm of the law to bear upon those who court a voluntary death. In

\* "The Anatomy of Suicide." One Vol. 8vo. By Forbes Winslow, M.D.



the majority of cases it will be found that some heavy calamity has fastened itself upon the mind, and the spirits have been extremely depressed. The individual loses all pleasure in society; hope vanishes, and despair renders life intolerable, and death an apparent relief. The evidence which is generally submitted to a coroner's jury is of necessity imperfect; and although the suicide may, to all appearances, be in possession of his right reason, and have exhibited at the moment of killing himself the greatest calmness, coolness, and self-possession, this would not justify the coroner or jury in concluding that derangement of mind was not present."

The verdict of *felo-de-se*, however, appears to have given general satisfaction, if we are to judge by the tone of the public press. We have only room for one extract on the subject, and that is from the *Christian Times*.

"The coroner's jury appointed to inquire into the circumstances under which John Sadleir met his death have returned a verdict of *felo-de-se*. The finding comes upon us with a startling effect, for verdicts of this stern character had become nearly obsolete. The spurious liberality, leading to a morbid humanity, which is the characteristic of our times, had rendered it almost a matter of course that, in cases of self-murder, the verdict of the coroner's jury should ascribe the act to 'temporary insanity.' We are glad that the Hampstead jury have taken a more manly view of the obligation imposed on them by their oath, and that they have not been deterred, by any fear of injuring the feelings of relatives or friends, from returning a verdict according to the evidence. We should be glad to regard this departure from the conventional and stereotyped form which has too long characterized verdicts in such cases, as symptomatic of a return to a more elevated standard of public morality, when men shall think more of duty and less of the consequences that may flow from its discharge.

"That John Sadleir took away his own life while in full possession of his mental faculties, will not, we think, be disputed by any one who read the evidence. Every circumstance attending the awful tragedy showed marks of forethought and deliberation. The stratagem practised to obtain the poison; the arranging his affairs, as far as such a hopelessly entangled web could be arranged; the selection of the scene of suicide, at a distance from the house which his brother's family and he jointly occupied, coupled with the precautions taken for the identification of his corpse; the feeble attempt to assert, even in that horrible hour, his position as a gentleman, by using a silver cream jug, out of which to drink the poison—a minute but significant stroke of character which throws all that Dickens has imagined into the shade;—all these tend to show that John Sadleir was of sound mind when he planned his own destruction, and retained his intellect till the last moment of carrying his fell purpose into effect. As this is the first case that has occurred for a long time where a jury has had moral courage enough to return such a verdict, so it must be added that there are few cases where every hypothesis of insanity has been more completely excluded. Every one who knew John Sadleir admits that he was a clever and active man of business, and the methodical habits which made him such a danger to himself and to others. Everything was scrupulously arranged; and it is affecting to observe that while so many matters of no moment were cared for and provided against, the same force of will was exercised in determinedly shutting out from view the more awful considerations of futurity.

"We would not, however, be understood to bear harshly on the memory of this wretched man. In truth, we have no heart to do so. Even the frauds he committed, gigantic as they are, lose their proportions when we contemplate the miserable tragedy to which they led. The letters which were written by

him give us some slight glimpses of the agony which racked his mind during the last night he spent on earth; but after all, how frail and feeble must those glimpses be compared with the dread reality! Who shall attempt to gauge the keenness of that remorse which gnawed him as he sat alone, at midnight, with all the memories of the past rising before him in such unnatural brightness as to darken with the blackness of despair every prospect for the future? Who shall attempt to delineate that rush of fearful fancies through his mind in his ghastly death-walk along the silent streets to the yet more lonely hill! There is nothing more terrible than to behold a human spirit thus caught in the meshes which its own guilt has woven round it, struggling desperately for escape, and struggling in vain. It is rarely we are permitted to see acted visibly, almost before our eyes, the moral retribution of guilt thus consummated in this world. Would we could hope that the lesson might be as lasting as it is impressive!

"This terrible tragedy will not have been enacted in vain, if it shall lead society back to the great moral truth, that neither wealth nor station are the great ends of life; that the aspirations of ill-regulated ambition are ever in opposition to the dictates both of Revelation and experience, which emphatically proclaim that man's life has to do with the lowly rather than the high, with the common and the familiar rather than the brilliant and the startling; that the battle-field where true glory is to be won, lies not in the broad and vulgar light of this world's applause, but deep down in the secret recesses of the heart, where the strife and the sweat, the agony and the victory, can be discovered by Him alone who has promised to all who overcome in secret, that He 'will reward them openly.'"

In relation to questions of *felo-de-se*, we would direct attention to the following unique and singular case of suicide. What do our readers think of this man's mental state? Was the verdict of "temporary insanity" justifiable? It constitutes a melancholy illustration of the state of mind occasionally known to precede the act of self-destruction. Cases of suicide have been committed by persons upon whose bodies, after death, letters have been found earnestly begging the coroner to repudiate all attempts on the part of the jury and family to record a verdict of insanity! They have been anxious to "die game," and to escape the stigma of lunacy and irresponsibility, so strangely constituted is the human mind!

"An inquest was held by Mr. W. S. Rutter, county coroner of Lancashire, on the body of Mr. John Hobler, aged twenty-one, a young gentleman of highly respectable connexions in London, who had been studying the profession of a machinist and tool-maker at the works of Messrs. Whitworth and Co., of Manchester. The deceased resided with Dr. Clay, of Manchester, a relative, and absented himself in the month of January, leaving letters behind him stating his intention to destroy himself. Of course his absence created much alarm and uneasiness, and his friends advertised him, and took measures, through the police, with a view to discover his retreat, but in this were unfortunately not successful. On Wednesday his dead body was discovered in a copse or plantation called Cheetham's Close, in Turton, near Bolton, near a road but little frequented; and, from the state of decomposition it was in, the body had probably been there for some weeks. An empty phial and wine-glass were found near the body, leading to the supposition that the unhappy gentleman had poisoned himself. The body was discovered by a boy in company with Mr. Kay, of Turton Tower, the owner of the property, while in



search of game. In one of deceased's pockets was found a letter with this address outside :—'The finder of this body, particularly addressed to the police, inquisitiveness being their misfortune.' The letter was as follows :—'*If they make it a case of temporary insanity, it will be so—on the part of the jury. Dearly beloved cove or coves, now that you have found this body, do not be an idiot or idiots, and get up an inquest to talk about what they know nothing about ; but somewhere in my pockets you will find 6d., with which get a gill. After that, stick my body in a hole somewhere. You need not read over it any service, as I read it myself before starting ; and by selling my clothes you will be able to pay yourself for your trouble. After which, go away : and above all things do not try to find out who I am, &c., as you will not be able, but do as I say, and the Lord reward you accordingly. Yours truly. The verdict must be that, in great consideration for some person or persons, he destroyed himself to save them the trouble.*' At the time the inquest was commenced the name of the deceased had not been ascertained, but Dr. Clay, of Manchester, afterwards identified the body, and the jury agreed to a verdict to the effect that the deceased had destroyed himself while labouring under temporary insanity. Dr. Clay stated that, before leaving Manchester, Mr. Hobler was in a low and desponding state of mind, brought on by over-study."\*

Mr. Sadleir's sad case has been made the subject of comment and animadversion, not only in the pulpit, but in the principal journals of the day. The *Times* has not remained silent. With its usual sagacity, power, and brilliancy of illustration, it has endeavoured to draw an important lesson from Mr. Sadleir's eventful history and melancholy death. The observations of the Editor deserve to be universally read, and seriously studied by all interested in the moral condition of the nation, and anxious to preserve intact the stability of society. The vice of the age is undoubtedly covetousness; a craving, insatiable, and morbid appetite to obtain the *maximum* amount of wealth at the *minimum* expenditure of labour. This has led to reckless speculation; and on the heels of speculation have followed inevitable ruin, disgrace, and often premature death! The philosophical remarks of the *Times* are so replete with material for serious and philosophical thought, that we make no apology for quoting them entire.

"Death is the last punishment which the justice of man can award to the greatest criminal. When the moment of enforced agony is over, and the guilty spirit is dismissed to the judgment-seat above, there is an end of all vindictiveness and all animosity. There must, however, be no confusion of the eternal difference between right and wrong—no maudlin palliation of great crimes, because the best among us have often tripped and sometimes sinned. Let us at least abhor vice if we do not always avoid it. Let us, indeed, be sterner critics upon ourselves than upon our fellow-creatures; but no false commiseration or complaisance should bind us to silence when a country is startled with a rumour of a great crime because the criminal has expiated his guilt by a violent death. Our readers must have already perceived that we are speaking of the suicide of John Sadleir. It is not for the purpose of denouncing the individual, nor of giving additional publicity to his disgrace, that these observations are intended. The fact of his violent and horrible death, and the history of his crimes, are already so notorious, that nothing we can say could

\* *The Times*, March 15th.



add to his dishonour. If we remark upon the tragical end of his career at all, it is as a protest against that fearful spirit of speculation which is the vice of our times; it is that others may see in his fate something akin to that which awaits themselves when they are driven to the end of their shifts and contrivances—when they have exhausted the suggestions of cunning and the resources of crime. The bankrupt's despair, the felon's cell, the cold bed of the suicide on the damp moor, must be reached at last, the fitting termination to a life only supported by the plunder and misery of others. John Sadleir does not stand alone in his guilt and in his shame. The criminal records of the last year can show the names of men who stood as high or higher in the world's eye, but of whom we now forbear to speak, from very pity for their fallen estate. Hundreds, we fear, of persons in this metropolis, and in the larger mercantile towns of the kingdom, are now engaged in the same perilous traffic. It needs but a reverse and an opportunity, and why should they hesitate to follow in the footsteps of the most keen-witted and unscrupulous of their predecessors?

“The proceedings of the adjourned coroner's inquest, which we publish this day, do not throw much additional light upon the nature of the embarrassments which drove John Sadleir to despair. Letters of his, written a few hours before he sallied out on his fatal expedition, were produced, but they inform us of little beyond what was already known. This is their general tenor:—‘I cannot live. I have ruined too many. I could not live and see their agony. I have committed diabolical crimes unknown to any human being. They will now appear, and bring my family and others to distress, shame, and grief that they should ever have known me. I blame no one, but attribute all to my own infamous villany.’ Such, as will be seen by our report of this day, is the general tenor of these letters, which are written in a spirit bordering on distraction. It is, however, sad to know that the self-accusations are not the mere suggestions of a diseased brain. It is true that the writer was guilty of diabolical crimes; it is true that he has swindled and forged to a fearful extent; it is to be feared—as he himself says—that he has been the cause of permanent misery to thousands of unoffending people. Let us not deceive ourselves, nor, out of false pity for the wretched author of all this sorrow, endeavour to palliate the atrocity of his acts. If the heinousness of crimes be measured by their consequences, the man who carries disaster, if not absolute ruin, into a hundred families, is stained with deeper guilt than the mere ruffian who attacks life. The report is that, when the full extent of his villainies is known, it will be found that, in one form or another, he has swindled the public to an amount little short of half a million. It would seem marvellous to those who have not been under the unfortunate necessity of watching the course of modern speculation, how a man who, probably, started in the world without any fortune at all, could involve himself and others to such an extent. In Sadleir's case, however, it must be considered that, independently of the ordinary resources of the speculator, he was enabled, from his official position, to commit many crimes without fear of immediate discovery, which another man could not have attempted without instant detection. It would be as yet premature to suggest any precise estimate as the limit of his defalcations. When a man is in a position to forge title-deeds, railway shares, and mortgages to an indefinite amount, there need be little limit to his operations. He is also charged with having fraudulently assigned away deeds held in trust by him to an enormous amount. As a forger, he seems to have been remarkably successful, and it is said that the signatures of the Irish Encumbered Estates' Commissioners have been so skilfully executed, that no one, however familiar with their handwriting, could distinguish between the forgeries and the genuine signatures. At the close of last week it was added that many forgeries on private individuals had been already made out, and that the discovery of many more was anticipated. On

the whole, this seems the greatest crash made by any single individual in recent times.

"We purposely avoid dealing with what may be called the 'picturesque' features of this remarkable case. We have no wish to dwell upon the despair of the detected forger, and his last ghastly walk to the heath where he was about to lay down his life. Burglary and murder have been made 'interesting' ere this, but let nothing of this kind be attempted now. We would wish to hear the crimes of John Sadleir spoken of with wholesome and universal abhorrence, but let even indignation spare his unhonoured grave; let there be no morbid dwelling upon the last scenes of his life nor upon his closing agony. He has already appeared at the bar of that Almighty Judge before whom we must all of us one day stand; to that tribunal let him be left. If words of ours would avail, we would deprecate all further and unnecessary prying into the secrets of the family even by the coroner and his jury. It is surely proved that John Sadleir died by his own hand, being unable to bear the shame of exposure and the consequence of his crimes. What has the public to do with the distracted letters addressed by the suicide to his relatives in the last moments of his career? One sentence from these contains the whole moral of his guilty life and tragical death:—'*Oh! that I had resisted the first attempts to launch me into speculation!*' There are many of the English public who would do well to lay seriously to heart the dying words of John Sadleir."

We place upon record the particulars of two other remarkable cases of suicide. In one case a man destroyed himself *by deliberately thrusting a red-hot poker down his throat*; and in the second instance a person precipitated himself, in a state of delirium, from the whispering-gallery of St. Paul's Cathedral!

"On the 23rd Dec., at ten o'clock, a man in the prime of life, but whose appearance betokened poverty and misery, entered the Grantham Arms, Dyer-street, Leeds, and having called for a pipe, sat down moodily by the fire. Two or three persons were sitting in the room, but the stranger was not heard to speak a word. After sitting thus for ten minutes the man put a poker into the fire, and, when it had become red hot, took it out and knocked it against the floor to remove any excrescence on it; he then deliberately put the red-hot end of the poker down his throat. The persons present caught hold of him, and, having removed the poker from his possession, bathed his mouth with warm water. The man was ultimately removed to the Mendicity Office, where every attention was shown him; and, in answer to inquiries as to the cause of the rash act, he only replied that it was a very foolish act, and he did not know what he was doing. His tongue, throat, and under lip were very much burnt, from the effects of which he died last Friday. The only information that can be gained about the deceased is, that his name is Thomas Barker, and that he came from Bolton, in Lancashire. An inquest was held on the body at the Court House on the 30th Dec., before Mr. John Blackburn, when a verdict was returned—'*That Thomas Barker died from the effect of the burns which he had wilfully inflicted on himself; but there was no evidence to satisfy the jury as to the state of his mind.*'"

"A person named Alexander Smart committed suicide by precipitating himself from the whispering-gallery of St. Paul's Cathedral into the nave, a distance of nearly 150 feet. The deceased had been a clock and watch maker, but had retired from business a considerable time, and had been residing with his wife at 4, South-street, Berkeley-square. After he had waited in the gallery until the clock struck twelve, he mounted the handrail of the gallery, gave three hysterical laughs, and cried out each time, 'Ah, ah, ah!' Two vergers, named



Thompson and Hutchins, who were both in the gallery, anticipating what he intended, rushed forward, but before they could get to the spot he had succeeded in jumping from the handrail and fell upon the stone flags which pave the nave. The warders ran to the spot, when they found deceased lying on the pavement of the church, quite insensible. Mr. Keating and another gentleman were sent for and promptly attended, but upon examining the body, they pronounced life to be extinct. The deceased had received compound fractures of the left shoulder, the legs and one arm were broken, the spinal cord was dislocated, and besides other injuries the head was beaten in by the fall. Upon the body of the deceased were found several pieces of paper bearing his own address, a sovereign, a five-shilling piece, one shilling, sixpence, and a letter addressed to a well-known nobleman. It appears that on a former occasion the deceased shot himself at the side of his head, but did not receive any mortal injury."

We are glad to perceive that the important social question of public and popular amusements is occupying the attention of thinking men. Our readers will recollect that in our last number we cursorily referred to this subject, in connexion with our comments upon the proper observance of the Sabbath-day. The subjoined remarks of the Rev. Dr. Guthrie on the subject deserve to be universally read:—

"The love of excitement is so engraven in our nature that it may be regarded as an appetite. Like our other appetites, it is not sinful, unless indulged unlawfully, or to excess. It is the duty of patriotic and Christian men to restrain these within due limits, and direct them into innocent channels. Indeed, it would appear that God has implanted such a feeling in all his creatures, for the purpose, no doubt, of ministering to their happiness. Did you never see a kitten chasing its own tail? Were you never amused with that? Those who are shut up for life in large towns, and never see horses but in the yoke, nor any of the feathered tribes but a sooty, begrimed, and melancholy sparrow, may be ignorant of the habits and happiness of the lower animals; but who, accustomed to the country, has not seen the crows on a summer evening wheeling, chasing, and darting at each other in the blue sky overhead, and the trouts amusing themselves, much after the same fashion, in some glassy pool? I have seen a merry flock of kids disputing in great good humour which should hold the stump of a decayed tree, and without a blush, confess to having reined up my steed, and with the old greybeards—the grandfathers and great-grandfathers of the youngsters—who formed a delighted circle of spectators—I have stayed to see the play. And often last summer did I sit in my boat to watch the butting, capering, racing, dancing, of a herd of red deer on the shores of Lochlee, and never thought ill on that account either of them or of myself. I don't envy that man his heart who does not feel happy to see God's creatures happy, nor praises God for his kindness to the meanest of them. Now, to frown on this love of excitement and amusement, as if it were guilty and a sin, appears to me a reflection on Providence. I will not reject any gift which God has given, but take it thankfully, and try to use it well. Take the case in hand—the musical entertainments in Duncdin Hall—which, although their harmony has been followed by so much discord, I shall continue to support so long as they are conducted as they have been begun. If the devil gave man an ear for music, and the pleasure in music which those gifted with such an ear enjoy, then let the whole affair be denounced; but if this is a gift of God, let it be consecrated to His service in the church, and out of it also, by being used not only as a source of innocent, thankful enjoyment, but as a means of weaning or keeping ourselves or others from debasing or forbidden pleasures. This is a noble use to make of music; and I cannot take blame to myself either for



the end I had in view, or for the means by which I sought to gain it, when I countenanced the entertainment in Dunedin Hall."

The Hon. Edward Everett, in a speech delivered at the "Webster Festival," held at Boston, U. S. America, thus refers to the importance of recreation. The orator, after alluding to Mr. Webster's tastes for manly sports, says—

"The Americans, as a people—at least the professional and mercantile classes—have too little considered the importance of healthful generous recreation. They have not learned the lesson contained in the very word which teaches that the worn-out man is re-created (made over again) by the seasonable relaxation of the strained faculties. The old world learned this lesson years ago, and found out (*Herod. I., 173*) that as the bow always bent will at last break, so the man, for ever on the strain of thought and action, will at last go mad or break down. Thrown upon a new continent—eager to do the work of twenty centuries in two—the Anglo-American population has overworked and is daily overworking itself. From morning to night—from January to December—brain and hands, eyes and fingers, the powers of the body and the powers of the mind, are in spasmodic merciless activity. There is no lack of a few tasteless and soulless dissipations which are called amusements, but noble athletic sports, manly outdoor exercises, are too little cultivated in town or country."

The great increase of late of brain disease, and anomalous affections of the nervous system may, to a certain extent, be traced to the excessive and continuous strain kept upon the cerebral functions in the efforts made to obtain a respectable social and professional position. The brain is exercised at the expense of the physical health; and whilst the mind is worked to the full extent of its powers, the muscular system is quite neglected.

During the past quarter many elaborate and ably-written criticisms have appeared in the provincial press of the first number of the new series of this journal. Many of these analytical notices are distinguished by a thoughtful and philosophic suggestive tone, reflecting great literary credit upon their authors. I have been much pleased with an able and well-written criticism published in one of the leading provincial papers, viz. the *Berwick and Kelso Warder*. It is gratifying to find men of a philosophic turn of mind, evidencing a taste for the higher walks of literature and science, officially connected with journals exercising in the provinces great influence upon public opinion. The writer of the article in the *Berwick and Kelso Warder* is Mr. WILLIAM GRAY. His remarks on the study of mental philosophy are so pertinent that we make no apology for placing them before our readers.

"Mental Philosophy is rapidly reaching the ground of the experimental, or inductive philosophy of Bacon. Three great names are conjoined in condemnation of the old philosophy of Scotland—and of the metaphysicians of the school of 'the pure reason,'—the names of Goethe, Chalmers, and Carlyle. What, asks Goethe, 'what is the use of thinking about thinking?' And, with Goethe, we pause for a reply. It needs the genius of such a man as Professor

Ferrier, of St. Andrews, to make such abstractions as he deals in readable at all. Instead of beginning with the insoluble problem of the relation of mind to matter, which is what is properly called metaphysics, we hold that the true starting point of mental philosophy is to ascertain, first of all, from consciousness, what are the indubitable facts of which our human *nature* is composed. Observe, we do not say—of which the human *mind* is composed—for here we believe has taken its origin that delusion which till recently led metaphysicians a wild-goose chase. We say, that if you wish to study the manifestations or phenomena of mind, you must, to be truly philosophical, take into your account that material frame in which that mind has its habitation and its home. You must study all phenomena of mind as if they also were corporeal, because they are indissolubly connected with a material organization. Here, we say, as in the rite of holy matrimony, and with no irreverence, what God has joined together, let not man put asunder. The phenomena of mind are to be studied thus in the concrete, in all their relations to, and manifestations in connexion with, that physical frame which is so fearfully and wonderfully made, that it is evidently intended to be studied by the mental philosopher as well as by the anatomist. The authoress of ‘Jane Eyre’ has said, in one of her poems, which are quite as wonderful as her novels, that all the world, with its goodly furniture of objects, existed as a thought in the mind of God subjectively, before it took the objective shape of the fair creation we behold. And divines have traced from that same work certain mental attributes reversing the process of the poetess, whose fine idea we commend to Mr. Gillespie, and the affirmers of the reality of an argument for the being of a God *à priori*. Now, if the world may be regarded as the expression of God’s thought or mind, why may not man’s material frame be the outward clothing of the mind, and if such a presumption be not absurd, why should we not study the outward demonstration conjointly with the vital force within? Farther, it is well known that the study of the anatomy of the human frame remained almost stationary, until it received a new impetus and impulse from the illustrations given to it by comparative anatomy. That is to say, those inquirers after truth, who were in the habit of carrying their researches by dissection into the framework of all kinds of animals, were arrested by some striking peculiarity which led them to examine further whether or not it might not cast some new light on some mysterious portion of human organization. And they found that it did so, and hence arose the necessity of comparative anatomy to the proper investigation of human anatomy. Now, if the comparison of the physical framework of what is called the lower creation with that of man helps to the right understanding of the latter, why, we ask, may not the examination of whatever intelligence is possessed by the lower animals, and the comparison of it with man’s intelligence, cast a new light upon the latter? We do not believe that the lower animals have *souls*, but we believe firmly that they have *minds*, or intelligence. A soul is a moral, and therefore accountable being, as well as an intellectual one; but a dog, for instance, although not a moral and responsible being, may yet have some intellect. This distinction will save us from being identified with the philosophers of the materialistic type represented by the notorious ‘Vestiges of Creation.’ We do not wish to degrade man, but we wish to do justice to the dog, and the horse, and such noble representatives of the lower, inarticulate world. We have in our own possession a little Scotch terrier, which gives as unequivocal tokens of intelligence as can possibly be. And the stories told of the intelligence both of the dog and the horse are endless. Now, all this new ground, with many investigations on the connexion with man’s frame of light, &c., has been but lately broken up. Perhaps we owe something of the direction of modern thought to this mode of treating mental philosophy.”

The past quarter has been marked by the average number of medico-

legal inquiries. There have been *four* trials in which insanity has been urged as an extenuating plea. We place them in chronological order:

*Mary McNeill*, 25, spinster, for the wilful murder of George McNeill, her son. Found not guilty, on the ground of insanity.

*Sarah Allen*, 33, married woman, for the murder of her two children, William Allen and Arthur Joshua Allen. Found not guilty, on the ground of insanity.

*Thomas William John Corrigan*, 29, for the murder of Louisa Corrigan, his wife. Guilty. Sentence of death passed.

*Emily Rider*, 21, married, for the murder of Frank Withers Rider, her son. Found not guilty, on the ground of insanity.

*Charles Broadfoot Westron*, 25, for the wilful murder of George Waugh. Found guilty, but recommended to mercy on account of his strong predisposition to insanity.

Mary McNeill was tried for cutting the throats of two of her children on the 28th of November last. In this case there does not appear to have been any obvious exciting cause for the crime. She is said to have been very comfortable and happy with her children up to a short time antecedent to the murder. A change was then observed in her appearance. She became melancholy, and was frequently heard to moan about her children. After her last confinement she had an attack of "milk fever." This was succeeded by an obvious mental change. It was proved that her father was in confinement as an incurable lunatic. Her homicidal symptoms had been a matter of observation for some time prior to the commission of the murder. The prisoner's third boy was sent from home in consequence of her having been seen to hold him over the balusters, exclaiming, "I'll drop him; I'll drop him!"

The case of Sarah Allen was, in its main features, similar to the preceding. This wretched woman imagined that her children were suffering from scrofula, and that her husband had the same disease. This preyed much upon her mind. She was heard to exclaim, "My husband is ruined; my children are ruined: we are a ruined family!" The prisoner and her husband lived happily together, and she was said to be passionately fond of her children. It appears that she threw the two children into the water near the Cadogan Pier, Chelsea, one very foggy night, asserting, on her return home, that she had lost the children in the fog.

"Mrs. Richards deposed that she had known the prisoner a long time. She says:—She came to my residence in Cirencester-place, Fitzroy-square, on the evening of the occurrence. It was about seven o'clock when she came. She was alone, and appeared to be very desponding and in great distress. I hardly knew her at first. She said that she wished to speak to me, and then she added, 'I have lost my children.' She was crying. I told her to come up-



stairs, and inquired where her husband was; and she said she had not seen him since morning. I then told her that she must go to her husband directly, and she said, 'No, I cannot go back.' I then told her that whatever might have happened she must go to her husband, and that he was her best friend. The prisoner kept repeating that she could not go to her husband, and it was two o'clock in the morning before she consented to go home, and I then accompanied her to her husband's house. The prisoner gave me no account of what had taken place, but merely stated that she had lost her children. When we got to the door of her house the prisoner took out a key and let herself in, and I told her to go upstairs and see if her husband was at home, and she did so; and she knocked at her husband's door, and he let her in. When he saw her, he said, 'Sarah, it cannot be you;' the prisoner said, 'Yes, it is,' and she added that I was downstairs, and I went up and saw one of the children lying in the bed, and the prisoner took him up and kissed him, and said, 'Where did you get him from?' The prisoner's husband then said, 'Where is Willy?' and she made no reply. He then asked where the baby was, and the prisoner said, 'Where is my baby? Why cannot I have my baby?' The baby was at this time in the charge of a nurse. The prisoner repeated the words, 'Where is my baby?' a great many times. The prisoner appeared in an agony of grief when she came to my house, and I never saw her in such a state before."

Dr. Rowe, and Mr. Gibson, the surgeon of Newgate, gave medical testimony in the case:—

"Dr. Rowe (of Cavendish-square) had visited the prisoner since she had been in Newgate, and found that she was still under the delusion that her children were suffering from scrofula, and she told him that their foreheads projected, and that their eyes were starting from their heads. He reasoned with her, but it had not the least effect. He had no doubt that the delusion had been very much strengthened by the perusal of the book that had been mentioned. A delusion of this kind was very common among persons of a nervous temperament, and, although it would sometimes disappear, very great care and long treatment were generally required to obtain that result. The prisoner told him that she considered her children were better off now they were dead. A delusion of this character was very likely to induce the commission of such an act as the one now charged against the prisoner.

"Mr. Gibson confirmed the evidence of Dr. Rowe, and also stated that it was his opinion that if the prisoner had thrown the children into the water she was incapable at the time of distinguishing between right and wrong."

The case of Corrigan stands next in rotation. It appears that this wretched criminal brutally murdered his wife whilst under the influence of intoxicating drink. He had previously suffered from attacks of *delirium tremens*, and was represented to be an habitual drunkard!"

A witness, Anne Burton, deposed as follows:—

"On the day of the murder she observed that when the prisoner came first he appeared in good spirits and very happy. They drank gin-and-water and brandy-and-water during Christmas-day, and when witness and Mrs. Fearon went to bed they left the men drinking. About eleven o'clock at night she observed that the prisoner looked very excited. She saw him again on the following morning. He was then dressed and ready for business, and he drank two cups of cocoa hastily and left the house, and he said before he went that he did not feel very well. She saw him again at her house about half-past two o'clock, and he was then very much intoxicated. He went upstairs and returned in about a minute, and he then left the house. About four o'clock in the after-

noon he came again, accompanied by her sister and the deceased, and they appeared to be talking cheerfully together. In a very short time witness heard a faint shriek, and afterwards very violent ones, from the bedroom, and she ran there, and some one passed her hurriedly. When she got into the bedroom she saw the prisoner lying on the child's bed with an open knife in his hand. She ran to him and laid hold of the knife; he struggled violently with her and threw her from him, and she screamed for help, and asked the prisoner if he wanted to do her any harm, and he made no answer. She said to him, 'What have you done?' and he looked wildly round, and made no answer. Her husband and Mr. Mahony then came to her assistance, and took the knife from the prisoner, and she locked it up. She had heard that the prisoner and his wife lived unhappily, but she knew nothing about it herself."

No attempt was made to establish ordinary insanity or delusion in this case. The defence was based entirely on the fact, that Corrigan was a sot, and that he murdered his wife whilst in an irresponsible state of mind caused by partial intoxication. The medical evidence in this case was extremely unsatisfactory, and certainly not sufficiently conclusive to justify the acquittal of the prisoner. Corrigan appears to have acutely felt his position after the murder of his wife. The following letters were written to his relatives during his confinement in Newgate:—

"House of Detention, Friday afternoon.

"DEAR BETSY,—With a broken heart I write you to take all care you can of my poor dear children till I can make some arrangements with my friends. Do not pay any rent out of that trifle I left you. Please God they will be able to get up a benefit for me at the theatre or some place, and I expect there will be 6*l*. allowed for the funeral. You must get it done as cheap as possible, but do not slight the remains of my poor murdered wife. Oh! Betsy, if you knew the anguish of my mind. I have no rest night or day now that I have come to my senses. Oh! Betsy, save me a lock of my poor Louisa's hair. Now that she has gone I would give anything to undo what I have done. Be kind to my poor helpless children, and the great God that I trust to for mercy for my crime will reward you. Oh! Betsy, forgive me for what I have done, and beg of your father to do so too. None of your feelings, bad as they are, can be like mine, as I am the cause of all. If you cannot come to-morrow, you cannot come till Monday, when, if you would bring a little butter with you, I should be glad. Give my love to my poor father and sisters, and accept the same yourself from your heart-broken, wretched brother-in-law,

"T. CORRIGAN.

"You must try and come at twelve o'clock."

"House of Detention, Friday night.

"MY DEAR MRS. FEARON,—In the midst of my dreary solitude I write to you to beg you to forgive me for the injuries I inflicted on you in my madness of Wednesday, though I earnestly feel assured that you believe they were accidental. But, my God! if I had wounded you in a vital part as well as my wife, what would have been my torture to know that I had committed two murders! Let me beg of you to forgive me for the horrors of body and mind I have caused you, and also Anne and your sister. Tell them I hope their fate will be happier than mine. Give my kindest and best respects to them both. Ask them not to hate me. Tell them that I would not deliberately hurt a worm, either drunk or sober, much less go so bloodthirstily to work as to buy the knife in cold blood to murder a woman. Little did I think when I bought

it, what would become of it ; but it is done, and may God have mercy upon me for it ! Give my respects to Tom and Dan, and all who inquire after me, and thank them for their interest in my behalf. If you have an opportunity, can you see Jack, and ask him to exert himself about a counsel for me as soon as possible ? I have written to Ben Rose. I have never been very backward in assisting others, and among them all something may be done ; but don't have ———, have somebody better than him ; have a counsel for criminal cases, and send him to me before Thursday, so that he may watch the case at Arbour-square on Thursday morning if possible. I will endeavour to collect my energies together, and pray to God to give me strength to go through it all. Pray for me, too, all of you, for we none of us know what is over our heads. Who would have thought on Christmas night that I should have been here now ? Good-bye, God bless you, and Tom, and Anne, and Louis, and Dan, and all of you. That God may take you all into His good keeping is the earnest and heartfelt prayer of

“Your faithful and true friend,  
“T. CORRIGAN.”

Corrigan, after an impartial trial, was condemned to death. He was subsequently reprieved by the authority of the Secretary of State, on the ground of his not being, at the time of the murder, in a sane and responsible condition of mind. He is not, however, to be exempt from penal servitude, by being sent as an insane criminal to a lunatic asylum. This is as it should be. It would be perfectly monstrous if such a class of criminals were permitted to escape the clutches of the law on such unsatisfactory and unscientific grounds. Human life would not be safe if ordinary temporary drunkenness and culpable sottishness were to be considered as a legal excuse in cases like that of Corrigan's.

Many good and humane men are of opinion that intoxication, instead of being a justification, should be viewed as an aggravation of offences committed whilst in this voluntarily-induced condition of temporary mental aberration. “*Ebrietas*,” says Seneca, “*nihil aliud est quam voluntaria insania*.” By the Grecian law, a double punishment was awarded for crimes committed during fits of intoxication. It was considered necessary not only to punish the crime, but also the drunkenness that originated it. The Roman law took a more lenient view of the subject. The plea of drunkenness was considered a valid one, except in the case of females ; these it subjected to capital punishment. The subject of crimes committed during fits of intemperance is not mentioned in the French code, but it has been decided by the highest judicial authorities in France, that drunkenness being both voluntary and reprehensible, can never be advanced as a legal excuse for crime ; such is also the law in Austria, Germany, and England.

The crime of Westron for the murder of Mr. Waugh, in Bedford-row, is one different in its main features from those previously referred to.



This was a case of premeditated murder, which Westron for some time had conceived and determined upon, and which he coolly and deliberately carried into effect! Westron had threatened Mr. Waugh's life a few months before he shot him, and fearing that he would commit some act of violence, Mr. Waugh summoned him before a magistrate, and bound him over to keep the peace. It appears that Westron had employed Mr. Waugh to act as his solicitor in the recovery of some property to which he and other members of his family considered they were entitled. Mr. Waugh had, after much difficulty, succeeded in his suit. Westron, however, thought Mr. Waugh's bill of costs very exorbitant, and not being able to obtain a sufficient advance of money from Mr. Waugh, Westron became much irritated, and threatened to commit acts of violence. Mr. Waugh had agreed to advance Westron a sum of money, on account, on a particular day; but, in consequence of Mr. Waugh's being obliged to leave London for Dublin, the promise was not fulfilled. This galled Westron very much; and under the influence of excited and irritated feeling, he waylaid Mr. Waugh in Bedford-row, and shot him through the heart! His death was instantaneous. After being arrested, far from expressing any contrition for his offence, he appeared gratified at the announcement of Mr. Waugh's death! The defence in this case was insanity. The following were the facts deposed to by the witnesses, and considered to be symptomatic of Westron's mental aberration:—maintaining that a bed six feet long was too short for him to sleep upon;—that he was frequently observed to talk loudly to himself by night and day;—parties were obliged to speak three or four times to him without getting an answer;—excitement, and using bad language;—conversation frivolous and childish;—used to swear terribly, and thump violently on the table;—was in the habit of throwing the furniture about;—asked for spirits to make a fire to burn the devil, who, he said, was always near him;—wanted a flat-iron to fight the devil with;—wished to obtain some bullets for the purpose of shooting the devil;—wanted to hatch some chickens by steam;—was in the habit of running up and down stairs during the night;—used to make his tea in a narrow mug, and said that if his friends came after him he would shove them into the gutter;—frequently sat for two or three hours without saying a word;—made a noise like a dog;—frequently looked up the chimney, and said it was too large, and that there was too great a draught;—complained of the doors and the keyhole;—frequently dragged the bed about the room;—when asked for a reference by the party of whom he was engaging a lodging, exclaimed, "Reference, that is ——— humbug—I never give a reference;" —&c. &c. It was upon absurd facts like those just recorded that an attempt was made in Westron's case to bolster up the plea of insanity!

It is much to be regretted that any respectable physician should have gravely countenanced such a farcical proceeding. The jury, however, took what they conceived to be a humane view of the case, and recommended Westron to mercy "*on account of his strong predisposition to insanity!*" What a mockery of justice! If capital punishment was ever justifiable, it was so in the case of Westron. No valid excuse could be urged in his defence. If mere eccentricity—the use of bad language—refusing to give a respectable reference—looking up a chimney in a mysterious manner, having one or two relatives insane, are to be considered by medical men as scientific and conclusive evidence of lunacy, then the plea of insanity should be altogether abolished. Westron asserted that Mr. Waugh had "ruined and robbed him of his property." The editor of the "*Express*" has so fairly analysed the matter, that we make no apology for quoting at length from his critical comments on the case:—

"Now, was this an absolute delusion?—We do not say, was it entirely such a judgment as a cool and uninterested person, having all the facts of the case before him, would have formed? but, was it a mere figment of the man's fancy—a wild hallucination, having no basis whatever in fact? Most assuredly not. The murdered man was the lawyer of the murderer and his family, engaged on their behalf in managing certain family estates. The murderer wanted to sell his share and go abroad with the proceeds. Difficulties had been interposed—quarrels ensued. As long ago as last October the lawyer brought his client before a magistrate, swearing that at that time his life was in danger from his violence. An arrangement was then proposed and acceded to, under which Westron ceased to employ Waugh, and put his affairs into the hands of another solicitor, Mr. Sandys. Now, mark what follows. On the 14th of January, two days before the murder, Mr. Sandys, acting under Westron's instructions, had prepared a conveyance for the sale of his client's share in the family estates. *On that day Waugh prevented the completion of the purchase by insisting on deducting from the purchase-money certain charges, which had before been subjects of dispute between Westron and himself.* Westron, on learning this, became excessively indignant, and two days after shot Waugh dead under the circumstances with which all are familiar. When taken to the police-court fresh from the murder, Westron told the inspector—what? Why, that "if it had not been for Waugh he should have had 800*l.*, but now he should only have 400*l.*, and God only knew when he should get that, as it had been thrown into Chancery." Now, was this a delusion, a fancy, the groundless chimera of a morbid brain? Nothing of the sort. It was merely a view, by no means highly coloured or exaggerated, of an actual matter of fact—a view which, acting on a wicked and a malicious mind, impelled the man to a frightful act of deliberate murder. There being then no particular morbid delusion as to the relative position of himself and his victim, to reduce this act below the guilt of murder, an attempt was made to show that the assassin was, generally, a person of unsound mind. As far as we can gather from the evidence, this attempt entirely broke down. Taken altogether, it amounted to nothing more than this, that Westron was a wayward, moody, and somewhat savage being, irregular in his habits, and taking a decided pleasure in frightening the minds of weak landladies by theatrical displays of ferocious brutality. One of the doctors called to prove his insanity went to see him in Newgate; the man told him the same story he had told the inspector, and then forsooth



began muttering something in a confused way about 'certain parties,' and 'certain other parties'—*argal*, quoth the doctor, he was mad.

The jury, after deliberation, brought in this extraordinary verdict: 'Guilty of wilful murder, but we recommend him to mercy on account of *his strong predisposition to insanity*.' More extraordinary still, Mr. Justice Wightman, after conferring some time with Mr. Justice Willes, is reported to have told the prisoner, 'that the jury had come to the conclusion that although he might be insane on some points, yet that he knew right from wrong, and they recommended him to mercy. Under these circumstances, he should abstain from passing sentence, and merely order judgment of death to be recorded.' Now, with all possible respect for Mr. Justice Wightman, we cannot think this right. Surely, he ought to have taken the opportunity of repressing at once the notion that a mere 'predisposition to insanity' ought to excuse from punishment in a case where the act was not committed under the direct influence of any morbid delusion. And this he might have done in the usual way, by informing the jury that he would forward their recommendation to the proper quarter, at the same time holding out no hope that the recommendation would be attended to. We regret that this course was not pursued; for it is impossible not to apprehend the introduction of a new element of uncertainty into the administration of our criminal law from the admission of a ground of mitigation so vague and unsatisfactory as 'a predisposition to insanity.'"

If Westron was a dangerously insane person, steps should have been taken to protect the public from his acts of murderous violence. Dr. Semple has entered fully into this question in some able communications published, since the trial, in the *Medical Times and Gazette*. He forcibly points out the necessity not only of revising the law of Lunacy in relation to cases of alleged insane criminal irresponsibility, but of protecting the public against the acts of persons who are permitted to be at large in an obviously dangerous state of mental aberration. The law should be very stringent on this subject, and the relatives of insane persons ought to be considered, to some extent, as responsible, if they knowingly and recklessly jeopardised the public safety by allowing a dangerous lunatic to be at liberty.\*

Since the publication of our last number, Mr. M. Noble Bower has been appointed resident medical superintendent of the Stafford County Lunatic Asylum, and Mr. John Forster, editor of the *Examiner*, and author of the "Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith," the "Lives of Statesmen of the Commonwealth," and other works of a high literary reputation, has succeeded Mr. Lutwidge, as secretary to the Commissioners in Lunacy. We congratulate our readers upon this appointment. Mr. Forster will assuredly prove himself to be the "right man in the right place." His reputation as a scholar and a man of letters, as an enlightened politician and an original and bold thinker, is fully established; and we are much mistaken if his knowledge of practical matters of business will not be found fully equal to his position. He brings to his present office (which we hope is but a stepping-stone to one more in unison

\* Westron is to pass his life in penal servitude.



with his literary accomplishments, legal knowledge, and rare abilities) a manly, independent, and honest spirit. He may find a field for the exercise of these excellent qualities of head and heart in the position he now occupies.—We should be doing an act of injustice to a distinguished philanthropist and a well-known literary gentleman,\* if we closed our retrospect without doing homage to the genius of Henry Mayhew, by referring to his praiseworthy attempt to call public attention to the sad condition of a section of our criminal population. The meeting that he recently convened of the “Ticket-of-leave men,” was a significant, an important, and a deeply interesting sign of the times. We hope that this humane and Christian move in the right direction will meet with the encouragement and support it so richly deserves. The condition of the poor criminal after the expiration of his sentence and punishment is indeed a sad and melancholy one. He enters the world again with the mark of Cain upon his forehead. The fact of a man having once been a convict is tantamount to his social annihilation! Who will be bold enough to admit him as a servant into his house? who will tender to him the right hand of fellowship? who will dare to brave the censure of the world by employing a convict, or connecting himself in any way with a person (whatever may be his reformed character) who has just returned from penal servitude, or been discharged from the hulks? Why should not these men have an opportunity of regaining a social position, and of earning an honest livelihood? Why should they be spat upon and spurned like dogs from our doors, and be considered as objects of contamination and reproach? God knows that apparently the best and fairest of his creatures are often, in heart, the worst of criminals. It is no credit to a man “clothed in purple and fine linen, and faring sumptuously every day,” *and who comes from a good stock*, to say that he is not a thief or a burglar. He is not driven by starvation to commit an offence against the laws; he has no wife or children crying piteously to him for food; he is fitted to resist temptation when exposed to it; his position, his early training, his social ties, his wealth, his education, all tend to keep him in the right path. Let us not permit ourselves to be scared or turned aside from the paths of mercy and active benevolence by the cuckoo cry of “maudlin sentiment for the criminal.” It is too commonly the practice to throw this stereotyped phrase in the teeth of those who express any Christian and manly sympathies for an erring criminal brother. But good men and true of heart like Mr. Henry Mayhew, will not easily be frightened by such bugbears from carrying fully into effect his benevolent scheme. We wish him God speed in his noble work of practical philanthropy.

\* Author of “London Labour and London Poor.”

We were prepared to enter at length into an analysis of the important judgment of Sir John Dodson, in which that learned judge pronounced against the will of Mr. Dyce Sombre on the ground of insanity; but we consider it but fair to all parties to defer the publication of our remarks on the matter pending the hearing of the Appeal from the Prerogative Court to the Privy Council. In the mean time, as a matter of interest and curiosity we publish a list of the medical witnesses who gave their opinions *pro* and *con.* in this case. We confine ourselves to those gentlemen whose evidence was taken by the Court, and referred to by the Judge.

## FOR THE INSANITY.

## ENGLAND.

Sir James Clarke, Bart., M.D.  
 Dr. Conolly.  
 „ Elliotson.  
 „ Drever.  
 „ Munro.  
 „ Bright.  
 „ Southey.  
 Mr. R. Martin (Surgeon).

## AGAINST THE INSANITY.

## ENGLAND.

Mr. P. Blackwood (Surgeon).  
 Dr. Copland.  
 „ Ferguson.  
 „ Mayo.  
 „ Winslow.  
 „ Paris.  
 Sir Alexander Morrison, M.D.

## FRANCE.

Sir Robert Chermiside.  
 „ Joseph Olliff, M.D.  
 Dr. McCarthy.  
 „ Shrimpton.  
 „ Sigmond.  
 „ Béhier.  
 „ Ricord.  
 „ Borneau.

## BELGIUM.

„ Guislain.  
 „ Vlemmicke.  
 Baron Sentin.

There must be something seriously rotten in the condition of judicial psychology, when men of great experience and high position in this department of science come to such opposite conclusions from a consideration of the same facts. In connexion with the conflicting medical opinions expressed as to Mr. Dyce Sombre's testamentary capacity, the public will be disposed to exclaim,—

“Who can decide when doctors disagree,  
 And learned casuists doubt like you and me?”

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## NOTICE.

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Part I. of Dr. Webster's Notes on Belgian Lunatic Asylums, including the Insane Colony of Gheel, will appear in our next number.

## *Psychological Quarterly Retrospect.*

OUR last quarterly retrospect was omitted. So plentiful are the subjects that present themselves to our notice this quarter that we have only to stop and gather them as we pass, and the difficulty, if any, rather lies in the selection of our materials, than in the want of them. The daily press collects everything. Little and great, the grand and the insignificant, are equally to be found recorded in its columns; and we live in an age when the passing events of the world range themselves, almost like words, under their proper letters in a vast index, as easy of access as they are of value to every class of enquirers.

We have been much struck with the following affecting account (extracted from Lord John Russell's *Life and Correspondence of the Poet*) of the last days of the author of the *Irish Melodies*.

"Moore's sun set in gloom; and the years which closed his chequered career were clouded, not only with pecuniary embarrassments, but with such dismal events as the death of his two sons, which left him in the melancholy position of surviving his five children.

"The death of his only remaining child, and his last and most beloved sister, deeply affected the health, crushed the spirits, and impaired the mind of Moore. An illness of an alarming nature shook his frame, and for a long time made him incapable of any exertion. When he recovered, he was a different man. His memory was perpetually at fault, and nothing seemed to rest upon his mind. He made engagements to dinners and parties, but usually forgot half of them. When he did appear, his gay flow of spirits, happy application of humorous stories, and constant and congenial ease, were all wanting. The brilliant hues of his varied conversation had failed, and the strong powers of his intellect had manifestly sunk. There was something peculiarly sad in the change. It is not unusual to observe the faculties grow weaker with age; and in the retirement of a man's own home, there may be 'no unpleasing melancholy' in the task of watching such a decline. But when in the midst of the gay and the convivial, the wit appeared without his gaiety, and the guest without his conviviality—when the fine fancy appeared not so much sobered as saddened, it was a cheerless sight.

"Moore's last days were calm and peaceful. His domestic sorrows, his literary triumphs, seem to have faded away alike into a calm repose. He retained to his last moments a pious submission to God, and a grateful sense of the kindness of her whose tender office it was to watch over his decline."

The *Edinburgh Review*, for July, 1856, gives a similar picture of an acquaintance, if not the companion, of Moore:—

"Till near ninety, Rogers was a striking exception to the rule 'of the decay of the mind before that of the body.' He then gradually dropped into that

state, mental and bodily, which raises a reasonable doubt whether prolonged life be a blessing or a curse—

‘Omni

Membrorum damno major dementia, quæ nec  
Nomina servorum, nec vultus agnoscit amicûm,  
Cum quæis præteritâ cenavit nocte, nec illos  
Quos genuit, quos eduxit.’

Although his impressions of long past events were as fresh as ever, he forgot the names of his relations and oldest friends, whilst they were sitting with him, and told the same stories to the same people, two or three times over in the same interview. But there were frequent glimpses of intellect in all its original brightness, of tenderness, of refinement, and of grace. ‘Once driving out with him,’ says a female correspondent, ‘I asked him after a lady whom he could not recollect. He pulled the check-string, and appealed to his servant. ‘Do I know Lady M——?’ The reply was, ‘Yes, sir.’ This was a painful moment to us both. Taking my hand, he said, ‘Never mind, my dear, I am not yet reduced to stop the carriage and ask if I know you.’”

A friend of the Editor once ventured to ask Rogers if he remembered what Lord Byron had said after visiting his house and admiring the choiceness of its style. “What must this man not have suffered to have accomplished all this?” “It is perfectly true,” replied Mr. Rogers, pinching up his skinny cheeks between his forefinger and thumb; “it is perfectly true—they have left me nothing but this!” The anecdote, thus related, took place at the London Institution, in the private library of his friend Mr. Maltby, with whom the party alluded to was well acquainted—it was in the year 1834 or 1835. Mr. Maltby himself, the clever connoisseur of a title-page, and a book-worm of no mean note, died at the advanced age of ninety, feeble, but in the possession of his faculties.

Humboldt is an instance of intellect undecayed by age. Strabo wrote his Geography, it is said, at eighty-two; and Michael Angelo, who died at eighty-eight, preserved his mind and genius to the last. His last will and testament was as grand as it was laconic, while critics are disposed to consider his last productions better than his first. On the other hand, the brightest efforts of genius have been conceived and executed before the meridian of life; of which Byron, Scott, Pope the poet, Mozart, Weber, Tasso, Shakespeare, Sir Isaac Newton and others, are illustrious examples. It is popularly supposed, that Homer composed his immortal epic in advanced life, and in painting and statuary he is usually represented as the blind old bard. Yet this was not the case. Perhaps the mistake arose from the Homer who recited those wonderful verses to his admiring hearers not being *the* Homer who had composed them. It is the opinion of the master critic, Longinus, that the *Iliad* was the production of a mind in the vigour of manhood, and the *Odyssey* the poetic recreation or repetition of the evening of life. We agree with the great Longinus. For there are, as he says, some puerilities in the *Odyssey*, while there are none in the



*Iliad*; and the order of events forbids the conjecture that the latter was composed before the former; and it must be owned, that with all its quiet beauties, the *Odyssey* wants the pathos, the depth of colouring, the majestic ease and force of the *Iliad*.

The preservation of the intellect to the latest period of age depends upon circumstances, over many of which we have no control. The nerves may be weak by nature, or accidentally decay the first; or there may be a scrofulous or gouty taint, the heirloom of the family; or a failure in the functions of the heart or stomach, natural or acquired. The early part of life may have been corroded by anxiety, weakened by privations, or overstrained by toil, which neither we nor our progenitors could either foresee or prevent. Wine or ardent spirits may have been too freely indulged in, and their use apologized for upon the plea of social engagements or a feeble constitution; while the more sensual passions may not have been held in with the curb of a tightened rein. Fortune may have arrived when she has ceased to be sought for, and reputation or celebrity bestowed or achieved when it is too late to facilitate the happiness of ourselves, and more especially of those with whom we are surrounded. In each of these instances, the mind decays early, and the earlier, the sooner the stimulus of necessity is withdrawn or suppressed. Besides all this, there is a climacteric period in man as well as in woman. In woman it occurs soon after forty, or at the latest at fifty; but in man it varies between his thirty-fifth and sixty-fifth years. When it takes place in man, his character and figure both undergo a change, sometimes for the better, but sometimes for the worse. He becomes fat or thin, attenuated or obese. Old age sets in apace. The hair turns grey or white, the affections congeal, virility ceases; or, on the other hand, the figure remains lean and lank, the features are shrivelled, the hair falls off, and the complexion tans, while the mind improves, the wit sparkles, the understanding solidifies, and the flash of genius burns brighter than ever. The experience of a whole life comes into play; and the tardy seedlings of spring embrown the autumn of our days with fruit. In these cases, the organic life suffers at the cost of the cerebro-spinal system. But, on the contrary, we see the mind degenerate without our being able to account for it, in the most pitiable manner possible. Follies of the most deplorable kind are committed. The old man marries a young girl; and after having been respected for his frugality and prudence, suddenly breaks out and affects to play the boy, the gallant, and the fop. Sometimes, something worse than folly ensues. The religious man turns a worldling, the upright a spendthrift, the trustworthy a swindler; or he falls a dupe to religious enthusiasts and knaves, mistakes idealities for faith, fasts, prayers, preaches, and insults the world.

No doubt, alteration of the brain is taking place *pari passu* with these alterations of character. It may be atrophy indicated by the loss of memory, slowness of speech and manner, and debility of gait and action. Or the circulation through the encephalon may be checked or impeded by ossification of the arteries, or softening of the coats of the cerebral arteries, or more distant disease about the heart and large vessels; or the neurine itself may be undergoing a change, particularly on its peripheral surface, as well as on the surfaces of its several ventricles or cavities. The convolutions become paler and the furrows shallower. The weight of the whole cerebrum and cerebellum is lighter, less complex, and seems to be reduced to the condition of the brain in early life. Softening of the surface of that delicate character which is detected only by letting a slender stream of water flow gently over it is sometimes the only discoverable alteration. But what is a very usual occurrence, and yet one that is often passed by unnoticed, because it is discernible only to a well-practised eye, which may not be present at the right moment for observing its attack, is a very slight fit of apoplexy and paralysis—so slight, indeed, that it occurs and passes away unperceived, and is recognised only in its after consequences and permanent effects. This appears to us to have been the case in Moore and Rogers; we have witnessed it more than once in private practice, and though loss of life does not ensue from it immediately, yet its ultimate effects are sooner or later fatal, and from the moment of its infliction, the patient is an altered being—he never recovers himself, but continues to exist, like a venerable ruin, with the marks of decay indelibly imprinted on his front.

Dean Swift used to say, there is no such thing as a fine old man, for if his head and heart had been worth anything, they would have worn him out long ago. This was the case with the late Sir William Hamilton, Bart., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. He was an immense student; his head was a compendium of knowledge; he did not belong to the present world, but he was a living fossil of the age of Aristotle and Plato; the schoolmen of the middle ages, the writers of tough German, ideal Italians, and erudite Frenchmen. He spoke the language of another world, and nobody scarcely ever supposed he belonged to this. He was at work early and late, when he was young and when he was old, at meal time and at play; his mind knew no rest; and the consequence was that he was paralysed in the midst of his lucubrations and literary labours. His lamp went out, and darkness closed upon him before he could justly be said to be old. This was apparently a case of apoplexy with sanguineous extravasation upon or within the brain; and, perhaps, some softening besides. We speak under correction, as we are not

acquainted with the results of the post-mortem examination, if, indeed, there were any autopsy at all.

He might have laboured less with his head, and in this way have prolonged his life; only had he done less than he did, he would not have been *the* Sir William Hamilton of Edinburgh. There is a very good account of his life in *The Leader* of May the 10th, from which we quote.

"We have to record this week the death of a man who, in the purely intellectual order of greatness, has hardly left his exact parallel in Britain, or even in Europe—Sir William Hamilton, Bart., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Born in Glasgow about the year 1790, and educated first in Scotland, and afterwards at Oxford, Sir William, who derived his baronetcy, with little or nothing in the shape of hereditary property attached to it, from ancestors of some distinction in Scottish history during the Covenanted times, adopted the Scottish Bar as his profession. He was called to the bar in 1813. Already at that time he had an extraordinary reputation among those who knew him, as a man of erudition and of speculative research. Younger men then living in Edinburgh as students, used to look up with veneration as they passed his house at night, to the lighted window of the room where they knew him to be busy with his books. His readings were of a kind at which ordinary men stand aghast—Aristotle and Plato; the Schoolmen of the middle ages; all German, all Italian, all French, all English, all Scottish philosophers. He was preparing himself to be a new name and a new influence in purely speculative philosophy—a man who, resuming in himself all that his predecessors in the series of Scottish metaphysicians had done, and bringing to the work of philosophy a culture, an acquaintance with universal literature, such as none of them had possessed, and perhaps also greater energy of nature, should again, in a utilitarian age, reinstate the old problems which Aristotle and Plato and the Schoolmen meditated, and call on the intellect of modern Britain to refresh itself by entertaining them, even if their solution was impossible. At length he obtained a position suitable to his genius and tastes. After holding for some time the chair of Universal History in the University of Edinburgh, he was appointed, in 1836, to the chair of Logic and Metaphysics in the same University. For twenty years in this position, he was an intellectual power, influencing sixty or eighty youths annually—teaching them a Logic, compared with which that of Whately is child's play, and a Metaphysics as hard and profound as that of Kant and his Germans, and yet clear-grained, genuine, and British. The admiration he excited among the students competent to follow him was unbounded, and none left his class without bearing his intellectual mark. It was always regretted by his admirers that his own insatiable passion for reading prevented him from putting forth works which would have conveyed to the world at large an adequate impression of his powers as a thinker. Even now, that he has left behind him is but a fragment of what he might have done. About the year 1829 he began to contribute to the *Edinburgh Review*; and the papers on speculative topics which he contributed to that periodical were, for some time, his sole literary manifestations of any importance. Scattered as they were, and fragmentary as they were, their influence on contemporary and subsequent thought was great; they were reprinted in France, as recognitions of a new philosophy; and in Oxford they helped to determine rising minds to new and more profound forms of logical and metaphysical studies. Some years ago, Sir William put forth an edition of Reid's works, with notes and dissertations, in which he expounded, by way of supplement to Reid, some of the cardinal notions of his own more advanced mental science. The book is one of the most amorphous ever issued from the



British press : it is very thick, it is printed in double columns in small type, and, what is worse, it is not finished, but ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence. And yet it is a book among ten thousand. In 1852 the articles in the *Edinburgh Review* were republished collectively, under the title of *Discussions on Philosophy and Literature*—a book as remarkable and better known. Before the publication of the *Discussions*, and, if we remember aright, before that of Reid, Sir William was seized with paralysis, which affected one side of his body, and to some extent also his speech. It was a sad sight to see such a man—a man, too, of fine physical appearance—moving about, thus crippled. His intellect, however, was unaffected by the shock ; and he continued to the last, with some assistance, to conduct his class regularly every winter. Latterly he was engaged on an edition of the works of Dugald Stewart, which, we believe, he has left complete. He had an affection for this kind of work, which, seeing that it interfered with original labours, must be regarded as unfortunate. One is glad to know, however, that he has left his “Lectures on Logic and Metaphysics” fairly written out. When these are published, they will perhaps be the most perfect revelation of the man, in both his aspects—that of his colossal memory and acquaintance with the whole history of Opinion, and that of his native vigour and subtlety of speculative thought. It was the union of vast erudition with vast intellectual strength in pure speculation that made Sir William almost unique among his British contemporaries ; and it is solemnizing to think that in one brief day such a brain may cease its thinkings, and such a memory, with all that lay gathered up in it, may be extinguished from the earth.”

The imbecility of age is not so painful to the old as it is to those who stand by and wait upon it. With the return of our second childhood, we lose the consciousness of our prime. The loss of any of our senses is accompanied with the oblivion of its enjoyment. Thus, the blind are cheerful, the deaf happy, and the old content. So that we are tempted to conclude, that those exquisite lines of Goethe, so ably rendered into English by their noble translator, express a poetic fiction rather than a reality :—

“Give me the active spring of gladness,  
Of pleasure stretched almost to pain ;  
My hate, my love, in all their madness,—  
Give me my youth again !”

Although the sight of the angelic Margaret, as

“She sat by the casement’s chequer’d glass,  
The clouds fly by, and she watches them pass  
Over the city wall,——”

meditating on her love, were sufficient to enkindle a spark of passion even in the icy veins of an old dotard. But no : in the really old, the flame is extinct, the ashes have been burnt out, and no spark can ever fire them again. We knew an aged gentleman, who, during the stunning effects of an apoplectic seizure, lost all his money by the failure of a bank. On recovering his senses, he could never be awakened to the feeling of poverty, nor the embarrassing consciousness of being a poor dependent on the bounty of his friends. Another gentleman, during a fit of apoplexy and its tedious consequences, lost two of his dearest

relatives by death, and came into possession of some considerable property. On his recovery, he neither regretted the deaths, nor rejoiced at his own good fortune.

So delicate is the fine tracery of the nervous structure, that the damage of a single fibre or a set of fibres destroys the unity of the whole. It is like a grand orchestra, in which one instrument alone out of time or tune disturbs the harmony of the rest, and the finest musical composition in the world is entirely spoilt by its discord. And this serious evil is apparent, not only in old age, but even in the young, in whom the disastrous consequences of injury to the brain, &c. are far more important both to themselves and to the world. The following incident is a case in point :—

“A singular case of suicide, by a boy, was the subject of investigation before a coroner’s jury, on Monday evening, at the Basin Tavern, Blast-lane. The deceased was a boy twelve years of age, the son of a respectable artisan in Tomcross-lane. It appeared that, on Wednesday, the 12th of March, Mr. Beardshaw had sent the boy on three occasions to Mr. H Unwin’s steel warehouse, with a message respecting some steel, required in his trade of a table-blade forger. The boy neglected to perform his errand properly, and Mr. Beardshaw struck him a slight blow on the face, with his open hand. Two hours afterwards, the boy left the house, and was never seen again until Sunday, when his lifeless body was taken from the canal, by a man named Frederick Sale. He had not said anything when he left the house, and it was supposed he had only gone to some neighbours. When bed-time arrived, however, without his return, his parents became very uneasy, and the father, along with a friend, spent the greater part of the night in searching the town, but heard no tidings of him. To add to the anguish of the parents, there was discovered, amongst some old papers on the mantel-piece, on the third day of his absence, a slip of paper, containing the following, written in Roman capitals :—

‘Art thou gone? shall thy step on the green hills no more  
Give the echoes of music that charmed us before?’

Beneath this couplet the deceased had written—

‘I am going to drown myself, so that you must go to the canal, and you will find me there ;—it is for you hitting me.      GEORGE HERBERT BEARDSHAW.

On the finding of this note, the father applied at the Police-Office, and consulted some friends, all of whom concurred in thinking that the boy could not have carried out the threat contained in this letter. They were led to this conclusion from the circumstance related by the father, that the boy had, in February, when sent an errand with 4s. 6d., absconded, and walked all the way to Liverpool, where he was detained by some friends of his father, and sent back to Sheffield. The assumption of his not having carried out the threat contained in his letter was further confirmed by the information that a boy, answering precisely to his description, was ascertained to have been sleeping one night at the coke-ovens. The father, although he could not bring himself to believe that his son had drowned himself, yet (as he stated to the jury), ‘walked up and down the side of the canal night and day.’ After nineteen days of fearful suspense, the sad news reached the parents, on Sunday, that the body of their son had been found floating in the canal, under one of the arches of the railway. The body presented the appearance of having been in the water nine or ten days. The somewhat vague information, therefore, of the boy leading a

vagabond life for about a week after he absented himself from home, was very probably the truth. It was manifest, from the note left by the boy, that he was aggrieved by the chastisement inflicted by his father. The enquiries of the coroner were, therefore, particularly directed to the treatment the boy had received at the hands of his parents, and the information on this point was most satisfactory. All the evidence went to show that their treatment of him had been uniformly kind and indulgent. The blow of the 12th of March, slight as it was, was the only punishment the boy had received from his father for the last five years. About eighteen months ago, the boy received an injury on the head by a severe fall from a dray, and subsequently, but more especially after his return from Liverpool, there was a marked change in his manner and disposition, and several circumstances were now related which went to show the great probability that the fall had injured his brain. The jury returned a verdict of found drowned."

The concluding paragraph gives the true solution of the story—he had received a *mechanical injury of the head, and morbid changes had been the result, affecting the moral will*. In a boy, no one doubts this explanation of the case, but in the old, the changes within the encephalon are equally as certain, although we are inclined to put down to old age what is due to the morbid changes incidental to advanced life. Had not the mind been already sapped by organic alterations, proceeding at a slow pace, the reverse of fortune, usually made use of for explaining the mental malady, would not alone have been sufficient either to account for or cause the catastrophe. In cases of suicide, whether in the old or the young, the mind is generally affected: some imaginary evil—imaginary, because morbid—is the instigating motive, magnified to the last degree by a mind already irritated by the constant inroad of disease, and the consciousness of a calamity which is impending, in fact, from within instead of from without the body. And unhappily, too, the propensity to suicide is an hereditary one, because the predisposition leading to it is born with us, grows with our growth and strengthens with our strength.

The delusions to which a disordered condition of the sensorium is subject, are as various as they are calamitous, as the following fact illustrates:—

"A German, an insane man, was arrested on one of our wharves, by Police-officer Boardman. His insanity consisted in his having purchased a dory for \$4,50, which he had fitted out in a peculiar manner, with oars and sails, and provisions sufficient only for a fortnight's subsistence. He had covered the boat over with canvas, except one spot, which he had left open in order to admit his person. It was his intention to put to sea in a day or two in this boat, hoping, as he expressed himself to Dr. Stedman, who was called to examine him, to reach Europe in twenty-two days. On the doctor's asking him how he should supply himself with food when what he now had was consumed, he said he had a little money to buy more. Whether he had the notion that a half-way house was to be found on the great deep does not appear. His insanity would seem to have arisen from home-sickness—not an uncommon cause of mental malady among our emigrants."—*Boston (U.S.) Traveller*.



We have no doubt that a careful dissection of the brain and spinal cord, would, in this case, should the opportunity ever present itself, reveal some very interesting particulars in morbid anatomy. The disregard of self-preservation allies itself closely to suicide, while it exhibits in a very striking point of view the serious calculation on wrong data so often betrayed by the insane, in the various modifications of dementia. There is a sober disregard of self and consequences, in the above case, that is perfectly terrific, except to those acquainted with the inmates of the madhouse, where such things are looked upon as the sign conclusive of a lost mind.

Nor is this all, that can be said of the strange dreams of madness. The subjoined case is singularly illustrative of the fact that murder may be committed by persons whilst in a state of semi-consciousness, or in that confused and dreamy state of mind which often exists between sleeping and waking :—

“A correspondent of the *Richmond* (Va.) *Despatch* (U.S.), writing from Carolina, states that a few nights since Mr. William M. Kelley, of that county, was suddenly aroused from his sleep, and under the impression that his house was being broken into, seized his gun, and instantaneously fired upon some one, as he thought, entering the door; but, to his horror, he found that he had shot his wife, who was fastening it. The shot entered just in front and above the right hip, penetrating deep into the body. Two physicians were immediately called in, but found her beyond hopes. She lingered resignedly and uncomplainingly until about four o'clock on Saturday morning, when she died, leaving an almost distracted husband, an infant son eleven months old, and a large number of relatives and connexions to mourn her loss.”

Dr. Pagan refers to the following interesting case (quoted by the Editor in his letter to the *Times*, referring to the mysterious deaths of Dr. H. Franck and his son at Brighton) to prove that murder may be committed by a person under the effects of a frightful vision :—Bernard Schedmaizig suddenly awoke at midnight. At the moment he saw a frightful phantom, or what his imagination represented as such—a fearful spectre. He twice called out, “Who is that?” and receiving no answer, and imagining that the phantom was advancing upon him, and having altogether lost his self-possession, he raised a hatchet that was beside him, and attacked the spectre; and it was found, alas! that he had murdered his wife.

The thirst for murder so peculiar to *maniacs* is pourtrayed in the following horrid narrative :—

The *Newhaven* (U.S.) *Journal* gives full particulars of a most frightful case of double murder at Woodbridge (Connecticut). It appears that a crack-brained fellow named Sanford (who had been several times in a lunatic asylum), waylaid a gentleman named Sperry, as he was travelling in a sleigh, near a gloomy piece of wood, contiguous to a cross-road, and murdered him with an axe. It would seem that Sanford with the head of the axe struck Mr. Sperry on the temple, inflicting a severe wound about three inches long in a horizontal

direction over the right eye. It is supposed that this felled him to the ground beside his sleigh. Sanford then struck him again upon the back of the head, cutting a fearful gash behind the ear. As he rolled in the gutter upon the north side of the road, Sanford proceeded to cut his throat, which was evidently done with his axe. While the murderer was thus despatching his victim, the horse belonging to Mr. Sperry quietly walked on towards the turnpike. The murderer then went on to the house of Mr. Ichabod Umberfield. He went into the kitchen, and there found Mrs. Deming, a woman that does the house-work for Mr. Umberfield, washing the floor. He put his arm around her waist, and told her he wanted her to go into the entry or hall, where he had deposited his axe and a hickory club when he came into the house. She slapped him across his face with her hand, and immediately left the room. He then went into the entry, and took the axe and club and passed into the other room, placed them upon the floor, and sat down by the stove. A little girl in the room ran into the bedroom, and lifting up the sash called out to Mr. Umberfield,—“Charles Sanford is in the house with an axe, and he is crazy—you must come in.” Mr. Umberfield came into the house immediately, and sat down by the stove. He spoke to Sanford, asked him how he was, &c. Sanford made no reply to Mr. Umberfield, but sat in a sullen mood, apparently for about two minutes, and then arose and took up his axe and club (as the people in the room supposed) to go away. He passed behind Mr. Umberfield, towards the door, then suddenly turned around, lifted his axe and struck him a powerful blow upon the head. Mr. Umberfield fell to the floor with a groan, when Sanford struck another blow, and then deliberately cut his throat with the axe, nearly severing his head from his body. Only about four inches of skin upon the front part of his throat, and his windpipe, were all that connected his head with his body. The first blow probably killed him, as it fractured his skull extensively. The blood flowed freely upon the floor, and the room looked like the den of a murderer. The little girl screamed and ran out of the room, and he followed her across the floor, saying, “Stop your noise, or you’ll all get your heads chopped off.” Mrs. Denning opened the door just in time to see the murderer strike the last blow. Sanford went out of the house to wipe off the blood from his axe upon the snow, and while he was doing so the inmates of the house fastened the doors, and prevented his coming back again. He then left the house, passed out into the road, and following it but a short distance, soon struck off into the woods at the foot of West Rock. The ruffian was pursued, and captured after a desperate effort. One of the party who was armed with a pitchfork thrust it into Sanford’s chest, and held the maniac at bay for a moment, until another struck him with a club and knocked him down. There were eight men in the party, and it was with the greatest difficulty that they could secure and bind him. He fought desperately. They finally got him secured, and took him to the house of Mr. Umberfield, and thence he was taken to gaol by officer Doolittle. He said he turned to go back to kill the whole of Mr. Umberfield’s family, and would probably have done so if he had not been immediately arrested. He said, on his way to gaol, that he killed Mr. Sperry because he “had a cramp; and he killed the man to prevent the cramp killing him.” He talked incoherently all the time, and when he arrived at the gaol presented the appearance of a raving maniac.—*Times*, 22nd Jan., 1856.

This story reminds us of the wholesale murders that happen every now and then among the semi-barbarous people of the east, such as the Malays and Chinese of Cochin China, for instance. A wretch is seized with a sudden fury for bloodshed. He draws his sharp knife from his

side, kills the first person he meets with, and then proceeds at a furious pace, striking at random and wounding or killing all that come within his reach, till he himself is at last knocked down and despatched, like a rabid animal. As many as sixty desperadoes of this kind have been known to band themselves together, armed with their knives, and sallying forth on their errand of blood, to go on slaughtering and wounding all around them, till they themselves are at length slaughtered in return. So fierce has their determination been at times, that they have repulsed a detachment of regular troops sent against them on purpose to put them down. In Europe we may safely declare we know nothing of horrors such as these, which seem to belong to the heathen populations of the world, and those portions of mankind that lie external to the pale of Christian civilization. It is not attributing too much to ourselves to suppose that our high moral discipline is owing to our stricter and more religious mode of education; only do not let us congratulate ourselves on our own proficiency in moral worth too soon; we may not shed blood so freely (always excepting the passion for legitimate warfare, which is called *glory*) as the darker races of mankind, but we have not advanced much beyond the dark portals of heathenism, if, as seems to be the case, the purport of the subjoined letter to the *Times* relative to the traffic in women is unquestionable:—

“In a leading article of *The Times* (Thursday, March 20) you have commented with just horror and indignation on the infamous traffic in young girls, at this time carried on to a greater extent than can be conceived or believed by those who sit at home, intrenched round by all the sanctities of domestic life and all the safeguards of virtue. In the course of the judicial inquiry which gave rise to your remarks, it was stated publicly that this traffic has become a ‘system,’ and a source of profit; that the law cannot reach it; and that without the intervention of our Foreign Minister, it is not likely to be put down.

“That such an infamous traffic does exist has long been well known to me and to others. Not only is it true that English girls are inveigled out of this country in such numbers that, as I remember, an association was formed in Paris to protect them; but it is not less true that for the same horrible purpose girls are brought over to England from France, from Belgium, from Germany; it is, in fact, a trade under all the conditions of export and import—a trade which, if not legalized, is tolerated; and I have myself heard it, I will not say defended, but accounted for, excused, as the necessary, inevitable result of certain permitted social vices. When several trials relative to these foreign victims were reported two or three years ago, and sent a strong shudder of horror and disgust through our virtuous society, *The Times* was blamed by some persons for the publicity given to the circumstances and the severity of its comments; but others who recoiled from such details felt wisely grateful for the exposure of such unmanly vice, and for the manly scorn and detestation with which it was visited.

“In this recent case, not women only, but all right-minded and generous men, have reason to thank you for the part you have taken. You conclude your denunciation by an appeal to Englishwomen, and (printing the word in capitals to enforce your appeal) you require that Englishwomen should ‘lay to heart’



such a state of things, and use their utmost power to stop the progress of this enormous wrong.

"I am an Englishwoman, and, in common with many other Englishwomen, feel the shame and horror of such a state of things; but will you, who thus appeal to us, or will any of your correspondents, point out what it is our duty to do?—how we are expected to act, to speak, or even to think on such subjects? We have been told heretofore by men whom we respect, that it becomes women to be absolutely silent on such revolting topics—to ignore, or rather to affect to ignore, such a 'state of things' as you allude to. We have been told that, in virtuous women, it is a breach of feminine delicacy even to suppose the existence of certain outcasts of our own sex, or of certain exemptions in regard to vicious indulgence assumed by yours; in short, that, as women of virtue, we have nothing to do with such questions, though we know, too well, how deeply they affect us, how terribly near they approach us personally, how the far-reaching contagion of such covert vice involves in some form or other the peace of our 'virtuous' homes, the fidelity of our husbands, the health and morality of our sons, the innocence of our daughters. We have been allowed, indeed, to patronize penitentiaries, to read chapters of the Bible, and distribute lugubrious tracts to wretched, sullen, disordered victims; but, meantime, we are told—I have myself been told, half pityingly, half sneeringly—that for every one unhappy creature we rescue out of the streets, two will be at once supplied to fill up the vacancy; that this 'state of things' is a necessary social evil; and that we virtuous women had better not meddle with it, lest worse befall us.

"So it has been said in former times; but it seems, from the appeal you make to us, that in these days Englishwomen may feel, may think, may speak out on such subjects; may, without reproach, take such a part in their discussion as becomes the members of a Christian and civilized community. But what are we to do, where law is weak, where custom is strong, where opinion is cowardly or wavering, where our very knowledge involves an imputation on our feminine decorum—what are we to do? A popular journal, in reference to this trial, intimated that where the law cannot reach them it is permitted to take the chastisement of such vile panders and procuresses into our own hands. Does this mean that they should be pilloried or pummelled to death in our public streets? I believe this would be their fate if they were once recognised, but where would be the justice of it? Shall we stone those who minister to vice, and spare those who practise it? That class of wretches whose sole and profitable occupation it is to hunt down and ensnare victims becomes, we are told, more and more numerous, more and more audacious; but for whom are the victims hunted down and ensnared, imported and exported as so much merchandise? So long as the market exists, the article will be supplied—tell us, therefore, what are we to do? The education of your sons does not rest with us. In the schools where boys are collected together, generally far out of the reach of pure, healthy female society and influence, the first thing they learn is to despise girls; and the second, to regard the impetticoated half of the human species as destined for their service or their pleasure; hence in the higher and better educated classes early impressions which lead to the most selfish and cruel mistakes in regard to the true position of women, and in the lower, more ignorant classes, to the most terrible tyranny and brutality. Against the latter, it is said, our Legislature is preparing stringent measures, but against the former what is to defend us? I speak in the name of Englishwomen to whom you have appealed, and ask counsel and help from generous and thoughtful men—what are we to do?"

That it should be possible to tell such a tale as this in the present age, is incredible; but it is still more incredible, that the whole world

should listen to its recital without rising up unanimously to put a stop to it, in a just fit of shame and indignation! Is it that we are lending ourselves to its existence? or, is it a crying evil beyond redress? Had it been but hinted at by Tacitus of Rome, or scoffed at in Athens by Aristophanes, we should have rushed forward eagerly to join issue with the comedian and historian against the gross corruptions of *their* times. What a fruitful theme it would have proved to every exalted moralist and acute politician who aimed at present popularity, by pointing out the vices of antiquity and the virtues of the moderns. And yet, here it is upon the very thresholds of our dwellings—lying at our feet—walking the public thoroughfares at noonday—living amongst us—travelling in the same railways and crossing the Channel in the same passage boats—sitting at the same board in the same cabin, or at the same *table d'hôte* with ourselves, our wives and daughters, and yet there is no one with sufficient moral courage to rise up and denounce the loathsome monster and scout it from society! O, shame upon modern refinement and virtue! O blot and blemish upon the wealthiest and most prudent of the nations calling themselves civilized! Come forth, thou reprobate pagan of old,—rise up from your nether realms of Pluto's dreary reign, and stand amazed at the cold indifference of the first Christian community upon earth! Say where the root of the evil lies, and show where the first blow of the axe shall be aimed with precision and effect—what, where, and how? There! replies the spectre—there, *in the nursery and school*—there—strike home before ever the sapling has grown up into a tree, and spread its fatal branches far beyond your reach. Lop vice in the bud, or, as your own Wise Man tells you, Train up the child in the way it should go. Any other remedy is useless, continued the fading seer; you must teach morals as well as science, self-government as well as trade, religion as well as manners; or, remember, *consueta vitia ferimus, non reprehendimus*. He said, and vanished.

“One of the strangest of vexed questions is the question, ‘Have Animals Souls?’ To the majority of modern Christians, thinking and unthinking, it seems eminently absurd, if not eminently ‘dangerous,’ to maintain that animals have souls; although to ancient Christians, as well as to ancient philosophers, the absurdity would have been in the denial, *Anima*, from which the name is derived, meaning the breath of life, and *ψυχη*, meaning, as we have shown in these columns, *life and soul*, indifferently—for in truth the two were not separated until modern metaphysics, probably among the schoolmen, came to divorce them, and make them essentially independent.

“An able writer in ‘Putnam’s Monthly’ for April, takes up the question. He first adduces Scriptural evidence of ‘one and the same covenant binding us and animals to our Maker,’ and justly remarks on the deplorable habit of using the word animal as a term of contempt. All contempt is perilous, but contempt of God’s creatures in their free activity is essentially irreligious. Of plants, and even of stones, we speak with veneration and admiration, but the

'brutes that perish' we permit ourselves to vilify. Curiously enough, the nearer these brutes approach our own proud selves, the deeper is the loathing expressed for our 'poor relations,' as Luttrell wittily called monkeys; and many a worthy gentleman would drop your personal acquaintance if you suggested to him that the dog which loves and obeys him has a soul not essentially different from his own. The writer in 'Putnam' argues, and justly, for the inner life even of plants; which will be paradoxical only to the immature psychologist. His case is better made out with animals, however, because we are more acquainted with the functions of animals. Read this:—

'Animals discern their food, as the first condition of their existence. The tree, also, it is true, uses all that nature has placed within its reach for self-preservation, as if it were created solely for its own purposes; but it does so mechanically, constantly, and without choice. The animal, on the contrary, knows its food from afar, seizes it with all the eagerness of instinct, and disposes of it in the most useful manner. In order to distinguish food, it must have been placed by the Creator in a pre-established harmony with its food; it must have apertures to seize it; and a space within to hold it. These, however, are not given to all; for some, that dwell in the water, are mere ribbons or threads, balls or cylinders. How they absorb, we know not. The infusoria, however, have each a stomach and often several; they even begin to fight for their food. Others are endowed with cilia—tiny hairs, that whirl in restless motion around the mouth, and fill it with invisible victims. How different from the grim medusa, that sends out eighty thousand arms, a whole army, eager with insatiable hunger. The shark swallows men, horses, and oiled powder casks; the whale entire hosts of sea animals. Other cunning creatures are more fastidious than the most experienced gourmet. The silk-worm eats only mulberry leaves, and a suspicion of dampness deprives him of his appetite.

'There is a large wasp that lives in sand-burrows and indulges in eccentricities like few other beings: the only animal, save the horse, that sleeps standing, and so it does. You see its lean, lank body, stand prim and prudish near its former dwelling—you touch it, and it falls into dust. It proudly refuses to lie down, like other poor insects, and decently to fold up its limbs. But its pride is still greater in its choice of food. It catches spiders, butterflies, and caterpillars; but, instead of killing them at once, it only bites them in the neck, paralyzes them, and drags them into its little hole. Who taught it to deprive large insects of wings and legs, and to leave the smaller unharmed? It rejects all alms and gifts. You may choose its choicest morsel and place it before the hungry wasp, it will not touch it; if you put it, during the owner's absence, into his house, he indignantly ejects it on his return.'

"Again:—

'The cunning ants keep cows in their stables. Almost every anthill, belonging to one variety, has a beetle in it, who lives, rears a family, and dies among them a welcome and honoured companion. When the ants meet him they stroke and caress him with their antennæ; in return he offers them a sweet liquid that oozes out under his wings, and of which the little toppers are passionately fond. So great is their attachment to the odd confectioner, that they seize him, in times of danger, and carry him off to a place of safety; the conquerors of an invaded nation spare the sweet beetle, and, what is perhaps more surprising, his maggot and his chrysalis, though themselves utterly useless, are as safe among their wise hosts as if they also possessed the luscious honey. Other ants, again, keep countless aphides, that sit on the tender green leaves of juicy plants, as on green meadows, and suck away so lustily that their delicate little bodies swell like the udders of cows on rich spring pasture. At that season, the ants have to feed their young with more delicate food than their own; they stroke and caress their tiny milch cows, gather the nutritious liquid that pours forth under their sagacious treatment, and carry it, drop by drop, to their nurseries.'

"All this, we know, is called Instinct, and much of it is probably not more psychical, in the usual sense, than the union of an acid with a base. But the human soul is also mainly composed of Instincts, although these are less obvious owing to the complexity of higher psychical operations. It is evident that the



simpler organisms will manifest simpler instincts and activities than the more complex organisms; the philosopher's business is to identify the 'unity of composition' in the psychical as in the anatomical world, and to show that animals only differ *inter se*, by differences of degree.

"Besides the simplest of all instincts, that of discerning food, there are others also very simple, and consequently universal—the discernment of a proper domicile, or habitat, for example. The essayist has enumerated some curious facts on this point. He allows his imagination to run away with him occasionally in speaking of the instinct of self-preservation; and when he says that the 'cunning beetle feigns death *because* crows do not touch dead beetles,' he is talking the loose talk of Natural Theology, not science. In the same way, when discussing whether all animals feel the sensations of hunger and thirst, he outruns observation and allows imagination to interpret. 'Grasshoppers are the first creatures that are known to satisfy thirst by drinking.' How is this known? 'They are passionately fond of sipping the dew of the morning.' That they sip the dew is a fact of observation; but no observation, no gleam of evidence reveals that they do so with 'passionate fondness.' Generally animals which live on liquid food do not drink; whilst birds which eat dry seeds are ever thirsty. 'Hence it has been often asked, why drinking and singing should ever be found so closely bound to each other?' A question for hilarious gentlemen who over a 'social glass' are prone to indulge in bursts of lyricism, and who alternately 'pass the rosy' and *toll de roll!*" — *The Leader*.

The error in the foregoing paragraphs consists in not drawing the distinction between the words *soul* and *understanding*. To possess a soul, implies moral responsibility; but no one ever dreamt of imputing moral responsibility to any animated being lower than man; so that no animal can, in the strict meaning of the word, be said to possess a *soul*. It seems idle almost to debate the question. It has never been seriously mooted except among obscure and depraved enthusiasts, such as the ancient Brahmins, the Manichees of the first ages, and Pantheists of the lowest description. But *understanding* is possessed by all animated beings in various proportions and degrees: the sagacity of the dog, the sharpness of the ape, and the intelligence of the elephant, are proverbial. Even *moral affections* are enjoyed by animals and insects: the horse is docile, the lion courageous, the lamb timid, the spider deceitful. All these qualities are fragmental portions of the understanding distributed severally throughout the creation for the particular use and purpose of each being; and are, when taken together and summed up into one, the human understanding complete. And, were not the various qualities of the understanding manifested by animals identical with that possessed by man, there could be no intercommunion between man and animals, for without this mutual intelligence, the rider could not manage his horse, nor the sportsman direct his dog, nor even the pig-boy drive his pigs. Animals and man must understand each other, otherwise animated nature would be a confusion. Even sounds of the voice and the meaning of words are understood by animals as distinctly and fully as they are by ourselves; and the intent

and object of our actions are perceived by them in the same sense as we intend them to be perceived. Thus the horse knows the sound of the trumpet, the smack of the whip, and the driver's bidding; the hound responds to the huntsman's horn, the cat minds the maid-servant's call, and the cow knows the cry that drives her home to be milked. Stories are told of serpents that have become familiar with man, of insects that have mated with the prisoner in his cell, and of hares that have sat like cats before the fire. The mechanism of the beaver is like our own, because ours is the same as his; and the fox pilfers our yards with the same adroitness as the thief pilfers our coffers. Thus the intelligence of animals is the comparative anatomy of the understanding of man: what is one in us is several in them. They are the analysis of the mind of which we are the standard and type. By pursuing this train of reasoning, we might show that the less perfect understandings in man approximate to the lower understandings of animals. Thus we say, as stupid as an ass, as filthy as a swine, as timid as a lamb, as cruel as a tiger. The higher human understandings admit not of any such debasing comparison, since they cannot be likened to anything below themselves. Great minds are not brutal, but, on the contrary, so elevated, that they cannot be lowered by any comparison. They are **THEMSELVES** both in understanding and soul, and comprehend within themselves all the mental qualities of every animated being below them. It is this pre-excellence that can never be predicated of any of the inferior animals, and entirely excludes them from the idea of possessing either a soul or an understanding, in the fullest meaning of the words.

Virgil, indeed, has placed his horses with his heroes in the Elysian fields, and the horses of heaven are mentioned in Scripture, both in the Book of Revelations and when Elijah was carried to heaven. But we apprehend that no reader ever regarded these relations in any other light than that of sacred or poetic imagery of the loftiest kind; and every one would be extremely shocked were he called upon to suppose that animals will be called to judgment at the last day along with the rest of the human species.

Whether every crime of the same kind is equally deserving of the same punishment is a question that has not yet been reduced to a practical solution. In the eye of the law, wilful murder is regarded only in one light; but in a moral point of view it is capable of receiving many degrees of comparison. The following observations bear upon the matter:

"The execution of Elizabeth Brown is a questionable matter, following as it so soon does the extension of mercy to the wretch Celestina Sommers. Brown killed her husband, according to her own confession, as follows:—'My husband, John Anthony Brown, deceased, came home on Sunday morning, the 6th

of July, at two o'clock, in liquor, and was sick. He had no hat on. I asked him what he had done with his hat. He abused me, and said, 'What is it to you, — you?' He then asked for some cold tea. I said that I had none, but would make some warm. He replied, 'Drink that yourself, and be —.' I then said, 'What makes you so cross? Have you been at Mary Davis's?' He then kicked out the bottom of the chair upon which I had been sitting. We continued quarrelling until three o'clock, when he struck me a severe blow on the side of my head, which confused me so much that I was obliged to sit down. Supper was on the table, and he said, 'Eat it yourself, and be —.' At the same time he reached down from the mantelpiece a heavy horsewhip with a plain end, and struck me across the shoulders with it three times. Each time I screamed out. I said, 'If you strike me again, I will cry 'Murder.' He retorted, 'If you do, I will knock your brains out through the window.' He also added, 'I hope I shall find you dead in the morning.' He then kicked me on the left side, which caused me much pain, and he immediately stooped down to untie his boots. I was much enraged, and in an ungovernable passion, on being so abused and struck, I directly seized a hatchet which was lying close to where I sat, and which I had been using to break coal with to keep up the fire and keep his supper warm, and with it (the hatchet) I struck him several violent blows on the head, I could not say how many. He fell at the first blow on his head, with his face towards the fireplace. He never spoke or moved afterwards. As soon as I had done it I wished I had not, and would have given the world not to have done it. I had never struck him before after all his ill-treatment; but when he hit me so hard at this time, I was almost out of my senses, and hardly knew what I was doing.'

"If this account be true, the murder was the result of great provocation, or rather the crime was not murder, but manslaughter; for there was no deliberation—the woman, in her passion, having taken the first weapon that came to hand to protect herself and to disable her brutal assailant, who might otherwise have killed her. But the convict's own account of what occurred is, of course, open to suspicion. True. It is, however, to be observed in favour of the truth of the confession, that it was made immediately before the woman's execution, and when no hope could have been entertained that the sentence of the law could be stayed by it. Brown's conduct, too, was some pledge for sincerity. She behaved with great propriety in prison, and met her fate with calmness and fortitude.

"Assume, however, that the confession is valueless, and then all that is known of the murder is that a jealous wife killed her husband; but whether with circumstances of provocation or not, cannot be affirmed on the one hand or denied on the other. It is only certain that the husband was drunk—a fact which raises reasonable presumptions against his conduct, and that he was of profligate habits which may have provoked the natural resentment of his wife.

"Now, compare this case with that of the favoured Celestina Sommers. Whether the extenuating circumstances stated by Brown be true or not, there is not on the other side a particle of evidence showing any cruelty beyond that which necessarily belongs to the destruction of human life. In the other instance—that of Sommers—more than the fact that she had killed her child was known. It had been no hasty deed. The wretch had deliberately inveigled the poor child into her den, had taken her into a cellar, and then proceeded deliberately to cut her throat, replying to prayers for mercy with asseverations of her murderous purpose. It is certain that in this atrocious case there were all aggravating circumstances, amounting to a degree of wickedness almost unparalleled. It is possible, nay, probable, that in Elizabeth Brown's case there were extenuating circumstances; and it is certain that there were no known aggravating circumstances. Yet Brown has suffered death, and Sommers has had the benefit of the Crown's clemency. Strong representations in



favour of Brown were not wanting; but Sir George Grey did not find in her case any of the circumstances that moved him to extend the mercy of the Crown to the merciless Celestina Sommers. Inscrutable, unaccountable, and utterly inconceivable, are the reasons of the Home Office for rigour and indulgence."—*The Examiner*.

But another question arises out of this, namely, as to the moral worth of public executions. We copy the following pertinent remarks on the subject from a contemporary : \*

"It has long been felt, and often been repeated, that public executions do more harm than good. That the effect produced by them upon the crowds which they draw together is pernicious, can scarcely be denied. The levity exhibited by the populace which makes the distressing scene of a fellow-creature's death a holiday show, is sufficiently indicative of moral mischief. Few out of the thousands assembled to witness the awful spectacle, return from it with serious thoughts and solemnised feelings. All the rest go away, more callous, more depraved than they were before. Even the few persons of respectability, who may be numbered among the occupants of the windows commanding the scene, can hardly be the better for this gratification of a morbid curiosity. The rabble which meet beneath the gallows learn their lessons of brutality, of reckless indifference to human life; the criminal portion of it rendered more daring under the unhealthy stimulus of having seen "the worst" that the law can do in the way of punishment.

"The evil of all this, which is recognised and admitted on all hands, has been very much aggravated, of late years, by the fact, that it has furnished the advocates of the abolition of capital punishment with one of their most plausible pleas. Unfortunately, it has become the fashion to talk of punishment as if its sole, or, at least, its principal object, was to serve as an example of warning, and to deter others from the commission of crime. The idea of "the vengeance of the law" is all but universally scouted,—thoughtlessly denounced by many who ought to know better, because they profess to reverence, and many of them doubtless do reverence, the authority on which that idea is founded. The recognition of that authority, the acknowledgment of the fact that the civil magistrate is a power ordained of God to bear the sword for the punishment of evildoers; and, as regards capital punishment, of the principle enunciated by the same authority, that 'whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed,' is the best, rather it is the only and all-sufficient answer, to the various fallacies put forth by those who would expunge capital punishment from our penal code. But since there are many who cannot be brought to take this view of the question, who will not admit the lawfulness of capital punishment, or, indeed, of punishment of any kind, upon any other ground than that of deterring the criminally-disposed from the commission of crime, it is a pity that the circumstances under which the extreme punishment of death is inflicted should be such as to supply a plausible plea for its abrogation. And this the effect of public executions undoubtedly does.

"A new element, however, has now been imported into the question. It appears, from what took place in the Court of Common Council, that there is foundation for the report which attributed the trepidation exhibited by the hangman, at the execution on Monday se'nnight, to an anonymous letter which he had received, containing threats against his own life. Making every allowance for the part which the posture in which the wretched criminal was placed on the scaffold, in consequence of his real or simulated prostration, had in prolonging his sufferings, and affording him the opportunity of making those vain struggles for life of which it is impossible to think without a shudder, it is clear that the revolting spectacle which ensued would either not have taken place at all,

or would have been put an end to at once, if the executioner had been possessed of his usual nerve and presence of mind. That those to whom the execution of the law is committed,—and this consideration is not necessarily confined to the hangman, it may reach higher, for fanaticism is ever soaring,—should be exposed, in a necessarily defenceless position, to the murderous attempts of any madman that may mingle in the crowd, is not to be tolerated, in the interest either of justice or humanity towards those whom the law claims as its victims. The fact that a threat of this kind had been resorted to, for the purpose of deterring the hangman from the execution of his office, is a strong argument against the practice of public executions.

“In the face of such a fact, it is difficult to understand how an officer of State, placed in so high and responsible a position as that of the Home Secretary, could give such an off-hand answer on the question of considering the propriety of a change in the system which makes the execution of criminals a public exhibition, as that made by Sir George Grey to the inquiry addressed to him by Mr. Biggs. The matter will not, we trust, be allowed to rest there. The revolting spectacle of Monday se’nnight is one, the repetition of which cannot and must not be hazarded. The lesson conveyed by it ought not to be lost upon the Legislature. The remedy is simple and easy. There can be no difficulty in surrounding the execution of the extreme sentence of the law with such safeguards of supervision, on the part of the public, as shall effectually prevent the possibility of public justice being abused for purposes of legal murder, or desecrated by attendant circumstances of barbarity. Execution within the prison walls, under the eyes of spectators summoned to it as witnesses, who attend as a matter of painful duty, and not for the gratification of a morbid curiosity or a depraved taste for horrors, will not be less solemn, nor less effective in deterring from the commission of crime. It will have the additional advantage—not an unimportant one, considering the eternity in which the culprit is launched by the hand of the hangman—of concentrating the attention of the criminal about to pay the forfeit of his life, upon his own wretched condition; of removing from him all temptation to bravado; and of sparing him the distraction and disturbance which can hardly fail to be produced upon a man’s mind by the sight of a multitude assembled to gaze upon his death as a public spectacle.”

It has also been asked, why not abolish capital punishments altogether? to which the constant answer is, that some crimes can be restrained only by the death of the criminal. Of course, to the criminal himself, death, though a dreadful catastrophe to think of, is yet no penalty, humanly speaking. The criminal dies, and there is an end of him. The benefit of capital punishment, then, must remain for the good of the public, which is certainly benefited, if the knowledge that such and such crimes forfeit the life of the culprit shall be found sufficiently coercive to restrain the survivors from the perpetration of similar offences. Society is bound to protect itself; and the common consent of the world votes in favour of the punishment of death for certain trespasses against its life and property. But it by no means follows that what is called the *common consent of mankind* should be implicitly accepted as the unerring rule of truth and justice; for if so, let us return to the rack, the thumb-screws, the Lynch-law, or the bow-string, to which the world has before now given its common consent, as if such things were infallibly right. Perhaps they were pro-

per for the time being; the Lynch-law in unsettled communities, and the bow-string in the days of despotism. But times alter, and things alter with them, and our judgment alters with the alteration of things and times. In settled states, many severities may be safely dispensed with; and as the Lynch-law gives way to the trial by jury, so the capital punishment by death may yield to the milder punishment of exclusion from the world for the rest of the culprit's life, or a portion of his life; and society, as it is now constituted, is surely strong enough to protect its own interests and safety, without being in haste to take away life from those who threaten to molest them, or have, in fact, already molested and damaged them. As to the popular cry of death for death, and the public feeling of satisfaction at the execution of a great criminal, we own we look upon such outbursts as nothing more than a hasty spirit of revenge, which had much better be suppressed than encouraged. To our ears, it has something of the sound of a savage yell in it. It would be better if the daily press were to endeavour to moderate such passionate expressions of abhorrence for vice or crime than to join in the outcry and sympathise with its oversensitive exclamations. Life is life; and because A has killed B, it is no reason why we should rush upon A and kill him in return. A might repent, or at all events we might allow him place for repentance; and, while protecting ourselves, afford him the opportunity of reflecting on the past and meditating on the future, without endangering our own security and well being by doing so. Such a proceeding on our parts seems more consentaneous with a people professing and calling themselves Christian, than an eagerness for putting in force the extreme severity of laws, which had their rise in days of barbarism and disorder that now no longer exist. It is with pleasure, therefore, that we turn to the account of the last hangman and the last gibbet.

"John Murdoch, who, until disabled by age and infirmity, about four years ago, had officiated for a lengthened period as the finisher of the law in Glasgow, and who was the last hangman who is ever likely to be in the ordinary pay of the corporation, has himself at length 'shuffled off this mortal coil.' For a period of above twenty years his stalwart form and grim visage (partially concealed by an old high-necked waterproof) were seen as the presiding genius at every scaffold which was erected throughout Scotland, and at not a few in the north of England. Murdoch, who was a baker, came to Glasgow from the north upwards of twenty years since, and was even then advanced in life. He was in poor circumstances, and contrived to get some humble employment about the corporation property. It happened that about this time Tam Young—the last functionary who had a formal appointment and a regular salary, and who wore the executioner's official costume—was getting rather shaky, and accordingly Murdoch was retained as a sort of assistant or stand-by. On Young's death he got a monopoly of the trade, such as it is; but, as he had neither the official appointment nor the regular pay, he was remunerated by the job. He took to the work quite genially, and, as he regarded his own functions as perfectly necessary to good government, he did not fail to be on



perfectly comfortable terms with himself. As his person became known in Glasgow, however, he found it convenient for his comfort to remove from the city, and took up his residence sometimes in Paisley, sometimes in Kilmarnock, sometimes in the adjacent villages—such as Motherwell—and he has even been recognised officiating as a pastrybaker's assistant at one of our fashionable Clyde watering-places. The tidings of a murder case at a Glasgow circuit always drew him forth. As soon as the judges sat down he reported his presence to the authorities, and then waited patiently, in the hope that the man would be hanged. After sentence was pronounced he felt all right. That the mind of the magistrates might be kept perfectly easy as to no accident taking place at the eleventh hour,—for in this case, according to the old notion, the youngest baillie must do the work,—old Murdoch always lodged himself in prison a week or ten days before the event, where he had bed and board at the public expense, and thus he was certain to be forthcoming when needed on the morning of the execution. But, unfortunately for Murdoch, Glasgow alone did not afford employment enough to support a man of this trade when 'paid by the piece,' and accordingly he laid himself out as a peripatetic finisher of the law in general; and we suppose he referred to the magistrates of Glasgow for his character and qualifications. In this way it was his lot to string unfortunates up at Edinburgh, Inverness, Aberdeen, Ayr, Perth, Dundee, Stirling, and in various towns in the north of England, such as Newcastle, Carlisle, &c. Taking a pleasure in his work, he held anything in the shape of a reprieve or commutation in mortal detestation, and used to say that the ridiculous weakness of the Government did him out of the best job he was ever likely to have—viz., the hanging of Frost, Williams, and Jones, for which employment he was the favoured candidate. We have said he took a pleasure in his revolting work. He officiated, for instance, upon the two murderers Doolan and Redding, who slaughtered a railway ganger while the Edinburgh and Glasgow line was being constructed, sixteen years ago, and who were executed in a field close to the scene of the crime. As Murdoch stood at the bottom of the scaffold, immediately after the men had been thrown off, one of the authorities remarked that Doolan had not been properly handled, as he struggled and suffered much. 'It's his ain fau't,' said Murdoch, 'nocht wad ser' him but he wad tak' a jump when the drap gaed doon; but see, sir, hoo kindly Redding's slippin' awa' (dying). The last occasion on which Murdoch officiated in Glasgow, or anywhere else, we presume, was at the execution in October, 1851, of a man named Hare, for a murder committed in Blantyre. He was then eighty-four years of age, and was so lame with rheumatism that he had to hirlie after the criminal to the gallows by the aid of a staff; but, once there, the old fellow did his duty with nerves of steel. Although there have been, unhappily, other occasions of the same kind since, the magistrates of Glasgow could not trust Murdoch again, and accordingly they called in the help of Calcraft, who, we trust, will be found perfectly able to do all the work of this kind which is required over the United Kingdom. Murdoch, being thus laid aside, went to the charming village of Bothwell, where, happily, his 'anteecedents' were unknown, excepting to one or two, who generously kept the secret; and here he died, on Saturday, the 15th instant. He was maintained for the last few years by a monthly dole from the corporation of Glasgow, which was disguised, to the public, under the head of 'criminal expenditure,' and he will be the last official of the kind, we trust, who will permanently have a place on the chamberlain's books. He was not a native, and had no claim on Glasgow, excepting that which abject destitution gave him, and that he had been useful in performing necessary, but very vile functions. Had Glasgow left him to starve, it would not have been an easy matter to fix the parish liable for the support of a wandering hangman, approaching ninety years of age.

"A day or two ago the last gibbet erected in England was demolished by

the workmen employed by the contractors making the extensive docks for the North-Eastern Railway Company upon Jarrow Stake, on the Tyne. The person who was gibbeted at that place was William Jobbing, a pitman, aged thirty years, convicted at the Durham Midsummer Assizes, of 1832, of being concerned with another pitman, James Armstrong (who absconded and was never apprehended), with murdering Mr. Nicholas Fairles, a magistrate, upon the road to Jarrow, on the 1st of June in that year, and was hung that month at Durham. In the summer of 1832 there was a lengthened strike of the pitmen of Northumberland and Durham. Bitter feelings arose between masters and men. Many hundreds of the families of the men were turned out of their cottages and lived in the lanes and roads in camps for months. The collieries had to be protected by military and an immense number of special constables, notwithstanding which three murders and many outrages were committed upon non-union men, and Mr. Fairles fell a victim to his zeal in endeavouring to maintain the law. At the time of Jobbing's trial an old law had been revived by the Whigs which condemned a murderer to the gibbet. Jobbing was the only person, we believe, gibbeted under that act; but so great were the horror and disgust of all parties with the sight of the body of the poor wretch dangling in chains by the side of a public road, that great gratitude was expressed when the pitmen took it down one dark night, and either sunk it in Shields Bar or buried it under the walls of Jarrow Monastery. It is, however, a gratifying fact, showing the progress of civilization among the mining population of those two counties, that though there have been several strikes among them since 1832, none of those strikes have been marked by a repetition of the fearful acts of violence of that year. At one of the great meetings of the pitmen, held in the spring of 1832, the late Marquis of Londonderry attended on horseback to remonstrate with them. But he had a company of soldiers with him, which were in hiding in the valley. This was known to the pitmen, and the pitman that held his horse's head as he spoke had a loaded pistol up his sleeve, in case the Marquis should wave the soldiers to come up, to blow the Marquis's brains out. Fortunately, the good feeling and kind heart of the late nobleman prevailed, and that emergency did not arise."

We can remember when the Kent side of the river Thames was decorated with many a gallows, upon which dangled the remains of culprits, being pecked at by the crows and aimed at by the boys. It was a sight held up *in terrorem* against criminals who had been convicted of murder, mutiny, &c. upon the high seas; and the common consent of mankind had agreed to the propriety of these horrid exhibitions. But now the same common consent has agreed to their removal. Not far from the spot where we are writing these lines is a pit called the *Dead Man's Hole*. A murderer had been hung there in chains to the terror of all future highwaymen: the highwaymen are no more, the gibbet and its loathsome remains have long since been removed. The common consent erected the gibbet, and the common consent has removed it. We can also remember when the criminal condemned to the gallows was drawn through the chief thoroughfares of London, stretched upon a platform laid across a cart, driven by a carman slowly through the gazing mob. What was the use of this display? The same common consent that approved of it has since then suppressed it. As better taste, the result of better feelings, springing from more experience, or from what is equivalent to experience, better under-



standing, gains ground, barbarities are seen to be nothing more than the provocatives of the very crimes they are meant to suppress. Society ought to show itself above the imputation of revenge, and to be able to stand firm and erect in the midst of these aggressions on its stability, which is too firmly grounded ever to be shaken by the exceptional assaults of wickedness, and too wise ever to allow itself to behave cruelly towards those whom it censures, convicts, and condemns.

We subjoin a curious extract from the "Statistics of Crime":—

"A 'Blue Book,' containing the Nineteenth Report of the Inspectors of Prisons in Great Britain is just published. The volume contains 247 pages of closely-printed numerals; and though it is not easy at first to extract the results from such an arithmetical mass, there are some points which are well deserving of serious consideration. The report gives a comparative analysis of the total number of prisoners tried at the assizes and sessions, the number of convictions and the summary convictions for every year from 1841 to 1853, both inclusive; and it is gratifying to find that, notwithstanding the increase of population, there has been a gradual, but sure, decrease in the number of crimes committed, and also a diminution in the magnitude of the offences. It will suffice, however, for our purpose to take the relative amount of crimes committed in the years 1852 and 1853, the last period to which the returns are made up.

"The numbers for trial, or tried at assizes or sessions in 1852, were 27,350; in 1853, 26,804; being a decrease of two per cent. The convictions, as compared with the committals, are identical in their proportions, being in the year 1852 77·3, and in 1853 77·0 per cent. The decrease in the number of summary convictions is still more cheering. The total number of summary convictions in 1852 was 76,547, and in 1853 only 71,850, showing a decrease of 4967 or 6·5 per cent. These convictions have in the returns been classified under different heads, which renders their application easier. First on the list stand offences against the game laws, and here it is most satisfactory to witness a great improvement. These game laws have been by many considered the curse of the country, and at one period did more to fill our gaols than anything else. Formerly, to shoot a partridge was in the eye of the law as bad as committing a burglary or a highway robbery. A young countryman who, on the impulse of the moment, shot a pheasant, very soon found himself a convicted felon with the worst possible characters for his companions; and he from that moment became a lost man. To have been an inmate of a felon's prison was like the brand upon Cain; and henceforth he became a wanderer on the face of the earth, his hand against every one, and every one's hand against him. Such were the effects of the game laws but a few years since; and, although the laws remain the same, yet the landed aristocracy find it is inexpedient to enforce them rigidly. The effect of this forbearance has been to reduce the number of commitments for offences against the game laws from 3525 in 1852 to 2671 in 1853—a decrease equivalent to 24·2 per cent.

"There has also been a marked diminution in the number of offences committed against the revenue laws, the numbers having fallen from 987 in 1852 to 768, or 22·2 per cent. This diminution in crimes against the revenue may probably be attributed to the decrease in the amount of smuggling, arising from the operation of free trade. There appears to be a diminution in illicit distillation. In offences against the bastardy laws there has likewise been a decrease in the year of 23·9 per cent; the number of convictions in 1852 having been 1097, and in 1853 only 835. Whether this arises from a higher tone of morality, or from the prosperous condition of the labouring population, which tends to swell the number of marriages, is not determined in the returns; but



the latter conclusion would appear to be the correct one. The number of offences against the Vagrant Act has also decreased 22·8 per cent., the number of offences in the two years 1852-3 being respectively 20,314 and 15,685. The diminution in this class of offences is clearly attributable—first, to the abundance of employment, and, secondly, to the calling out of the militia, which absorbed a considerable portion of the idle and worthless population.

“Persons seem in the year 1853 to have been much more amicably disposed than in the previous year, as we find there was a diminution of 16 per cent. in the number of offences committed against the Malicious Trespass Act. Neither do the people appear to have been as pugnacious as usual, or perhaps the war drew off much of the hot blood of the country, as there is a diminution of 2·1 per cent. in the number of convictions for assault. There has also been a diminution of 3·5 per cent. in the number of persons summarily convicted as being reputed thieves.

Thus much on the fair side of the picture. On the other hand, the number of offences committed by military prisoners increased 395·2 per cent., the number of convictions having been only 42 in 1852, and 208 in 1853. This is, however, not at all extraordinary, owing to the militia having been embodied during the latter year, and considering the number of men raised, the actual amount of convictions against military prisoners must be regarded as small. In offences under the Larceny Act there has been a slight increase in the number of convictions to the extent of 1·1 per cent. But under the Police Act there has been an increase of 29·8 per cent., an unusually large amount, as regards which the report gives no information. In all other offences, not included under any of the above heads, the number of convictions in 1852 were 17,767, and in 1853 18,014 in this class. However, the convictions under the Militia Act included in this class, amounting to 244, being deducted, reduce the numbers to 17,780, exhibiting a very slight increase upon the preceding year. In offences committed by juvenile offenders it is gratifying to notice a diminution. The number of prisoners under the above age for trial, or tried at the assizes or sessions in 1852 were 2222, in 1853, 2105, being a decrease of 117, or 5·2 per cent. The summary convictions were in 1852 9599, and in 1853 9348, showing a decrease of 2·6 per cent.

Whilst, however, on the whole, it is gratifying to find that there has been such a marked diminution in the amount of crime, it is to be regretted that there is no evidence of education having made much progress, as it is shown that from 1850 to 1853 inclusive, giving the proportion which the uneducated criminals bear to the total numbers, that scarcely any improvement has been observed in this most important branch of the question. Thus, of the total number of criminals in 1850, there were 94·8 who possessed little or no instruction; in 1851, the numbers were 95·1; in 1852, 95·4; and in 1853, 95·3 per cent. There is, therefore, plenty of scope for the labours of all those who are interested in the improvement of the people. Such are the main conclusions arrived at in this report of the Prison Inspectors.”

One of the wise men of old used to say that the sum of virtue was comprised in the two words, *bear* and *forbear*. We are all so liable to make mistakes in word and action, that whenever an error of speech or conduct can possibly be overlooked and forgotten, the sooner it is done the better. The forbearance in enforcing the Game Laws against offenders under this head, is an instance in point. The next means of lessening crime is that of education. The number of children that wander about the streets of every town in rags and ignorance, infamy and want, is too apparent not to have attracted the attention of the most

indifferent observer. These little urchins ought to be provided for and educated in some manner, however defective. A little education and a little discipline would be better than none; a great point would be gained if they were taught how to keep themselves clean, and, above all, enabled to do so. They might be taught something; they would only be too ready to learn that something, whatever it might be; and who doubts but that they would be but too glad to keep their little hands from picking and stealing, if only some of the "dons" would assist them in doing so. As it is, they grow up in darkness and destitution: their only trade is that of providing for themselves by petty larceny, for which they are convicted before the bench, sentenced to hard labour, and sent to the House of Correction, where they associate with others like themselves, and from whence, at the end of their term of "durance vile," they come forth hardened in shame and confirmed in their evil propensities. The end of it is, that they have the ignoble satisfaction of furnishing statistics of crime to be duly laid before honourable members and the public in general, in the shape of a Blue Book of three or four hundred pages of questions and answers, to be eventually legislated upon *pro bono publico* in its proper order, time, and place. Much, if not all, of this cumbrous machinery might be effectually dispensed with by looking after the numberless outcasts of society, and protecting them, not so much for their sakes as for our own.

We are compelled this quarter to postpone our critical analysis of one of the most recent essays on insanity in relation to crime.\* We subjoin the following *resumé* of the conclusions to which the writer has arrived:—

*"That the insane man is responsible for his insanity when the latter has been produced or occasioned by circumstances over which he either has or had control.*

*"The insane man is not responsible for his insanity when the latter has been occasioned by circumstances over which he has or had no power of control."*

*"1. The insane man is responsible for actions which present no discoverable relation to the definitely morbid condition of his mind.* In other words, the insane man is responsible for those actions which cannot be traced to his insanity.

*"2. The insane man is responsible for his criminal actions when there is no evidence of insanity beyond that of the act performed.* It may be questioned in many cases whether the individual is insane at all. But it is assumed that the plea is raised, and that the case is considered one of so-called 'insane impulse.'

\* "Criminal Lunatics: Are they responsible? Being an Examination of the Plea of Insanity, in a Letter to the Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor." By J. Russell Reynolds, M.D. London: 1856.

"3. *The insane man is not responsible for those actions which are the direct result or expression of his insanity.* The presence of a distinct delusion or erroneous belief (!) which the individual cannot correct, but upon the faith of which he acts, and it may be criminally, is sufficient to establish his irresponsibility.

"4. *The insane man is not responsible for criminal actions when without any distinct or persistent delusions the whole tenor of his mind is deranged.*"

The next point raised is this: "Is the insane man, when responsible, as much so, or equally responsible with the sane?" The following are the propositions:—

"1. *The insane are as responsible as the sane for actions committed through insanity which they have voluntarily brought upon themselves.*

"2. *Under all other conditions of insanity there is some diminution of responsibility,* inasmuch as the benefit of doubt should be extended to those who have this claim upon the mercy of society. But granting that responsibility is diminished, no definite lines can be drawn for fixing its amount, except from a consideration of the requirements of particular cases."

We extremely regret that Dr. Reynolds, in flapping his newly-fledged psychological wings, should have authoritatively sanctioned doctrines so repugnant to reason, so opposed to sound mental pathology, and so contrary to the principles of justice and humanity. It is indeed a sad but significant sign of the times to find an educated physician living in the present enlightened epoch gravely enunciating, in a pamphlet addressed to the highest judge in the land, that an insane person should be considered legally responsible for offences committed against the state, if the insanity "*has been occasioned by circumstances over which he either has or had control;*" and that "*the insane are as responsible as the sane for actions committed through insanity, which they have voluntarily brought upon themselves.*" "They" (continues Dr. Reynolds, speaking of lunatics legally responsible for their conduct in consequence of the insanity being self induced) "have possessed and employed the faculty of choice; they have recognised possible advantages and possible evils; they have preferred self-gratification to every other good, and if by a course of this description *they have become criminal,* they are justly responsible for the crime, and as responsible as if they were sane at the time of its commission."

"A Daniel!—a second Daniel!—come to judgment."

What are the judges to think of crude, unphilosophical, and inhumane opinions like these, if they can properly be received as an embodiment of the sentiments of the British psychological physician? God forbid that such doctrines should ever fasten themselves upon the public, professional, and judicial mind.



Is there a type of mental derangement that may not, agreeably to Dr. Reynolds's signification of the term, have "been occasioned by circumstances over which he (the lunatic) either has, or had, control?" A man is exposed to a heavy domestic calamity, the result, perhaps, of reckless speculations on the Stock Exchange. In a few hours he is reduced from affluent to indigent circumstances. Prostrated by the affliction, his bodily health becomes seriously impaired, the mind succumbs, and insanity, in its most serious form, develops itself. This man may have been guilty of great improvidence and indiscretion, and have shown a culpable want of judgment, common sense, and ordinary forethought. He has ruined himself by his own voluntary acts of folly, and the sad consequences to his body and mind have clearly been "occasioned by circumstances over which he has had control." Would Dr. Reynolds—kind and humane physician we believe him to be—witness without emotion this man dangling from the end of a rope, in the convulsive agonies of a painful death for the amusement of some 20,000 blackguards, if he should happen, in a paroxysm of delirium, connected with his "voluntarily induced insanity," to murder his wife or child? The principal cause of insanity that prevails to so great an extent among the pauper portion of our population is, beyond all doubt, *intemperance*. Dr. Reynolds could easily satisfy his mind upon this point, if he will take the trouble of visiting any one of our County Lunatic Asylums. The insanity of many of the poor unhappy beings confined in these institutions is clearly "occasioned by circumstances over which they had control"—they have *voluntarily* drank of that which

"Takes the reason prisoner,"

and, therefore, agreeably to Dr. Reynolds's psychological test, "they are as responsible *as the sane* for their actions," and should be hanged, or otherwise severely punished, if they in a state of profound dementia, idiocy, or maniacal excitement, committed the crime of murder. When alluding to the subject of self-created insanity, in our comments on the case of Mrs. Brough, we remarked:—

"The same cause (*intemperance*) is in operation but to a limited extent in the middle and upper classes of society; but insanity may often be traced to a criminal indulgence in depraved habits and vicious thoughts, to reckless and unprincipled conduct; to long indulged self-will; to a censurable neglect of the cultivation of habits of *self-control*; to an utter disregard of all mental discipline and training.

"If we are justified in considering every person accountable and amenable to punishment, whose insanity can be clearly traced to *self-created causes*, where are we to draw the line? The man who, as the result of a series of debaucheries, *voluntarily* drinks himself into a

state of furious delirium, is, as long as that delirium continues, *non compos mentis*, and he ought not to be considered accountable for any act committed during his paroxysm of *self-induced* and temporary insanity. We may regret that there should not exist, for cases like these, a secondary form of punishment, which, if judiciously awarded, might prevent much of the deplorable misery we are daily compelled to witness in social life; but until our criminal code has undergone material alterations, it is not for us to draw refined distinctions, and say that one class of insane persons should not escape the legal penalties to which they have by their conduct exposed themselves, simply because their mental disease can be traced to intemperance, unbridled passion, or unchecked vicious impulses and thoughts; and a different class of the insane, whose sad condition has originated from causes quite out of their own control, should entirely escape punishment and censure.”\*

If we were to carry into practical operation Dr. Reynolds’s theory, our courts of law would necessarily become arenas for the discussion of subtle points of psychology, practical medicine, and therapeutics; for in cases in which the plea of insanity is urged as an excuse for crime, the question for the consideration of the jury would not be, is the prisoner sane or insane, responsible or irresponsible, but was the alleged insanity occasioned by circumstances which he could or should have controlled; could he have warded off his attack by avoiding all undue excitement, anxiety of mind, sudden mental emotion, or by having paid stricter attention to dietetic rules, to the state of his stomach, digestive organs, and liver? It would be the duty of the jury to consider, whether the unhappy culprit’s insanity had not resulted from his having voluntarily neglected to comply with certain organic conditions of mental health. If this could be established to the satisfaction of the court, Dr. Reynolds’s test of responsibility in connexion with crime and insanity would be demonstrated, and Calcraft would have an opportunity of exhibiting his skill by hanging the poor imbecile, or idiot,

“His gallant bark of reason wreck’d,  
A poor quench’d ray of intellect,  
With slobber’d chin, and rayless eye,  
A mind of mere inanity.”

Let Dr. Reynolds ponder well upon this subject—let him seriously reconsider this important matter, and he will, we feel assured, be the first to eschew doctrines alike abhorrent to the feelings of a Christian, repulsive to men of science, and subversive to the first principles of sound judicial psychology.

\* “Psychological Journal” for Oct., 1854.

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JANUARY 1, 1856.

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**Part First.**

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

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ART. I.—THE WAR.

THE moral as well as the physical world is full of the evidences of change, transition, and progressive development. Our public institutions and our language are but the fossil remains of a former state of society; just as the geologist shows us in certain strata the fauna and flora of species and genera long since extinct. The Latin tongue and the old Roman law are to be found in the statutes and language of every people in Christendom. Imbedded in present forms and manners, we pass them by without considering that mere testimonies of the past are as thick and frequent as the zoophytes that stud the limestone slab on which we are standing; that what is social is as antique as what is natural; and that we ourselves are but the children of a race subsisting amidst the repeated transmigrations of ages. It is the same with every other branch of science. Astronomers tell us that the fixed stars have a proper movement of their own; that new stars have appeared and old ones disappeared; that nebulae are forming or have formed within the memory of man; and that aërolites are but the portions of a disrupted planet, circulating round the sun,

“—— together hurl’d,  
The fragments of a former world.”

The violent shocks of nature are not limited to our own globe, and meteoric, if not volcanic, agency is at work in the realms of space as powerfully as it is within the bowels of the earth.

If we descend from nature to man, the story is the same. They planted and builded, and married and were given in mar-



riage, and the flood came and took them all away. Nineveh, Thebes, Babylon, Memphis, and Tyre are synonymous with war and miseries; and their names stand out like the salient angles of a bastion that conceals the cares of ordinary life behind its bristling parapets. The sculptured blocks recently arranged along the Museums of Paris and London, stammer forth, as voices from the dead, in broken hieroglyphics or arrow-headed inscriptions, the worn-out chronicles of their times. Nor do the arts and sciences of the present day change the burden of the song: steam and the electric wire only add velocity to life, and life, whether slow or fast, is evermore the same.

Upwards of a thousand years ago, the Greek Emperor, Theophilus, was, like ourselves, devoted to the progress of civilization.\* He longed to surpass the splendours of Bagdad, at that time in the zenith of the caliphate. For this purpose, he engaged the most skilful artists to construct for him a toy of gold, set with precious stones, that played tunes of its own accord, like a musical snuff-box; and two golden lions that roared, and a golden tree with leaves rustling in the wind and boughs filled with singing birds. These puerile curiosities, together with many others of a similar kind, were enclosed within a spacious edifice, open to the admiration of all. It was the Crystal Palace of the ninth century—the harbinger of amity and peace. But, in humble imitation of our own, it was followed by war, a brilliant victory, a successful siege, abundance of spoils, and a triumphal return to the peaceful curiosities of the Crystal Palace. The war was renewed, but victory changed sides; and Theophilus died contemplating the bloody head of a rival held up by its hairs before his glazing eyeballs.

Suetonius tells us,† that when Augustus Cæsar heard of the loss of the three legions with their cohorts under Varus, he was inconsolable, paced his corridor, beat his head, and exclaimed in anguish, “Varus, give me back my legions!” But the legions were lost; and it was not till years afterwards that Germanicus fell upon their remains, and ascertained the precise spot of their destruction.‡ He traced the intrenchments, collected the bones of horses and men, and recognised some portions of armour mouldering into rust. When Tiberius was informed of this sentimental exploit, he was wroth, and rebuked Germanicus for leading the troops under his command to witness such dismal sights, and making them acquainted with so signal a reverse of the Roman arms. The rebuke was just; and though he was blamed

\* “Histoire du Moyen Age.” Paris: 1843. Tom. i. p. 524.

† Sueton. “in Oct. August.” xxiii. “Per continuos menses, barba capilloque submisso, caput interdum foribus illideret, vociferans, ‘Q. Vare, legiones redde;’ diemque cladis quotannis mæstum habuerit ac lugubrem.”

‡ Tacit. “Annal.” i. 62. Quod Tiberio haud probatum.

for it at the time, Tiberius was in the right. For, in spite of his depravity, he was an astute politician, who, with exquisite discrimination, saw in this misfortune the earliest warnings of decay.

Xerxes, who was quite as luxurious, if not so debauched as Tiberius, was certainly just as farsighted in political affairs as that crafty old statesman. Herodotus gives us a peep into the Persian cabinet, and reports a speech of Xerxes upon the threatening rupture with Greece. "If *we* remain quiet," said the youthful tyrant, "*they* will not; for they will certainly invade us. Neither we nor they can stand still; we must attack them ere they attack us; they must submit to us, or we to them—there is no other alternative;"\* and his pride instigated him to decide upon a war so plainly justified by his political acumen. But the decision cost him the severest trouble of mind. His sleep was broken, and his thoughts bewildered. In the night he was hallucinated; and Herodotus relates two of his spectral illusions. The war, however, was entered on; and the contest evoked the crisis that he dreaded. It hurried on Greece to its maturity; and not only were the Asiatics repulsed and chastised, but Persia, in her turn, trembled for her homesteads, her cities, and her fanes. Alexander came, and cut a high-road through the heart of her dominions.

The fifty years that followed the battles of Mycale and Plataea are the most brilliant and extraordinary on record; and we know the more about them, because their histories have reached us entire, and their well-known authors, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Xenophon were men of first-rate talents. In the midst of a rapid military career, by sea and land, the Athenians cultivated the liberal arts with the utmost enthusiasm, and carried them to a degree of perfection which few nations have been able to imitate, and none have surpassed. Under the administration of a single man, Athens was adorned with those magnificent structures, which Rome, on becoming the mistress of the world, did not disdain to avail herself of, in after ages, because she felt she was unable to copy what she could not but fall down and admire. So great, indeed, was the lustre shed by the name of Athens, that, from the age of Pericles, it designates the nation, country, and language of Greece. The Attic dialect, brought to perfection by its transcendent writers, became the model of all that is beautiful, and still holds the lofty privilege of being the most copious and the sweetest ever spoken by man.

The Persian war stands out in history as one of the landmarks of human greatness. The blood shed in battle was the first seed of liberty sown in Europe; but it required a series of wars—a succession of ages,—before it opened into blossom, and ripened

\* Herod. *Pol.* xi.

into fruit ; for the tree of liberty is no exotic of Eastern extraction. It is a hardy sapling that grows upon the bare ground or in the clefts of the rocks, luxuriates amid the ruins of empires, and strikes its roots the deeper the fiercer blows the blast.

The final cause of war is liberty. The immediate cause may be the gratification of personal ambition or national aggrandizement and pre-eminence ; but its end is liberty. Man is not born free—he must fight for it. In all times and all places, slavery, in some form or other, has always been considered a necessary piece of state machinery. The moment absolute freedom is introduced, the state engine gets out of gear. This is the fact in republics as well as in monarchies and despotisms ; for a republic is only a monarchy disguised. The smallest number governs the many, or a single genius rules them all ; and the crowd follows its leader as blindly as sheep do their bell-wether. No ancient philosopher ever seriously entertained the notion of abolishing slavery and liberating two-thirds of his fellow-creatures. Plato and Aristotle were parasites afraid of offending the reigning fashion of the day, or at the best, they were only speculative sophists. Nor was it till Christianity had sapped the foundations of Paganism, that man awoke from his social lethargy, and found, to his amazement, that he was no longer a nonentity, either in time or eternity. Rousseau, in his “Social Contract,” affectedly exclaims, *L’homme est né libre, et partout il est dans les fers!*—but Lucan more honestly makes Cæsar say, *Humanum paucis vivit genus* : \* life is only for the few, and though freedom be our birthright, yet subjection or subjugation is the lot of most of us.

But to return to the moral or social cause of war. It is the effort for freedom. There is a moment in its affairs, when the world is stung to the quick with the sense of *Liberty*—a watchword that startles the repose of kings, breaks up the routine of life, and stuns the monotony of peace. Nations abhor foreign rule. The most respectable communities are those who govern themselves, or who are governed by their own princes, electorates, or presidents. This has always been the case. To be devoid of this nationality, is a proof that a people are already dead, or are ready to die. The foreigner is not only a conqueror, which is detestable, but also a tyrant, which is insupportable. His gauntlet is steel, and his sceptre iron. His dignity crushes those whom he pretends to govern, and the reaction is tremendous. There are some evils we cannot shun, but which must be faced, submitted to, or overcome ; and rebellion or war provoked by tyranny is one of these.

Hence it happens that war, horrid as it may be, develops some of the noblest passions of the soul, and purifies the heart as much

\* Lucan. “Pharsal.”



as it enlarges the intellect. The condition of the weak, the needy, the ignoble, and the low is ameliorated by its means,—condignly, indeed, as each may suffer from it during its blood-stained progress. The penalty paid is enormous; every transition is a period of confusion and loss; nor is society ever revolutionized without its proportionate measure of suffering and woe. We are not its advocates—we are only stating the case.\*

The next most eventful epoch in the history of mankind is the age of Julius Cæsar.† He was the most gifted man the world had ever seen, and his laurels are still green. As a warrior or a statesman, as an astronomer or a writer, as an architect or an orator, as a conqueror, a civilian, or an engineer, he stands alone and equally distinguished in each department. He is chiefly known as a great captain; but he was much more than a military man. Over the darkest portion of Europe he cast a gleam of light which has never been extinguished. His eye saw farther than the mere winning of a battle; for he was a diplomatist of the highest class, who reorganized those whom he subdued with the same masterly hand as that with which he had fought them in their own territories. By the firmness of his policy he delayed the fall of his country by the space of three hundred years or more; for he foresaw, not only what his political opponents

\* "War, then," he said, "war, the grand impoverisher, is also a creator of the wealth which it wastes and devours?"

"Yes," replied Bridgenorth, "even as the sluice brings into action the sleeping waters of the lake, which it finally drains. Necessity invents arts and discovers means; and what necessity is sterner than that of civil war? Therefore, even war is not in itself unmixed evil, being the creator of impulses and energies which could not otherwise have existed in society."

"Men should go to war, then," said Peveril, "that they may send their silver plate to the mint, and eat from pewter dishes and wooden platters?"

"Not so, my son," said Bridgenorth. Then checking himself as he observed the deep crimson in Julian's cheek and brow, he added, "I crave your pardon for such familiarity; but I meant not to limit what I said even now to such trifling consequences, although it may be something salutary to tear men from their pomps and luxuries, and teach those to be Romans who would otherwise be Sybarites. But I would say, that times of public danger, as they call into circulation the miser's hoard and the proud man's bullion, and so add to the circulating wealth of the country, do also call into action many a brave and noble spirit, which would otherwise lie torpid, give no example to the living, and bequeath no name to future ages. Society knows not, and cannot know, the mental treasures which slumber in her bosom, till necessity and opportunity call forth the statesman and the soldier from the shades of lowly life to the parts they are designed by Providence to perform, and the stations which nature had qualified them to hold. So rose Oliver—so rose Milton—so rose many another name which cannot be forgotten—even as the tempest summons forth and displays the address of the mariner."

"You speak," said Peveril, "as if national calamity might be, in some sort, an advantage."

"And if it were not so," replied Bridgenorth, "it had not existed in this state of trial, where all temporal evil is alleviated by something good in its progress or result, and where all that is good is close coupled with that which is in itself evil."—WALTER SCOTT.

† Sueton. "in J. Cæsar," *passim*.

imputed to him, the coming empire, but also the overthrow of that empire by the very barbarians whom he was engaged in defeating. And never was there a greater blunder perpetrated than in his assassination. His murderers could not supply his place: they were disunited, soon dispersed,—some committed suicide, others treachery, and each of them came to ruin. The boy Octavius gathered up the fragments of the state, and cemented them into a whole, to which the name of Cæsar gave importance and renown. Now, as the Median war, five hundred years previously, had sown the first seeds of liberty in Europe, so the wars of Cæsar called into existence the first germs of civilization in the West. It was the *punctum saliens* of the modern world.

The question has often been agitated, whether Rome would have fallen if Carthage had stood. A glance will show that the fall of Carthage was only a matter of popular rivalry. The dominant power of the day must be all in all, or else it is nothing. Rome saw the alternative, and acted upon it with her instinctive sagacity and promptitude. Carthage was razed; but with her fell nothing but a nation of shopkeepers. For merchants are only money-dealers, whose views are no larger than their coffers, and whose ideas of national prosperity do not extend beyond their balance-sheet at the end of the year, or a clever speculation in some remote corner of the globe. A tradesman can never be either a statesman or a soldier. In Hannibal there is nothing akin to Napoleon, Cæsar, or Alexander. *They* were more than soldiers, while *he* was only a general; and Carthage, the centre of commerce and wealth, had not advanced the world a step forwarder in its progress, but left it where she found it, in the government of others, instead of her own. She has not bequeathed to us a single writer of note, her language is forgotten, and her spirit, except for trade, has left not a trace behind.

On the contrary, Rome consolidated the world, and held it together for many a long century; her fall loosened the bond, and scattered the growing nations around her. It was a moral earthquake greater than any that had ever yet shaken the framework of society. It was accomplished with war and disaster. The effect was instantly manifest: Christianity dared to show herself, and many nations arose out of the one. The cross, sentiment, and devotion crept forth from beneath the statues of the ancient gods, whose worship was now defunct, for the world had changed its mind and its tastes. Charlemagne, breastplates, shields, and the lance in rest became the novel order of the day. It was a pantomime on a gigantic scale. Cæsar, Cicero, Pompey, and Mark Antony would have found themselves sadly out of place in company with Odoacer, Clovis, Pepin, and all their chivalry.

Quickly, another phantom stalked upon the stage; it was Mahomet with his crescent, turban, and scymitar—Mecca, Kaaba, and the Koran—his cruel disciples, and the Saracenic host. Battle, and murder, and crime were not only the usual, but also the religious precepts in vogue among them. Opposition of principles begat contention. It was no longer the stale design of conquering many kingdoms on purpose to convert them into one, but of fighting for faith, as the essence of life.\* The knight in armour was a reckless enthusiast, but a great favourite for the time being. His plume, his helm, his polished hauberk, thigh-pieces, and leggins, his gauntlet, shield, and spear, with its fluttering pennon and quaint device, was the gew-gaw that once represented the mind of the age, but which now graces in effigy the mantelpiece or bracket of some well-furnished drawing-room. Nevertheless, the cause was a real one; the man within the iron mask was in downright earnest; the Saracen was wrong, and the Christian was right; and Charles Martel proved it to be so, at the battle of Tours.† From that hour, the Crescent withdrew its diminished head, and, except for Charles, the *hammer* of the North, except for his Norman horsemen and their heavy arms, except for the blood spilt and the numbers slain on that memorable battle-field, we might, for aught we can see to the contrary, have been Turks instead of Christians at this present hour, worshipping Mahomet instead of Christ, both in England and France.

The eighth century dawned upon the world a wilderness of war, want, ignorance, darkness, crime, and famine, both spiritual and corporeal. It was chaos returned. But from this seeming confusion arose, like a morning mist, the present states of Europe, in their youth and prime. The old governments were gone, the new were unsettled and inexperienced. The Franks had conquered Gaul and Germany. Beyond the Rhine, fresh populations were in continual ebullition, menacing those on the south, or menaced themselves by others on the north. The Lombards possessed Cisalpine Gaul. A Duke governed Rome under the title of an exarch—a figment of the past. The little city of Gaëta was the only mart of promise, with municipal laws and a militia of her own. Upon a rock, by the sea, she protected the plains of Garigliano, the orange trees, the aloes, the cactus, and the African vegetation that still adorns that coast. It was a trading community, while in the volcanic region, the Solfaterra, of Vesuvius, Sorrento and Amalfi, with the mariner's compass, revived the commercial spirit of the Phenicians.

\* "Ex multis gentibus nationibusque, unum regnum populumque constituit."  
(Justin.)

† Gibbon, c. 52.



The terrified inhabitants of Padua, who had fled from Alaric, passed over to the Rialto, at the top of the Adriatic Gulf; and the others, who subsequently retired before Attila, perched themselves on the neighbouring isles, like so many sea-fowl. They founded Venice, and became the merchant princes in a cluster of palaces emerging from the sea.\* The Doge of Venice was a great man in his day. Arsenal, docks, ships, and trade arose at his bidding; and in strength and importance the merchant-city played no mean part among the other cities of the earth.

The British isles were still uncivilized. Spain, rescued from the Visigoths, fell a prey to the implacable Moors, who extinguished the light of faith everywhere, except the spark that smouldered in the Asturias. The Greek Empire, mutilated and dismembered, retreated from the Danube, abandoned the garrisons stationed by Justinian upon its right bank, and stretched a feeble arm of authority as far as Istria, Dalmatia, and Mount Hæmus. Africa, that had been either Greek or Roman, Palestine with Syria, the seat of the Caliphate, and the whole of Asia as far as Cilicia, had been seized on by the Arabs; and Arabia itself extended from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, and from the Indus to the Iaxartes. The North was darkened by a mob of nomadic savages, who, under various designations, wandered and prowled from the Caspian to the Euxine, and from the Euxine to the Baltic.

Such was the scene disclosed as the curtain rose after the fall of Rome. It looks like a solemn masquerade, so motley are the figures, and so diverse from all that had gone before. There is no kindred feeling between the Dictator Sylla and Luke Anafetta, the first of the Doges—there is not the slightest resemblance between Attila and Scipio Africanus, Quintus Curtius and Leo the Great. The form, the features, the costume, the speech, the manners, principles of action, hopes, fears, plans, thoughts—all are changed; myriads have perished in the direful struggle; blood has flowed in torrents, cities have been sacked and destroyed, plains and villages ravaged with fire and sword, the mighty have been lowered, and the low exalted—everything upset: and all for what?

The fifteen decisive battles, so often spoken of as the fifteen critical turning-points of the world, are far less pregnant in their grand results than the five successful sieges which occurred in the course of the two thousand years that intervened between 500 B.C. and A.D. 1454. The siege of Babylon liberated the Hebrews; the siege of Sardis dissipated the wealth of Cræsus; the siege of Jerusalem by Titus dispersed the Jews; the siege of Rome broke paganism to pieces, and the siege of Constantinople

\* "*Histoire du Moyen Age*," Paris: 1843. Tom. i. p. 273.

by the Turks started the modern period. For sieges are so much the more important in their consequences than battles, as cities or fortresses are the strongholds of empire, and the concentrated focus from which emanate those political ideas that govern a nation, a set of nations, or the world. Thus, the world fell when Rome fell, and with the fall of Constantinople the middle ages passed away.

A note was sounded, long, loud, and clear, at the fall of Constantinople, that re-echoed along the remotest shores of earth—it was the invention of the art of printing, the circulation of free opinion, and the discovery of the New World. It was the clarion-note of freedom and intelligence. It was the death-note of spiritual darkness, feudalism, and prejudice. It was the signal that awoke the giant-genius from his sleep. The mail-clad warrior raised his vizor, and glared around him; the monk threw back his cowl, and looked astonishment; the stoled priest paused on the steps of the altar, and listened; the turbaned Turk brandished his sheathless scymitar, and counted the years of his Hegira.\* Remember, thundered Cicero in the ears of Mark Antony; remember, wherever thou art, thou art still within the limits of the Roman dominions!† That threat could now no longer be repeated. Beyond the sparkling waves of the Atlantic, another land was lying, ready to receive the fugitive of oppression, the victim of persecution, and the child of adventure. New plains, new rivers, new foliage, new mountains, and new scenes, invited the curiosity and courted the imagination of the Old World, standing on its shores, and gazing impatiently on the sea—"the fresh, the blue, the ever free!" The first discoverers came back, and told them of cataracts larger than their own, volcanoes loftier than Vesuvius, oceans without a storm—the smooth

\* "No sooner was Mahomet sovereign of the city than the duration of the Ottoman sway was predicted. It was to last 400 years. No prophecy is more explicit, has been more widely extended, or has raised greater expectation. From the White Sea to the Persian Gulf it has been the belief of millions. Its origin we know not; but, unlike most predictions, it has been equally received by those who feared and those who hoped its fulfilment. Greek, Russian, and Turk have alike accepted it. It has stimulated the ambition of the Czars; it has encouraged the obstinacy of the Rayahs; it has unnerved and depressed the Turks, made them more reckless of the future, and more selfish in the concerns of to-day. The Christian has never ceased to speak of Roumelia as his country, and St. Sophia as his church; the Mussulman has acquiesced, and often seeks to bury his dead on the Asiatic shore, that they may rest in peace in their own land: natural causes esteemed so likely to have inspired and to be tending to fulfil the prophecy, that even Gibbon—no ready believer—gives an ear to its revelations. 'Perhaps,' he says, 'the present generation may yet behold the accomplishment of the prediction—of a rare prediction, of which the style is unambiguous and the date unquestionable.'"—*The Times*, Oct. 24, 1855.

† "Ubique terrarum sunt, ibi est omne reipublicæ præsidium, vel potius ipsa respublica," (Cicero "in M. Ant.," Phil. ii. perorat.) By this taunt, Cicero provoked his own destruction. In the game of life, the same cards that we deal out to others are dealt back again to us at the next deal.

Pacific—constellations unusually bright, a tropical climate, and a virgin soil. And well might man rejoice! What a blessed epoch in the course of events! What a prospect of a new order of things in the dull round of human existence! Nor, after the lapse of more than three hundred years, has the beneficent illusion lost its charm, for the sight of the southern cross, the Magellanic clouds, the coal-sacks, and stars, with a portion of the Milky Way, unseen in northern latitudes, the sight has, in our days, been alone sufficient to draw the aged Humboldt from his fatherland, and fix our own countryman, Sir John Herschel, in a fit of scientific ecstasy, at the Cape of Good Hope. There are now no longer any more lands remaining to be discovered, while those that have been discovered are already becoming macadamized as fast as possible. Civilization expels nature, and the smoke of science dirties the skies. The ancients found gold in the golden Chersonese, or India; the gold found by Philip of Macedon in Thrace, or Thessaly, served to suborn the orators of Athens; and the Phenicians worked the silver mines of Spain so well, that the prows of their ships and their anchors were made of the precious metal. Australia and California must be worked bare of their rich supplies at last; and then we must follow the guesses of geologists, and look for it anew in Japan, Kamschatka, or the Crimea.\*

What we have written seems but the fiction of a poet, and yet what is the poetry of life but a fiction as unsubstantial as it is real? "I would the gods had made thee poetical," says Motley in *As You Like It*; to which Audrey most discreetly answers, "I do not know what poetical is." We, who are wiser than either Audrey or Motley, declare it to be the very essence of life. To be poetical gives animation to all we say or do, and gilds the vacuity of our days. The "Bride of Abydos," the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," or the "Rape of the Lock," is worth a thousand philosophical treatises; it is the wine after dinner, the summer cloud in the morning of affairs. It is in stirring times, and in seasons of excitement, that song resounds the best: the National Anthem never comes home to the feelings with so much force as it does on the battle ground of a day of victory. It is to these moments that we owe the patriotic

\* Speaking of Philip of Macedon, Justin says, "auraria in Thessalia, argenti metalla in Thracia occupat." (Lib. viii. c. 3.)

"L'Espagne fut longtemps le Pérou de l'ancien monde. Près de Castalon, une montagne de la chaîne de la Sierra Seruga avait reçu le nom de Montagne d'Argent. Aristote rapporte que quand les Phéniciens débarquèrent pour la première fois en Espagne, ils firent une telle provision de ce métal, qu'au retour ils en fabriquèrent tous leurs ustensiles, jusqu'aux ancrs de leurs vaisseaux."

"Histoire Ancienne." Paris: 1845. Tom. i. p. 268.

Of the gold in Spain and Portugal, Justin says it was so abundant, "adeo etiam aratro frequenter glebas aureas excindunt." (Lib. xli v. 3.)



airs of all nations: the Marseillaise Hymn, Partant pour la Syrie, the Croatian March, and God Save the Queen. The Scotch melodies in memory of Charles the Pretender originated in similar circumstances; and Moore's Melodies, although most of the airs may be traced to chants and litanies, arranged to his measure, or sometimes traduced to a jig, derive their popularity from a feeling of national sentiment. War has given rise to some of the best music; and the military band has greater charms for the cultivated as well as the uncultivated ear than the maudlin concerts and the sing-song of domestic life. Homer sang of a siege in a style that no man ever sang before; and Mr. Russell, the admirable correspondent of the *Times*, may, some thousand years hence, share with the Greek bard the safe and enviable honours of a poetic campaign. They both of them tell of things addressed to the common feelings of mankind, and music alone is wanted to render their records the most enchanting of their kind.

The love of glory is another passion inherent in the breast. It is not easy to define it. To love danger, and to delight in peril and woe, is a contradiction in terms; but then it is the pleasure of peril past and of danger overcome. But perhaps there is a deeper philosophy in it than this—namely, a profound sentiment of immortality. Wellington is reported to have said, "What will they say of us in England, if we lose this battle?"—the last he fought. It is evident the feeling was worth a bullet through the heart at the moment, or else it was worth nothing at all. To live after we are dead is a universal, but not a vulgar, passion. What is man without immortality? Nothing worth the name of man: a dead dog would do as well. To live hereafter is the hope of a rational being; to live in the memory of those we love is all that most of us desire; but to live in the everlasting regards of a nation of our own that we have served, is the highest ambition, "that last infirmity of noble minds;" there is nothing but heaven beyond it. War alone affords scope to the indulgence of a virtue so legitimately sublime as this. Yet they who die for earthly glory, know not the bauble for which they bleed. Democritus laughed, and Heraclitus wept, at the miseries of life, which point the shaft of satire with irresistible keenness. The celebrity of a great name is mostly consigned to the morning state of an army in the field, the obituary or casual remarks of a newspaper, the sealed registers at the Horse Guards or the Admiralty, the short-lived wonder of the town, or, at its best and rarest lot, the brief memory of a long-tried and solitary friend. Posthumous fame is the most precarious of commodities: the Wellington Despatches will live as long as the English language, and—so will Johnny Gilpin!

Besides glory and poetry, there are some meaner sentiments that would remain hidden in their own obscurity, except for the stimulus imparted to them by the parade and circumstance of war. Dress is one of these. Modifications of costume are referable to periods of violent convulsions. Weapons, offensive and defensive, are changed, and dress also: the breastplate gave place to the jacket, whether of cloth or leather, as the jacket is now yielding to the tunic; and the Greek fire, that foiled the lance and shield, gave way in its turn to the use of gunpowder. Satin and velvet belong to the piping times of peace, and the amorous moodings of a lady's chamber; but at the sound of the trumpet all is changed, from the fashion of the baldrick to that of the beard and headgear. For warfare is a great reformer, tantamount to the experience of a whole life, or of many lives in one. What is trifling flies away, and the useful, the grand, and the durable alone remains. Hence it comes to pass, that at the termination of great wars the chief actors involuntarily fall into the attitudes of the early drama, and the last act closes on a group exhibited in the happiest combination of colour, light, and shade. The spectacle is bright and evanescent: it passes away, like everything else; but the impression abides, and for a season the aspect of the world is changed.

Again, the weak and sickly die off. The old are removed by care or disaster. The young are cut short in their prime; none but the robust and vigorous survive the hardships of the times. The next generation increases in strength and stature; marriage is more frequent. Property, which had been tied up, is unexpectedly set free by premature or sudden deaths; and the destitute are supplied with fortune, while the young, who would otherwise have grown old in filial obedience and single blessedness, are placed in a position to gratify those longings, which all feel, but which so many are forced to repress from prudential motives. It is, so to speak, the harvest of the world, when multitudes are cut down and gathered to their account, and the field of life is gleaned to the last blade of mortality. What follows is a new epoch: the old are gone and the young begin a new career.

There is likewise an intermingling of nations; nation blends with nation, foreigner with foreigner. Antipathies clash with antipathies; hatred faces hatred; indifference confronts indifference. Nothing is idle; everything is on the alert. We test our capabilities and our reason; we measure swords, and measure things; discover that others are wiser than ourselves, and ourselves wiser or weaker than others. The divisions of province and country are levelled, and we perceive with surprise that those who dress in straw hats on the south side of that range of

mountains are much the same as those in beaver on the north. This social fact staggers us just as much as the point of the bayonet in the deadly charge. Sometimes the straw hat conquers the beaver, and at other times the beaver the straw. We compare notes, settle differences, make concessions, compromise a great deal, embrace each other, and are friends. National prejudices are dissolved or softened; and we engage ourselves to observe the ordinary rules of fellowship for the rest of our days.

Language undergoes a change. The Assyrian superseded the Hebrew, and the Egyptian modified them both; the Greek swallowed them up, and the Latin swallowed up the Greek. Then came the modern tongues and dialects, each of them resulting from national discords, peculiarities, and contests. Nothing was done in peace; everything was done with strife. New ideas required new words, new phrases, and new technicalities. New knowledge creates a language of its own. The whole was metamorphosed, so that Pliny could not understand those who in our modern universities and colleges examine and lecture in Latin according to the rules of a Latin grammar unknown to the Latins of old. This farce is a shred of feudalism, and the sooner it is got rid of the better.

The Teutonic races, the descendants of Japhet, have hitherto conquered the world; and there seems no reason to suppose they will not continue to do so in future. They govern Europe, America, India, Australia, New Zealand, and Oceania—the northern and the southern hemispheres. What they have once acquired, they have always retained; and they will eventually conquer the entire globe, unless time should be no more, or they themselves should belie their name and origin. Their language superseded the Latin as early as the seventh century (A.D. 675). They may fail here or there, be defeated in this battle or lose that campaign, but the motto that waves from their masthead or flag-staff are the invincible words, *We will succeed*:—where there is the will, there is the way;

“let both worlds rack,

At least we'll die with harness on our back.”

Who can withstand this? It challenges the world. Their ships navigate every sea, and their writings uphold the cause of freedom in every quarter of the globe. The Hanseatic League was theirs; theirs is the light of battle, popular elections, and free trade.

In peace, we may regulate our lives as we please; and, provided we keep within the pale of the law, and take care not to insult the conventions of society, we may indulge in luxury and vice to our hearts' contentment or bitterness. The sun shines, the air is tranquil, and all is still. We bask in the noontide warmth, and prolong our days in a sort of soothing dream. But it is not



thus in war. In the clash of arms and the stern vigil of the foughten field, a dreary grandeur imposes both sobriety and caution. We cannot then mistake facts for fancies, nor realities for whims. There is nothing imaginative in a round shot, a shell, or a Minié ball—a wet tent, scanty rations, the dismal trenches, or an outlying picket. Nor is this forlorn feeling peculiar to the soldier on active service, for all feel it alike. The instability of affairs comes home to all. The rapidity with which everything is precipitated from life to death, and from certainty to uncertainty, forces the stoutest heart to quail, to meditate, and to reflect; and the miseries incidental to open hostilities throw a sable mantle of grief over many a tender soul far removed from the actual scene of violence and bloodshed.

Of the 25,000 or 30,000 soldiers who quitted these shores, full of health and spirits, in the spring of 1854, how many are now left alive to tell the tale? Only a few, a very few. Of the stalwart Guards and Highlanders, the complete regiments of the line, the well-equipped artillery, and the splendid cavalry, almost all are gone—even their gallant leader is no more; and well-trained horses without number, and men who were but as yesterday both veterans and heroes, are now numbered with the dead, the food of vultures, or dogs, or worms. The malaria of Gallipoli and Varna, the cholera, the glorious battles of Alma, Balaclava, and Inkermann, the weary siege, the storms of autumn, the winter's snow and frost, the damps of returning spring, tattered clothing, green coffee, starvation, did their worst, and changed them to

“Such things—a mother had not known her son  
Amidst the skeletons of that gaunt crew.”\*

The matchless naval brigade suffered comparatively less than the troops, for the simple reason that they were near their own supplies, and Jack knows how to look after himself; although in the trenches they shared equal honours and equal dangers with the rest of the army. For the same reason, the Highland brigade and the marines fared better in the winter than if they had been posted well up in the front; but then these noble and unrivalled regiments preserved Balaclava for us:—*ils ne reculent jamais!*

“In times to come it will be a chosen terminus of Saxon pilgrimage, this Cathcart's hill. Whether the traveller beholds from its humble parapet the fair aspect of the Imperial city, guarded by threefold mightier batteries than

\* “Famine, despair, cold, thirst, and heat had done  
Their work on them by turns, and thinn'd them to  
Such things—a mother had not known her son  
Amidst the skeletons of that gaunt crew;  
By night chill'd, by day scorch'd, thus one by one  
They perished.”

now, or sits upon the broken wall to gaze upon the ruins of Sebastopol, he must, if he has any British blood in his veins, regard with emotion that little spot which encloses all that was mortal of some of the noblest soldiers who ever sprang from our warrior race. He will see the site of those tedious trenches where the strong man waxed weak day after day and the sanguine became hopeless, and where the British soldier fought through a terrible winter with privation, cold, frost, snow, and rain, more terrible and deadly than the fire of the enemy. With the Redan, the Malakhoff, the Quarries, the Mamelon, Gordon's Attack, Chapman's Attack, under his eyes, he will revive with the aspect of the places where they stood the memories of this great struggle, and renew the incidents of its history. How many more of our gallant officers this cemetery may hold it is impossible to say; it is too full already. It is a parallelogram of about forty yards long by thirty yards broad, formed by the base of a ruined wall, which might, in former days have marked the lines of a Tartar fort, or have been the first Russian redoubt to watch over the infancy of Sebastopol. Although many a humble tumulus indicates to the eye of affection the place where some beloved comrade rests till the last *revêil*, the care and love of friends here and at home have left memorials in solid stone of most of those whose remains are resting here."—*The Times*' Special Correspondent, October 8, 1855.

The sadness of heart inflicted by war is the penalty of sin or the inevitable condition of humanity. We must all die in our turn, but the anguish of parting for ever on this side the grave is the more poignant when the blow of separation is struck by the hand of man, instead of the more gentle operations of nature and decay. "Killed in action" means a violent, a sudden, or a cruel death: the consolations of a calm deathbed, surrounded by friends, a wife, a mother, a sister, or a child, are irretrievably wanting; the last words and the last kiss are given to the gory ground, and the last pressure of the hand is spent in struggling with the desperate foe or grasping the weltering blade of slaughter. A bullet may dismiss the soul in a moment, or a heavier missile destroy vitality by a stun, at a long range, far off from the immediate conflict, but the end is the same—it is what the epitaph says, *Killed in action*.

Among the mental phenomena produced by war, the love of bloodshed is one of the most singular and revolting. It is not the savage villain, hackneyed in brutal deeds, that is alone prone to this horrible propensity; for, when once engaged in it, the gentle and the polite, the amiable and the mild, the handsome and the winning, become unconsciously infuriated with the sense of this diabolical thirstiness. When it is first spilt, and lies in a clotted pool upon the earth—the reeking earth!—the sight of the fresh blood inspires the awful passion. It is a mixture of fury and alarm, of ardour and revenge; nor can we accurately distinguish between bravery and a love of slaying—between the cold-blooded murderer whose deed is criminal and the bold soldier whose bloody work is glorious, patriotic, and praiseworthy. The motive alone excuses the deed, and the consent

of mankind justifies the end. While it lasts, the passion is incontrollable; and, considered in its elemental form, it is clearly a madness.\*

From this violent emotion arises another, which is akin to theft—it is the love for destruction and plunder. Those, who in ordinary life never think of appropriating what is not their own, nor of injuring, much less destroying anything good they happen to meet with, are instigated, in common with the rest of their companions, to demolish the fairest works of art, to ransack whatever is sacred and secluded, and to take possession of what does not belong to them, without the slightest hesitation and scruple. It belonged to the enemy, and it is theirs by the right of the war. Hence, the dreadful accounts we read of in the sacking, and burning, and overthrow of captured cities; as, for instance, that of Kertch in May, and that of Sebastopol, as far as its ruins allowed it to be so, in September last.

Connected with these two barbarous and debased propensities, let slip as the dogs of war, to torment man, is the excitement of the sexual passion:—but, enough! drop the veil over this lurid glimpse of hell, and bewail our fallen nature, and the victims of havoc and lust! We question whether any of those who have passed through these terrible ordeals, and have afterwards grown grey in the lap of peace, ever feel remorse or compunction arise within their breasts at the recollection of the share they have taken in the scenes they have witnessed? If not, it is an act of oblivion on the part of the moral sense, the more remarkable, because it occurs among Christian and civilized communities as frequently and as intensely as ever it did in the pagan and rude populations of antiquity; and it deserves the special attention of psychologists, moralists, statesmen, and divines.

Add to these vices, the habits of roving, and wandering, and restlessness, which are so contrary to domesticity, and which are acquired by soldiers and sailors from their particular modes of livelihood. A large army, accustomed to the field, or, in plain language, a select band of practised marauders, sent home and returned into store upon the conclusion of a peace, is the most grievous burden that can be laid upon an industrious people. They are so many consuming mouths which cannot supply themselves; and the ways of peace are no longer familiar to

\* An anecdote is told of a young officer, of a remarkably mild disposition, who was engaged in the cavalry charge at Waterloo. He was accosted, on coming out of the affray for a moment, and asked why he wiped his bloody sword with so much eagerness? "We are here to kill our enemies," he replied; "and he is the best man who kills the most." With these words, he turned round and spurred his horse into the midst of the fight once more. Tacitus frequently mentions the gratification with which the legions *fleshed* themselves in slaughter. The idea is too shocking to be dwelt on.



them. But it is not thus with the sailor; for he can find his proper home again upon the waters, and his love of roving may be successfully turned in pursuit of trade and adventure, so conducive to the wealth, the happiness, and the greatness of a nation.

The last passion peculiar to warfare, is the state of mind engendered before, during, and after an action.\* On the eve and morning of pitched battles, a sullen gloom pervades the camp—the silent presentiment of the coming event; which, as Banquo said on the night of his own murder, was a heavy summons, that lay like lead upon him. Officers and men are irritable and morose,—they are bending their courage to the point. At the first onset, the boldest are uneasy and reluctant, or rash and precipitate; but, when once in the midst of the engagement, the sense of danger is lost, delirium of a not unpleasing kind overwhelms them, together with a sensation, in some cases, of being lifted from the ground, and carried on by a preternatural movement. It is evidently hyperæmia of the brain, which subsides the moment blood flows from a wound, or the battle ceases; and then the paroxysm ends in fainting, or a disposition to shed tears, or apathy, or sleep.

Considering the subject *pathologically*, actual fighting appears in the light of an abnormal condition of the *cerebro-spinal system*; and were we, as pathologists, to assign to it its proper place in our nosology, it would be among the Protéan forms of exalted nervous sensibility. But we dare not affirm that an entire community, or several communities at once, should thus transgress the bounds of reason and discretion, when we see the greatest minds deliberately engaged in conducting the greatest wars to a prosperous termination. There is no doubt, war occasionally assumes an epidemic character, the result of a morbid principle of imitation—like suicide, and some of the convulsive diseases; while, among populations of an excitable temperament, this propensity is so easily called into action, that the slightest provocation is enough to kindle the spark, and light up the flame of revolution, civil contest, or foreign invasion, almost without the pretext of a *casus belli*. The lively people of ancient Greece might furnish many an instance in proof of this. It has likewise been remarked, that periods of warfare are usually associated with seasons of rare meteorological phenomena,—such as earthquakes, tempests, droughts, volcanic eruptions, comets, bad harvests, and epidemic mortality; so that the phrase of

\* Tacitus, describing the feelings that pervaded a camp on the night previous to a battle, says:—"invalidi ignes, interruptæ voces, atque ipsi passim adjacerent vallo, oberrarent tentoriis, insomnes magis quam pervigiles. Ducemque terruit dira quies," &c. ("Annales," i. 65.) The madness of victory is proverbial.

war, pestilence, and famine, is both historically and scripturally correct. These phenomena, moral and natural, taken together, impart a formidable character to the passion for bloodshed, of which the preceding account is but its natural history, as it is exhibited in the histories of nations.\*

It is the autumn of life, and the storms are stripping the leaves for the ensuing winter of the world. The migratory birds are on the wing; their time is short, and they are taking to flight or ever the frost and the snow stamp their cold seal on the hibernating death of nature.

“Like the leaves of the trees when the summer is green,  
That host with their banners at sunset was seen;  
Like the leaves of the trees when the autumn is blown,  
That host in the morning lay withered and strown.

“There lay the steed with his nostril all wide,  
But thro’ it there rolled not the breath of his pride;  
And the foam of his gasping lay white on the turf,  
And cold as the spray of the rock-beating surf.

“And there lay the rider distorted and pale,  
With the dew on his brow, and the rust on his mail,” &c.

BYRON.

Were finer lines than these ever penned by poet?

Never was a siege undertaken on a soil more replete with classical legend and historic recollections than that of Sebastopol. In the Crimea, the Tauric Chersonesus of the ancients, upon the borders of the Black Sea, the Pontus Euxinus of the Latins and Greeks, beyond the Thracian Bosphorus, and close to the Palus Mæotis, or Sea of Azoff, the moderns have played a memorable part in the annals of modern warfare. It was of this

\* “On the field of battle one soldier at the appearance of blood experiences the intoxication of carnage; another will swoon at the same sight. Sir Walter Scott, in the poem in which he has referred to the battle of Bannockburn, alludes to the various feelings that influence the mind in the heat of an engagement; and, it will be perceived, that he directs particular attention to those who are influenced by no other motive than the pleasure they derive from sacrificing human life:—

“ ‘But oh! amid that waste of life,  
What various motives fired the strife!  
The aspiring noble *bled for fame*,  
The patriot for his country’s claim;  
This knight his youthful strength to prove,  
And that to earn his lady’s love;  
*Some fought for ruffian thirst of blood*;  
From habit some, or hardihood;  
But ruffian stern and soldier good,  
The noble and the slave,  
From various cause the same wild road  
On the same bloody morning trode  
To that dark inn, the Grave.’ ”

The “Anatomy of Suicide.” By Forbes Winslow, M.D.

spot that Euripides chanted his real or fabulous tale of "Iphigenia;" and there it was that the Greeks actually reclaimed the Tauri from their brutal manners. There they fixed their maritime stations, perhaps in Balaklava itself, or the now half-calcedined harbour of what was once Sebastopol. There, where the Cimmerian Bosphorus joins the Euxine with the Mæotis, is situated Kertch, or Panticapæum, the site of Cæsar's far-famed *bon mot*, or pithy despatch, of *Veni, Vidi, Vici*. The Romans once advanced within three days' march of the Tanais, or Don, the native ground of the marauding Cossacks, and the boundary between Asia and Europe. In frail flat-bottomed barks, framed of timber only, without a particle of iron, and covered with nothing but a slender roofing of reeds, the Goths carelessly trusted themselves to the mercies of an unknown sea. Their natural daring, and the hope of plunder, stimulated their ignorance and inexperience. They pillaged the Crimea; but at a later period the republic of Kherson assisted Constantine against them. The Genoese, the Venetians, and the gallant Franks, in their turn, penetrated those distant waters in pursuit of gain or adventures, till at last they fell under the rule of the Tartars, the Turks, and the Russians.

The basin of the Black Sea is a volcanic hollow, looked into by the snowy Caucasus, the heights of Ararat, and the shores of Mithridatic Pontus. Sinope furnished a god to Egypt, and the delta or liman of the Danube was the pitiful spot of Ovid's exile, for what he had seen—*quod vidi*—in the halls of Augustus Cæsar.\* Some of the largest rivers of Europe empty their floods into its stormy bosom, which is as black as it is fathomless:† and an old proverb declared the mariner to be a fool who entered the Euxine before the ides of May, or tarried in it after the kalends of October. Yet such is the sea navigated by our ships of war, which have floated upon it throughout the whole year, prepared for action, and scatheless of shipwreck or disaster.

The long line of the Danube, from Galatz at its embouchure

\* "Cur aliquid vidi?—cur noxia lumina feci? (Ovid. "de Ponto," lib. ii.) He says "Carmen et error" was the cause of his exile: the verses were Ovid's own, but the error is the supposed incest of Augustus with his own daughter. For such a sight, if true, banishment was only less than death. He makes the same allusion in other places.

† A young friend of ours, who has lately joined his regiment in the Crimea, says, speaking of his voyage thither: "The water of the Black Sea is certainly black. I was very much struck with its dark appearance on our passage from the Bosphorus to Balaklava."

"It is very deep, no bottom having been reached with a line of 140 fathoms."—Mrs. Somerville, "Phys. Geogr." 1851. Vol. i. p. 359.

Upwards of forty rivers, many of them the largest in Europe, flow into it. It receives the melted snows from the Caucasus, Ararat, the Balkan, the Carpathian and the Swiss mountains; and the waste waters from Central Russia and the Oural mountains.



up to Singidunum or Belgrade, on the Austrian frontier, is overcharged with mediæval and imperial recollections; Trajan's Wall at the Dobrudscha and Hadrian's Bridge beyond Kalafat are too well known for more than a casual allusion to them; and it was between these two extremities that the barbarians rushed across in winter, when the river was frozen over. The most active of the Roman emperors were continually engaged in fortifying this long extent of open country against their frequent incursions: here Aurelius earned or lost his laurels, and so did Probus and others; here were signed the famous treaties of Unkiar, Skelessi and Balta Liman; and here did Omar Pasha win his undying military renown. It was here that the Goths crossed over in force in the fourth century, seized upon the present point of Schumla, passed the defiles of the Balkan, descended into Roumelia, and fought and defeated the Emperor Valens near Adrianople. Valens,\* with his personal staff, took refuge in a cottage, which the Goths set fire to, and burnt both him and his officers to death. It was in Gallipoli that the Turks first set foot in Europe. The whole locality is full of the living past: Mount Olympus, Achilles, and Troy—the Cyanean rocks, or floating islands, Hero and Leander, and the Argonauts.

The modern and ancient worlds have touched each other. The difference of mind and manners is immense. Steam brings us in communication with the land of Cimmerian darkness in ten days over a distance of three thousand miles, and the electric telegraph in as many hours. The mode of warfare is also frightfully different. The Russians lost 200,000 men in less than a twelve-month, and the Allies can have lost scarcely less. Perhaps the grand total of 400,000, both sides taken together, is not too large a number to put down to the score of battle and disease in the short space of time that elapsed between the siege of Silistria and that of Sebastopol. The defence of Sebastopol alone cost the Russians, according to Prince Gortschakoff's account, "from 600 to 1000 men a-day for the last thirty days;"† and when the Allies triumphantly entered the fortress, they found the dead piled up in the streets, and mutilated limbs stowed away

\* Gibbon, c. xxvi.

† "No English writer would have dared to rate the Russian loss so high; it would have appeared an ignorant exaggeration. 'During thirty days,' says Gortschakoff, 'the garrison lost from 600 to 1000 men a-day.' This is independent of the slaughter of the last three days' bombardment, and in the last supreme struggle during six terrible assaults. What the Russian losses have been during the whole campaign it is scarcely possible to conjecture, for we believe that no adequate idea has been formed of the terrors of this wonderful siege. Disease, cold, and combat have laid men low in numbers which it requires some boldness to state. We say nothing of the allied loss, but that of the Russians seems likely to have fallen little short of 200,000. Never in modern times has there been so great a destruction on so limited a field."—*The Times*, Oct. 8, 1855.

in empty barrels. We turn from the account with sickening horror; yet the necessity was stern and unrelenting. Russia was stealing a march on the south of Europe: had she conquered Turkey, she would have made a flank movement on Italy, Austria, and Spain; had she not been checked, France must at last have fought her on her own borders, and we along our own shores. The necessity was obvious; and the people, with their natural sagacity, perceived the dilemma, and boldly extricated themselves from between its horns by insisting on war.

The present contest will strengthen more than ever the cause of freedom and the power of the people, who prove themselves to be as far-sighted in *their* diplomacy as the most finished diplomatist ever pretends to be in *his*. The result is already visible in the temperate but firm tone with which the British nation continues to address itself to the war, and bear the necessary cost of its being carried on to a successful issue. The liberality with which they provided for the sick and wounded was not less estimable than unpretending. They openly did their duty, without looking for applause or recompence. A frame of mind of this cool and deliberate character is more than an omen of success, because it is the means of success itself, and the inferences to be drawn from it in favour of the future are bright and encouraging. The first Napoleon said, "Fifty years after my decease, Europe must make up its mind to become Republican or Cossack." That crisis has arrived, and France and England united have faced the rising foe on his own ground, and encountered him in the secret lair of his vast dominions.

The end of war is peace, and peace upon a higher elevation than it was before the commencement of the struggle. Examples without end could be adduced from history to prove that right ultimately prevails over might, and that the poetic justice awarded in works of fiction, is but the conclusion drawn from our experience of the world; for were it otherwise, we should be disappointed, because its failure would not be in accordance with profane or sacred truth. But it is from this confidence in the course of events that we so fearlessly rely upon the fate of arms—a proceeding which, though it may be discountenanced by the consent of mankind, yet is practically found to be the surest, if not the only means left for determining the balance of power or equity in the final adjustment of affairs. War is, therefore, the trial by battle on a large scale, in which thousands die instead of one, and the magnitude of the question at stake involves the welfare of millions instead of the particular interests of a king, a noble, or a plebeian. Nor is the appeal to Heaven in vindication of ourselves one iota less sincere and legitimate than the appeal to our drawn sword; since the dangerous

expedient of leaving the justice of our cause to the arbitrement of Heaven or of arms, seldom betrays us. The experiment is not likely to prove too much for itself—the capricious choice of victory decides in favour of the injured party. A single battle or campaign may apparently go against this superstitious dogma; but, in the long run, success protects the deserving, and war never fails to yield the triumph incontestably in favour of truth, of justice, and of peace.

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## ART. II.—ON SOMNAMBULISM.

IN common with all animals which possess well-defined sensuous relations with the external world, man exists in two distinct, and, so far as the organs of these relations are involved, opposed conditions—one of waking and one of sleep, labour and repose alternating. Under certain limitations, this alternation appears to be a general law of organization, more or less modified according to the varying complexity of the functions of life. It is true that in sleep only the animal or relational functions are at rest; the repose of the tissues concerned in vegetative life is of much shorter duration, action and rest recurring every instant. It is in accordance with the same principles that we find the amount and regularity of sleep in great measure proportionate to the development of relational life. In the higher carnivorous vertebrata, where the muscular and nervous tissues are at the maximum development, sleep is much more required than in those of lower type where the nutritive functions appear predominant; and in those lowest forms of organic existence which still appear to have some trace of animal nature, but whose chief and entire function appears to be assimilative, we have no evidence of the occurrence of the phenomenon at all. As might be expected, it is in man, where the balance of the two classes of functions is most evident, and where the operations are still more complicated by the superaddition of an intellectual nature, that the periodical recurrence of repose is most marked, and its regularity most essential to the well-being of the individual.

It will materially assist our investigation into some of the interesting phenomena involved in our subject, if we briefly examine the points of contrast between these two opposed conditions, as well as the points of resemblance, and those states in which they appear to trespass upon each other's domains.

What are the characteristics of a healthy waking man, *mens*



*sana in corpore sano* ?—As the basis of all his knowledge, and of all his actions, there is a profound conviction and consciousness of distinct existence and personality, a strong intuitive and undefinable, yet irrefragable, sense of the unchanging “I.” (It is necessary to mention this fundamental truth, because in dreaming, and certain forms of insanity, it is very frequently utterly lost from the mind.) This consciousness is modified and intensified by the evidence of the senses—these respond instantaneously and accurately to their own appropriate stimuli, the eye to the undulations of light, the ear to the vibrations of sound, and so on with the other senses, none of which can supply the place of another; nor is the general sense of touch ever capable of being exalted to the condition of a special sense. But not only do these organs take cognizance of the external world and its phenomena, but the mind receives the impressions from them, and is prepared at once to exercise upon them its various functions; memory, imagination, fancy, comparison, judgment, calculation, all these, and all other faculties into which metaphysicians have dissected the Divine spark, are either in activity, or ready to be so, at the command of the will. Finally, the muscular system obeys accurately the mandates of the will.

So far as to the positive phenomena—but the negative indications of health and wakefulness are not less important for our purposes. These may be briefly summed up in a few words—*complete unconsciousness of all organic or vegetative processes*. And during this time a waste, both of substance and of vital energy is going on, which requires the periodical return of sleep for its repair, the phenomena of which condition we have now to notice.

“Somne, quies rerum, placidissime, Somne, Deorum,  
Pax animi, quem cura fugit—”

Thus by negations is sleep invoked by the ancient poet; and certainly sleep in its perfect form is only to be described by negations, with the exception of the continuance of the organic functions, which remain nearly unaffected, or in some cases increased in intensity, as Hippocrates justly observed, *somnus labor visceribus*. Perfect sleep is characterized by a complete and profound unconsciousness of everything, even of existence—the senses are closed against all impressions, the limbs have become relaxed and inactive, even volition, in common with every other faculty of the mind, is in abeyance—phenomena well and elegantly portrayed by Lucretius—

“—— ubi est distracta per artus  
Vis animæ—  
Debile fit corpus, langueseunt omnia membra,  
Brachia, palpebræque cadunt, poplitesque procumbunt.”

Many extraordinary histories are related in illustration of the extent to which insensibility to outward impressions may be carried ; one will suffice, as an extreme case. It is quoted by Dr. Carpenter, with tokens of credence from Mr. R. Smith, late senior surgeon to the Bristol Infirmary, under whose observation it occurred. "A travelling man, one winter's evening, laid himself down upon the platform of a lime-kiln, placing his feet, probably numbed with cold, upon the heap of stones, newly put on to burn through the night. Sleep overcame him in this situation ; the fire gradually rising and increasing until it ignited the stones upon which his feet were placed. Lulled by the warmth, the man slept on ; the fire increased until it burned one foot (which probably was extended over a vent-hole) and part of the leg above the ankle entirely off, consuming that part so effectually that a cinder-like fragment was alone remaining, and still the poor wretch slept on ; and in this state was found by the kilnman in the morning." He experienced no pain when he awoke, but he died in hospital about a fortnight afterwards. It appears probable, however, that the atmosphere in this case was charged with carbonic acid, and that the sleep was nearly approaching to, if not altogether identical with, coma.

Sleep is not always, nor even commonly, thus profound ; yet, even under its ordinary aspects, it presents such a picture of inactivity as to have been considered by many, both poets and philosophers, as nearly related to death. "Sleep," says Macnish, "is the intermediate state between wakefulness and death." Diogenes is said to have spoken, in his last moments, of death and sleep as brother and sister. Cicero speaks thus of the affinity—*nihil videmus mortis tam simile quam somnum* ; and Ovid in like manner asks—

"Quid est somnus, gelidæ nisi mortis imago?"

Yet the analogy is much more poetical than true ; sleep is as far removed from death as muscular repose is from paralysis. It is probably the normal state of foetal existence, and throughout life it is the great agent in repairing the ravages of constant molecular changes, and averting the ever-threatening somatic death.

The most usual form of sleep is by no means so profound as that which we have described ; some of the functions both animal and intellectual are often at work, and dreaming, with or without accompanying action, is the result. In such a case, a kind of consciousness is restored, yet often with peculiar modifications, one of the most remarkable being the loss of that distinct sense of individuality by which the waking man has been said to be characterized. Imagination and memory are both awake, at

times more active than in true wakefulness; but they play strange tricks with each other and with their possessor. He can contemplate his own murder, or attend his own funeral, without any feeling of surprise or awe; he can commit the most fearful crimes without any horror; he sees the most tremendous convulsions of nature and the utter subversion of her ordinary laws without astonishment; he converses with the dead, yet asks not how they have escaped their prison-house; and with the living, whom he knows to be separated from him by seas and continents; and all seems natural and a matter of course. Truly has sleep a thousand sons (*natorum mille suorum*, Ovid).

Such are the ordinary and typical forms of man's two lives—the waking and the sleeping life; yet in this, as in all other instances, nature does nothing by sudden leaps (*nihil per saltum*). As night and day are united by twilight—as the two great divisions of organic existences merge into each other through the scarce distinguishable classes of phytozoa and zoophyta—as the various genera of both sub-kingdoms are united by links very nearly allied to both the neighbours—so waking allies itself to sleep by *abstraction* and *reverie*—so sleep allies itself to waking by *dreaming*, by *sleep-talking*, and by the *sleep-vigil*, commonly called somnambulism. So closely allied are the extreme forms of reverie and of somnambulism—so difficult in some cases is it to state the precise diagnostic marks—that a few remarks on the former will properly precede and illustrate our more especial theme. *Reverie* is a state of the mind in which it wanders to a thousand different subjects independent of volition—the attention cannot be directed to any one point; on the other hand, *abstraction* is characterized by the total absorption of the mind in one subject, the senses taking cognizance *only* of such matters as are connected with the subject under examination. Distinct as are these two conditions in their origin, they are often confounded together; and, indeed, the external phenomena are similar, being summed up in a more or less complete insensibility of surrounding objects or influences. Great students, especially those of the mathematical or physical sciences, are very prone to falling into this state. Sir Isaac Newton is said to have committed many absurdities when thus absorbed; such as taking a lady's finger for a tobacco-stopper. Archimedes, during the siege of Syracuse, was either totally insensible to or regardless of the noisy operations around, and was insisting on finishing the problem on which he was engaged, when he received his death-blow. The mind appears to be in a state of *polarity* with regard to its subject, and only responds to the allied influences. Of its sensibility to questions and remarks on the one subject and no other, advantage may occasionally be



taken, both in the waking dream and the dream vigil, to attract the attention and gradually to dissipate the absorbed condition.

An amusing instance is given by Sir Walter Scott, which, though in a romance, is such a life picture, and so perfect an illustration of these remarks, that we may be pardoned for introducing it here. In "St. Ronan's Well," Mr. Touchwood pays a visit to an abstracted clergyman, Mr. Cargill, whom he finds *lost* in Palestine, and whom he cannot recal by any direct address. At length the student raised his head, and spoke as if in soliloquy, "From Acon, Accor, or St. John d'Acre, to Jerusalem, how far?" "Twenty-three miles N.N.W.," answered his visitor, without hesitation. Mr. Cargill expressed no surprise at a question put to himself being answered by the voice of another—it was the tenor of the answer alone which he attended to in his reply. "Ingulphus and Jeffrey Winesauf do not agree in this." The opening for conversation having thus been made, he is gradually led away to other matters.

For further illustrations of this subject, we refer our readers to the seventeenth chapter of "The Philosophy of Sleep," where many amusing and almost incredible accounts are given of extreme abstraction. We should not have dwelt so long on these preliminary topics, but for the light which they seem calculated to throw upon the connexions of the sleep-vigil—a term which we prefer to somnambulism, inasmuch as this latter expresses only the activity of one function—locomotion—which is by no means the most remarkable of the phenomena.

From the state of profound unconsciousness above described, to a condition with difficulty distinguished from waking, we meet with every possible gradation. The faculties one after another awake, till in some cases we meet with perfectly lucid somnambulism. The first step to this is dreaming. Dreams for the most part are incoherent, shadowy resemblances of scenes and ideas before experienced, most frequently in new and grotesque combinations. The reason and judgment are in abeyance,—we reason, and feel satisfied with the justice and propriety of our conclusions; we compose verses which charm us with their elegant cadence, yet if we can recal these processes when we awake, our arguments are nonsense and our lines doggerel. Much more rarely, the dream is not a repetition merely of past thoughts, but is *supplementary* to the day's exercises,—what has been left undone in waking moments is finished—and well finished—in sleep;\* compositions which have overtaken the waking mind have been known to be *dreamed out*, and accurately remembered afterwards; new ideas are likewise originated, as was Coleridge's "Kubla Khan," during sleep. Further illus-

\* See "Cyc. of Anat. and Physiology"—Art. Sleep. By Dr. Carpenter.

trations may be found in Dr. Good's "Book of Nature," and in "The Philosophy of Sleep," already quoted.

But the dream is occasionally so vivid as to awaken the power of voluntary motion, and the dreamer enacts or speaks his dream. Hence arise gestures, muttering, talking, walking, and the performance of the most complex operations in sleep. It very frequently happens that the dream having been spoken or acted out, the *polarity* of the mind with relation to that subject is exhausted, and the dream is forgotten, so that the sleep-walker is in general quite unconscious not only of the act itself, but of the train of thought which excited or attended it.

Having thus traced the condition of the mind through its successive stages of complete wakefulness, reverie, abstraction, sleep, and dreaming, to a pseudo-waking and active state again, we shall now give a few illustrations of the phenomena of sleep-vigil, beginning with the simplest forms,—viz., where the sleeping acts are mere mechanical repetitions of daily performances; and advancing to those of great intellectual complication, that we may be better prepared by a collection of facts, inductively to ascertain the true and essential nature of the phenomena.

It is those acts which are most habitual by day, that are most frequently re-enacted by night, and these are sometimes of an extraordinary nature. The simplest are those connected with visiting the various scenes of labour. A young man being asleep in the pump-house of the mine in which he worked, rose and walked to the door, against which he leaned some time; then he walked to the engine shaft, and safely descended twenty fathoms, where he was found with his back resting on the ladder. When he had been with difficulty awoke, he was quite at a loss to account for his being there.

Those who ride much on horseback will either do so in their sleep, or will imitate the action, as in a case related by Petrus Diversus, where a young man climbed up, and mounted across the battlements, where he spurred vigorously, and was much alarmed on awaking at the risk he had run.

Others will even swim for a considerable time without awaking, of which there are many instances on record. Dr. Franklin relates that he himself fell asleep whilst floating on his back, and slept for an hour.

In a case related by Macnish, occurring on the coast of Ireland, the sleeper walked through a difficult and dangerous road, nearly two miles, and plunging into the water, had swam a mile and a half, when he was discovered, still fast asleep.

Martinet mentions a case of a watchmaker's assistant who had an attack of somnambulism every fortnight, and in that state,

was accustomed to arise and do his usual work with as much accuracy as when awake. Dr. Gall mentions a miller, who every night arose and set his mill working, recollecting nothing of what had passed in the morning. Instances are innumerable of these mechanical employments being carried on in sleep,—it is needless to multiply them—we pass on to cases of a more complex character. In somnambulism the eyes are often shut, and if open, they are evidently not in a state adapted to ordinary vision, as will be described afterwards; yet feats can be performed with safety and accuracy, which the individual would never dare to attempt when awake. An account in illustration we extract from the “*Philosophy of Sleep* :”—“A story is told of a boy, who dreamed that he got out of bed, and ascended to the summit of an enormous rock, where he found an eagle’s nest, which he brought away with him, and placed under his bed. Now the whole of these events actually took place; and what he conceived on waking to be a mere vision, was proved to have had an actual existence, by the nest being found in the precise spot where he imagined he had put it, and by the evidence of spectators, who beheld his perilous adventure. The precipice which he ascended, was of a nature that must have baffled the most expert mountaineer, and such as, at other times, he could never have scaled.”

These adventures are not always unattended by danger. Schenkin relates an instance where the somnambulist, in attempting to get out of a window, fell and broke his thigh. A similar accident happened to a Mr. Dubrie, a musician in Bath.

But the phenomena of somnambulism become much more interesting and pregnant with meaning, when the manifestations of activity are more specifically intellectual, and where at the same time the state of the special senses can be made the subject of observation. The senses and the intelligence appear to be closed to ordinary influences, yet susceptible to those connected with the dominant train of thought, sometimes to an almost preternatural extent. We will, however, for the present, proceed with the enumeration of facts, as related by credible writers, leaving our analysis of them to a later period.

Henricus ab Heers relates an instance of a friend of his own, who having been unable to finish some verses to his satisfaction by day, arose in his sleep, finished them, sought out his friends, read the verses to them, and retired to rest again. It was with difficulty that he could be made to believe all that had occurred on the morrow.

A very interesting account of Signor Augustin Forari, a notable somnambulist, is extracted from Muratori, by Dr. Pritchard (“*Treatise on Insanity*,” p. 435), from whom we will



borrow some details. The speaker is an eye-witness, Vigneul Marville. "Whilst still asleep," he says, "I examined him with a candle in my hand. He was lying upon his back, and sleeping with open, staring, unmoved eyes. We were told that this was a sure sign that he would walk in his sleep. I felt his hands, and found them extremely cold, and his pulse beat so slowly, that his blood appeared not to circulate. About midnight, Signor Augustin arose, drew aside the bed-clothes with violence, and put on his clothes. I went up to him, and held the light under his eyes. He took no notice of it, though his eyes were open and staring." In this condition he went in and out of several rooms, sought and found different objects, seemed to hear some noises, went to the stable, put the bridle on his horse, but could not find the saddle, mounted, and galloped to the house-door. After performing some other incoherent acts, he went into the billiard-room, and "acted the motions of a player. He then went to a harpsichord, and played a few irregular airs." In about two hours, he went, clothed as he was, threw himself on the bed, and slept many hours.

Louyer-Willermay in the "*Dict. des Sciences Médicales*," gives a short account of a young man named Negretti, likewise mentioned more at length by Dr. Pritchard. It was first given by an eye-witness, Dr. Pigatti, in the "*Journal Étranger*," March, 1756. He was a servant, and had walked in his sleep from his eleventh year. He would often repeat in his sleep his accustomed duties of the day, and would carry trays and glasses about, and spread the table for dinner with great accuracy, though Righellini, another eye-witness, asserts that his eyes were always firmly closed. He sometimes carried about a candle, but if a bottle were substituted, it appeared to satisfy him equally well. He sometimes stumbled and struck himself against objects in strange places. His sense of taste appeared to be imperfect, as he would eat cabbage instead of salad, drink water for wine, and having asked for snuff, would take coffee instead.

In other instances, more of the faculties seem to have been awake. Castelli, whose case is related by an Italian physician, was found translating Italian into French in his sleep, and looking for the words in a dictionary. When his candle was extinguished, he could not proceed till he had relighted it. When he was addressed on any subject on which he was occupied, he answered rationally, but heard nothing which was not in conformity with that train of thought. The sense of sight appeared similarly affected. For further details and comments upon these cases, we refer the reader to the work by M. Bertrand which is mentioned at the head of this paper.

The next class of cases will indicate a still more singular state

of mind and body. For illustration we select two,—the first related by the Archbishop of Bordeaux, concerning a young priest in a catholic seminary. He would rise from his bed, compose, write, and correct sermons. On one occasion, having written the words, *ce divin enfant*, he had effaced the word *divin*, substituting *adorable*; but on re-reading the composition, he found that *ce* would not do to stand before *adorable*, and inserted a *t*, so as to make the word *cet*! Yet, extraordinary to relate, when a card was held between his eyes and the paper, he continued his writing and his corrections as before. He wrote music, too, with exactness; yet all this time, if a piece of paper *exactly the same size* were substituted for that in use, he would go on from the same place, and put his corrections, if required, in the place corresponding to the error in the first paper. If the size varied, he detected the substitution. He asked for certain things, and saw and heard such things, but *only* such things, as bore directly upon the subject of his thoughts. He detected the deceit when water was given to him instead of brandy, which he had asked for. Finally, he knew nothing of all that had transpired when he awoke, but in his next paroxysm he remembered all accurately, and so lived a sort of double life; a phenomenon which we shall find more fully illustrated in other cases, and which we believe to be universal in all the more exalted cases of ecstatic somnambulism.

The next case is extracted from a report made to the Physical Society of Lausanne, by a committee of gentlemen appointed to examine a young man who was accustomed to walk in his sleep. The subject of it was a lad about fourteen years old, of strong constitution, but of great sensibility and irritability. The facts observed were very similar to those just related; the same doubtful indications of the state of the senses—the same consciousness with regard to the objects upon which his thoughts were fixed—and the same insensibility to almost all others. His eyes were for the most part shut, and when writing he continued to do so with the same accuracy, though a piece of thick paper was held between his eyes and the book,—only feeling some little inconvenience from the paper being so near the nose, and probably impeding free respiration. He also forgot everything that had passed during the paroxysm after he awoke, but remembered it all during the next attack. We do not quote the comments of the committee upon this case, as they are of less importance than the facts, for which they seem hardly to account with any probability.

We have now to notice a class of cases which, presenting fewer anomalies in the activity of the organs of sense, are yet more remarkable than the preceding ones, considered as phenomena

of sleep, inasmuch as there is very considerable freedom of intercourse with those around ; and the condition might naturally be considered as one of perfect wakefulness, but that everything which then happens is forgotten, and only remembered during the next paroxysm.

One of the most remarkable instances of this form of somnambulism is that recorded by Dr. Dyce, of Aberdeen, and quoted by both Dr. Pritchard and Macnish. "The subject of the relation was a girl of sixteen : the first symptom was a propensity to fall asleep in the evening ; this was followed by the habit of talking on these occasions, but not incoherently, as sleep-talkers are wont to do. She repeated the occurrences of the day, and sang musical airs, both sacred and profane. Afterwards she became able to answer questions put to her in this state, without being awakened. She dressed the children of the family, still 'dead asleep,' as her mistress termed her state, and once set in order a breakfast-table with her eyes shut." She was taken to church, and appeared much affected by the sermon ; but on being questioned, after the fit was over, she denied ever having been to church, but in a subsequent attack, repeated the text and substance of the sermon. Having, by the connivance of a depraved fellow-servant, been ill-treated during one paroxysm, she forgot all about it when awake ; but during the next attack, told it to her mother.

A singular and interesting account of a case of spontaneous somnambulism is graphically related by Dr. Carpenter (under whose care the patient was), in the "*Cyc. of Anat. and Phys.*" Art. 'Sleep.' The peculiarity of the case was, the young lady passed into the sleep-walking and talking condition, not as is usual from the sleeping, but from the waking state. She could converse rationally, with one fundamental error or delusion ; but she only saw, heard, or understood those objects or ideas which were related to her train of thought ; on awaking, all was forgotten, but the same ideas revived and were continued regularly in the next attack. For the very remarkable details, we refer to the article mentioned.

These cases, singular and interesting in themselves, are perhaps still more so, as forming a natural transition and bond of relation between true somnambulism and what has been called double consciousness, a peculiar diplopsychical condition, upon the nature of which little light has hitherto been thrown by either metaphysician or physiologist.

In illustration of this peculiar affection, we shall mention three cases : the first two related by Prof. Silliman, in the "*American Journal of Science* ;" the third, from the "*Medical Repository*," by Dr. Mitchell.



The subject of the first case was a lady of New England, who became subject to what is called in the report delirium—coming on suddenly, and going off again in the same manner, and leaving the mind quite sound. When in conversation, she would break off in the midst, and begin talking on some subject quite unconnected with the previous one, to which she would not again refer during the continuance of the delirium. “When she became natural again, she would pursue the same conversation in which she had been engaged during the lucid interval, beginning where she had left off—sometimes completing an unfinished story or sentence, or even an unfinished word. When the next delirious paroxysm came on, she would continue the same conversation which she had been pursuing in the preceding paroxysm ; so that she appeared as a person might be supposed to do *who had two souls*, each occasionally dormant and occasionally active, and utterly ignorant of what the other was doing.”

In quoting this case, Dr. Pritchard very properly remarks :—“It is evident that, although this affection is termed delirium, it was neither that state in the ordinary acceptation of terms, nor any form of madness, but one of *coherent* reverie.”

The second case is thus quoted by Dr. Pritchard, from the same source :—“An intelligent lady, in the State of New York, undertook a piece of fine needlework, to which she devoted her time almost constantly for many days. Before its completion she became suddenly delirious, (?) and she continued in that state about seven years. She said not a word during this time about her needlework, but on recovering suddenly from the affection immediately inquired respecting it.”

Our next case is so singular and anomalous in its details, that we might hesitate to classify it as one of somnambulism ; but we have as yet found no break in our series of phenomena, however strange, arising out of sleep, and the present instance seems so closely allied to those already related that we give it to complete the series. The subject was a young lady, of a good constitution, excellent capacity, and well educated. “Her memory was capacious, and well stored with a copious stock of ideas. Unexpectedly and without any forewarning, she fell into a profound sleep, which continued several hours beyond the ordinary term. On waking, she was discovered to have lost every vestige of acquired knowledge. Her memory was *tabula rasa*—words and things were obliterated and gone. It was found necessary for her to learn everything again. She even acquired, by new efforts, the art of spelling, reading, writing and calculating, and gradually became acquainted with the persons and objects around, like a being for the first time brought into the world. In these exercises she made considerable proficiency. But after a few months

another fit of somnolency invaded her. On rousing from it, she found herself restored to the state she was in before the first paroxysm, but was wholly ignorant of every event and occurrence that had befallen her afterwards. The former condition of existence she now calls the Old state, and the latter the New state; and she is as unconscious of her double character as two distinct persons are of their respective natures. For example: in her old state, she possesses all the original knowledge; in her new state, only what she acquired since. If a lady or gentleman be introduced to her in the old state, and *vice versâ* (and so of all other matters), to know them satisfactorily, she must learn them in both states. In the old state, she possesses fine powers of penmanship; while, in the new, she writes a poor awkward hand, having not had time or means to become expert.

During four years and upwards, she has had periodical transitions from one of these states to the other. The alterations are always consequent upon a long and sound sleep. Both the lady and her family are now capable of conducting the affair without embarrassment. By simply knowing whether she is in the old or new state, they regulate the intercourse, and govern themselves accordingly."—("Philosophy of Sleep," note, p. 187.)

All the phenomena occurring in such cases as those already related, appear to be compatible with, at least apparently perfect health. But sleep-walking and sleep-talking occasionally form a part of, or are engrafted upon, hysterical and cataleptic affections—and then we see the proteiform symptoms of hysteria, and the muscular and sensitive derangements of catalepsy added to the sufficiently singular conditions before enumerated. In catalepsy so complicated (and hysteria strongly simulates it frequently), it is usual to see the patient commence and end the paroxysm with the insensible symptoms proper to the disease; whilst the middle part (called the "live fit," in contradistinction to the beginning and end, which are called the "dead fit," in common phrase) is characterized by talking and various actions, evincing a peculiar kind of consciousness and sensibility to certain real or imaginary beings or objects; whilst there is the most profound insensibility to all influences from without. Thus a conversation may be carried on with some imaginary interlocutor, with proper pauses for reply and rejoinder; and with one fundamental error, that conversation may be coherent—yet the sufferer may be pricked or cut without evincing any consciousness; or the most pungent stimuli may be applied to the mouth, nose, or conjunctiva, with the same absence of result. The pages of medical history abound with records of such cases, but we forbear to quote, as we are at present more concerned with

somnambulism in its physiological and psychical, rather than its pathological relations.

It will be useful to review briefly the various forms of sleep-vigil found in the foregoing cases, so as to present an analysis of the phenomena. We have met with—

1. *Profound sleep*.—Unconsciousness.
2. *Dreaming*.—Consciousness, memory, fancy, imagination—more rarely judgment and comparison.
3. *Acted dreams*.—All the former faculties enjoying a sort of wakefulness, and at the same time, volition. This class is only intended to include gestures, &c.
4. *True somnambulism*.—Rising from bed, visiting accustomed or unaccustomed scenes, and performing various mechanical acts. Under this head we have seen the individual performing the most dangerous feats, and the command of the muscular system brought to the greatest perfection.
5. *True sleep-vigil*.—Here, in addition to the foregoing phenomena, many acts of the mind are performed, as judgment, synthesis, analysis, &c.; and the senses, though closed to ordinary influences, seem to be brought into some kind of activity. Here begins also double consciousness, as yet extending only to the sleeping state,—that is, the patient knows nothing of the sleeping acts when awake, though he acts when asleep as if upon a consciousness of what has passed when awake, repeating or completing the acts of that condition. But the various paroxysms of sleep-vigil are attended by a continuity of consciousness,—that is, the acts of one are remembered in the next.
6. *Complete double consciousness, or double life*.—A new life, commencing and ending with deep sleep; utter oblivion of everything before passed; this condition alternating with the old life at uncertain intervals, and the paroxysms of indefinite length. This can scarcely be termed somnambulism, but is noticed as being so closely allied by many of its phenomena to that condition.

It will be evident from a careful consideration of these successive conditions, that somnambulism is not, as M. Willermay and many others consider it, an intermediate state between sleep and waking, (*un état intermédiaire entre la veille et le sommeil*).\* That in the slighter forms of the affection many of the faculties enjoy a sort of activity, is clear; that in the higher forms of somno-vigil all, or nearly all, are in such a state that it is diffi-

\* “Dict. des Sciences Médicales.” Art. Somnambulism.



cult to distinguish between these and their waking manifestations, is also evident; but inasmuch as the sleep appears to be more sound than ordinary; as the somnambulist never passes naturally from that condition to one of waking; as there is some danger attendant upon the interruption of that state; and as the mental and bodily activity for the most part is directed only to one class of subjects; it is plain from all this, that this can be no transition stage to the natural waking activity of the functions; in its higher forms also, we are compelled to consider it as something more than the enacting of a dream, however vivid.

What is the condition of the various functions in the somnambulism?

Noticing first the most obvious, we see the muscular system perfectly under the command of the will,—often more powerful and accurate in its movements than at other times. The condition of the senses is subject to great variety. 1st. The sight. The eyes are sometimes closed, sometimes widely staring and fixed, sometimes agitated by a convulsive movement, the pupils widely dilated or extremely contracted, but in all conditions evidently unfit for ordinary vision, and almost always insensible to any light experimentally thrown upon them. Yet there are often unmistakeable evidences of the recognition of objects—they are often sought for, and found; sometimes with a light, sometimes without; generally the somnambulist finds his way perfectly in the dark, though some will be at great pains to get a light; he will continue to write with the same accuracy as before when an opaque object is held between his eyes and the paper. Dr. Carpenter states that he has seen this in the artificial somnambulism produced by Mr. Braid's hypnotic process. What is the nature of this vision? Can the general sensibility of the surface be in such manner modified as to serve the purposes of sight? It is very improbable, yet such is said to be the case by many of those who practise the various forms of artificial hypnotism. The solitary instance with which we have met, of any somnambulist remembering and relating the phenomena of vision, is to be found in the "*Dict. des Sciences Médicales*," *sub voce*. The writer, M. Willermay, speaks thus:—"J'ai moi-même, étant très jeune, éprouvé quelques accès légers de somnambulisme, et il me semble que je voyais en dedans de ma tête ce que je voulais écrire sans le secours des yeux."

2. The sense of hearing is also found in very different conditions. Signor Farari heard the slightest noise near him, but apparently misinterpreted it; others are insensible to the loudest noises, but will hold conversations on subjects immediately connected with their specific train of thought.

3 and 4. The smell and the taste present similar contrarieties,

sometimes being more sensitive than natural, sometimes less so, and sometimes perverted.

5. The touch is the most active of all the senses, being as much increased in sensibility and accuracy as is the energy of the muscular system; probably much of the information usually obtained by the special senses is acquired through the increased energy of this, or some modification of it.

But what is the proximate cause of all these phenomena; of all this mimicry of waking life? What is the condition of the brain and mind during this state? We have but little knowledge of the physical differences between the brain active and the brain at rest; but we know that a difference does *potentially* exist, and that whilst the brain at rest is in a state of indifference to stimuli, the brain active is in a condition which may not unaptly be called *polarity*. By polarity in general is understood a state of preparedness to respond to special and specific stimuli, and one of indifference to all objects not coming under this category; thus the magnet is polar and responds to steel, at the same time being indifferent to other substances; the charged conductor of an electric machine is polar, and responds to the class of bodies called electric conductors, being indifferent to all others; in all these cases, when the elements of this polarity are brought into relation, the specific phenomena are evolved, and the polarity *resolved* for the moment. Very analogous are the phenomena of the nervous system, each department of which, when active, is in a state of polarity, evincing certain definite and specific acts or feelings when exposed to certain influences. The optic nerve is polar with regard to light, but takes no cognizance of any other agent, and so in great measure with the ear, the taste, and the smell. The sense of touch is polar with regard to objects with which it comes in contact, but takes no impression (or only those of the most obscure character) from those influences which are so powerful upon the other senses. This, then, is a true polarity of the nervous system; and when we consider how analogous the nervous influence is to the electric, in its mode of propagation, and in many of its manifestations (muscular contraction to wit), we cannot be surprised to meet with further analogies in some of the irregularities of polar tension. For instance, an electric jar may be discharged perfectly by the appropriate apparatus, and brought into a state of equilibrium or indifference; yet very shortly, without any recharge, it will be found to be in a partly charged state, and it requires repeated processes ere it is brought finally into a state of rest. The brain, when active, is in a state of tension or polarity; when at rest, as in sound sleep, it is in a state of entire indifference; but in this case, we have the organic processes perpetually continued; and what

wonder that the tension of the brain should thereby be often renewed, so as to awake it to some amount of activity ; hence all the phenomena of dreaming.

But why is the dream acted ?

In the perfectly waking state, any emotion of the mind produces generally some corresponding action of the body, though perhaps slight ; in individuals of irritable fibre this is invariable, except it be modified by education. But in a powerfully abstracted state of the mind, when all external influences, except those upon which the mind is employed, are cut off, the body *acts* the thought of the mind with a certainty and precision which frequently enables the bystander to read the train of ideas accurately. In dreaming, where the mind is absorbed utterly in one train of thought, it is but what we might expect, to find the limbs dramatising the pictures presented to the mind ; hence the state described in our fourth division, true somnambulism.

But again, why in the higher forms of somno-vigil are the senses in such a peculiar condition ?—why so acute with regard to some objects, so dead to others ?

We have seen how, in abstraction, the mind gradually excludes all impressions, save those connected with one special train of thought ; the student is absorbed in his problem, and hears nothing of the thunder, sees none of the lightning which plays round him,—the most familiar voice or the most unearthly sounds fall alike dead upon his ear. No doubt these sights and sounds produce their proper physical impression upon the organs of sense, but the brain is no longer in a condition to receive them ; it is not in a state of polarity to ordinary influences ; all its tension has been withdrawn from without, and fixed upon one class of ideas ; impressions therefore fall as ineffectively upon it as light might upon the ear, or sound upon the eye. But in sleep and dreaming, there is no necessity to withdraw the attention from one class of ideas to fix them on another ; the tension or polarity of the brain is instituted *only* with reference to that particular class which forms the subject of the dream ; the senses may be physically impressed by, but the mind does not recognise, any other object, and hence it is not difficult to understand all the apparently anomalous instances of contradictory perception and unconsciousness ; the individual is *abstracted*, but still more completely, for obvious reasons, than in his waking moments.

That the mind should, in certain aspects, be even more acute and vigorous than when awake—that tasks should be completed of the most abstruse character, which had baffled the waking energies—all this, received in the light above suggested, will not appear miraculous ; all distracting thoughts, all extraneous sources of error, are withdrawn ; and the mind, fully awake to



this subject, is enabled to devote its concentrated energies to the task.

One mysterious question remains to be asked—What is the nature of the vision which the somnambulist appears to possess? seeing that frequently the eyes are quite closed; and even when not so, they are unadapted to the ordinary mode of receiving visual impressions. Is there a transference of special sensation? is some part of the surface endowed with something analogous to visual faculties? The records of the various forms of hypnotism, vouched for by men of no mean standing or credibility, would appear to favour such a hypothesis; but, in the present stage of our investigation, we feel unprepared to pass a judgment on so vexed a question. On the phenomena of double consciousness we offer no comments, feeling assured that, as yet, our opportunities of observation have been too few and limited to permit of any satisfactory or efficient generalization.

Our subject would be incomplete without some brief notice of artificial somnambulism—called, by various authorities, Hypnotism, Mesmerism, Animal Magnetism, &c. &c.

By certain manipulations, or demands upon the attention in various forms, or many other means practised upon individuals of very mobile, irritable, imaginative, or otherwise excitable temperaments, certain results are produced more or less analogous to the phenomena of somnambulism; but, if any credit be to be attached to the reports, with many of a more wonderful character superadded. The phenomena said to be produced by the magnetizers are as follow:—

1. “A sense of perfusion” all over the system, increase of temperature, and what may be termed hyperconsciousness.

2. A state of drowsiness, and partial excitements of the senses.

3. Complete sleep, insensibility to all stimuli—the patient hears and sees nothing, feels no wound or injury to the person—catalepsy.

4. *Somnambulism*.—In this condition, it is averred the patient can barely distinguish by the sight light from darkness, but “the sense of feeling is metamorphosed into something equivalent to sight”—so that colours of objects, and positions of minute bodies are recognised—and reading is accomplished without aid from the eyes. The seat of this supplementary sense is in the epigastrium, the top of the head, and the finger-ends. The patient can see through opaque media, and the sense of hearing becomes preternaturally acute.

Of these phenomena, those included under the first three heads are doubtless to be produced on subjects properly adapted for such production; those of the fourth class, together with numerous others still more wonderful, asserted by the advocates

of this system, are properly regarded as fables. The French commission appointed towards the close of the last century to investigate the claims of the mesmerists, which included the celebrated names of Franklin, Bailly, Lavoisier, Jussieu, and many others of equal eminence, reported strongly against them; admitting certain results, but denying the existence of any "magnetic fluid"—asserting that the phenomena were the result of the imagination powerfully influenced—and, finally, that the effects produced might be dangerous, but never useful. As this subject throws no new light upon the phenomena, or relations of *natural* somnambulism, it is unnecessary to pursue it further.

### ART. III.—ON THE CONNEXION BETWEEN MORBID PHYSICAL AND RELIGIOUS PHENOMENA.

NO. 5 OF A SERIES.

BY THE REV. J. F. DENHAM, M.A., F.R.S., ETC.

THE present paper will contain an account of those co-existing morbid physical and religious phenomena which the writer considers to have come under his notice, belonging to the department of *Remorse*. His design renders it requisite,—(1) to ascertain what is to be understood by genuine remorse; (2) to describe the characteristics of spurious remorse; (3) to adduce reasons for assigning to them a merely morbid and physical origin; (4) to suggest means of prevention and cure.

(1) By genuine remorse, according to the definition of it given by Clarendon, Bishop Hall, &c., and derived from the etymology of the word, is meant, "the keen pain or anguish excited by a sense of guilt; compunction for a vicious, or sinful act committed." Dr. Thomas Brown describes it as "the dreadful moral regret arising from the certainty that we have rendered ourselves unworthy of the love of man and of the approbation of our God"—"the salutary influence of conscience, which, though it cannot restore innocence itself, may at least, by the images which it awakes, soften the mind to that repentance which is almost innocence under another form,"—"that terrible voice which it is impossible to fly, because it is with us wherever we may fly, and which we can still only in one manner; by acting so as to merit, not its silence only, but its applause."\* St. Paul defines it as the accusing testimony of conscience, involving both the existence of the moral "law written in the hearts of all men," and the painful consciousness of having transgressed that law:†

\* "Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind." Edinburgh. 1830, pp. 428, 233, 633.

† Rom. ii. 14, 15.

as "godly sorrow, working repentance unto salvation not to be repented of: \*—literally, *sorrow according to God*, "a sorrow arising from causes out of which God would have it arise, and which have the effects he wishes them to have."† According to these definitions, genuine remorse is not only painful, but is also intelligent, pious, and curative, or promotes moral improvement; "is operative, diligent, and instrumental to caution and strict walking—the mother of holy living."‡ We must therefore (2) consign to the department of mere spurious remorse all those feelings, &c., which though in the latitude, or through the imperfection of language, commonly passing under the name of Remorse, have not these qualities nor tend to these results; but have only a distorted or inefficient semblance of them, amounting only to a mere *rue* (rudo), and consisting only of indefinable "low spirits," dread, anxiety, vexation, hypochondriacal grief and woe; and attended with a general torpor or debility of the judgment. The distinction between genuine and spurious remorse is intimated in the New Testament by the restriction of the term *μετάνοια*, or *reform*, to the former, and *μεταμέλεια*, a *mere sorrow*, to the latter; "because every one who reforms, repents; but every one who repents, does not reform."§ The Romans also called the former *conscientia*, *pietas*; the latter *furia*, *morsus*, *emorsus*. Horace thus describes a good repentance.

"Scelerum si bene pœnitet,  
Eradenda cupidinis  
Pravi sunt elementa; et teneræ nimis  
Mentes asperioribus  
Formandæ studiis."||

The prophet Hosea describes the subjects of spurious remorse as "not crying unto God with their heart, when they howled on their beds: as returning, but not to the Most High,"¶ the distinction being here made, as, in regard of the mere semblance of virtues, elsewhere, "not unto me,"\*\* having neither pious motives, nor producing moral reformation.

(3) The following reasons are offered for assigning to the phenomena of spurious remorse a merely morbid and physical origin:—

I. It may be observed, generally, that spurious, or unintelligent, irrational, and unimproving remorse in the abstract, or when arising from even innocent causes, is never unassociated with either positive indications of bodily disease, or with a morbid

\* 2 Cor. 7, 10, 11.

† Rosenmüller, Schol. in loc.

‡ Bishop Jer. Taylor. Sermon 3, on Godly Fear. Part. i.

§ Campbell, "Diss." 6.

|| Carmen, Od. xxiv. lib. 3.

¶ Ch. vii. 14, 16.

\*\* Zech. vi. 5.



diathesis of the body, loose fibre, sensitive and imaginative temperament, or at least, with a diminished state of physical power. The mildest form of it is the penitential regret experienced along with fatigue, arising, especially, from over-excitement, or from an unusual degree of innocent enjoyment; as in the evening or morning after "a day's pleasure," or during the homeward journey from a tour, or an excursion. It increases with the increase of disease; declines with convalescence: and, except in hypochondriacal temperaments, wholly ceases with the restoration of health and strength. In such temperaments it is liable to be revived by whatever excites the nervous system. Its exacerbations follow a full meal, are greatest at night and least in the morning; are mitigated by cathartic medicines and other means of alleviating hypochondriacal disorders.

II. Paroxysms of spurious remorse peculiarly follow the grosser sins of the flesh; as when the transgressor awakes in the morning, "*cæna desurgat dubia*," and becomes conscious of the excesses and irregularities of the preceding evening, and has, what in popular language are called, "the horrors,"—

"quin corpus onustum  
Hesternis vitiis animum quoque prægravat unà,"

is ashamed of himself; and vexed at the disability of mind, body, and estate, which he has incurred. His desponding or excited emotions are, however, all connected, either with the stomach, which Haller justly calls "the conscience of the body," or with the heart, or with the brain; and generally partake more or less of delirium tremens:—are alleviable, and, perhaps, for many successive occasions, by alcoholic stimulants, and by other means which indicate the merely physical origin and nature of such emotions. Spurious remorse, indeed, in any violent degree, rarely follows immediately upon any depravity wholly unconnected with debauchery.

III. It is, also, seldom permanent until the physical powers have become, by such means, permanently impaired. Valetudinary sensualists have often remarked to me, that they experienced only temporary and trifling visitations of what they called remorse, until their health had become seriously damaged or completely undermined.

IV. Spurious remorse, however intense, produces no lasting reformation of conduct, gathers no improvement from religious motives, or even from considerations of self-interest. Its tendency is rather to weaken the moral powers and the judgment, by occupying the mind's attention with the physical feelings. Thus, the sensualist who, under the actual endurance of his miserable "next morning" sensations, may make resolutions,

vows, promises—utter profuse self-condemnation and impassioned prayers, may, nevertheless, too often, be found to incur, perhaps in the evening of the same day, or at no distant period, a renewal of all his sufferings and humiliations, and thus to exemplify the Proverb that “as a dog returneth to his vomit, so a fool returneth to (margin, iterateth,) his folly :”\* and to illustrate St. Peter’s comparison of him to “the sow that was washed and turneth to her wallowing in the mire.”† The following case of such fruitless remorse affords a specimen of an occurrence too frequent in the observation of all ministers of religion. “A man having upon his bed of sickness received in his own conceit the sentence of death in himself; and being pressed to humiliation and broken-heartedness, for he had formerly been a stranger and an enemy to purity and the power of godliness, answered thus : ‘My heart is broken;’ and so broke out into an earnest confession of particular sins; he named uncleanness, stubbornness, hypocrisy, &c. He compared himself to the thief upon the cross. “And if God,” saith he, “restore me to health again, the world shall see what an altered man I will be.” When he was pressed to sincerity and true-heartedness in what he said, he protested that he repented with all his heart and soul, and mind, and bowels, &c.; and desired a minister that stood by to be a witness of these things between the world and him. And yet this man upon his recovery became the very same, if not worse than he was before.”‡

V. Spurious remorse frequently evinces its morbid origin by its being excited by the most trifling, absurd, and even imaginary causes, and by its disproportion to the cause of it, and not unfrequently by its being attended with an insensibility to real and even heinous ill-conduct on the part of the subject of it. I have met with cases *approximating* to that of the shepherd in Italy, who in his confession in Lent expressed his concern, that in making cheese, some of the milk had spurted into his mouth, and desired absolution for it, but who, upon being questioned by the priest whether he was not a party in those robberies and murders which were committed in the neighbourhood on travellers, readily owned it, and added that this mode of enriching themselves was not looked upon as criminal among his neighbours.§ A female of declining age, feeble health, uncultivated mind,—the subject of vivid religious emotions, strictly temperate, but guilty of ingenious cruelty towards a step-daughter, suffered intense remorse, at times, till the day of her death, from having, in haste, torn a leaf out of her Bible for the purpose of lighting

\* Prov. xxvi. 11.

† 2 Pet. ii. 22.

‡ Bolton, “On Affliction of Conscience,” sect. 2, Part i. ch. 8.

§ De la Roche, “Mem. of Literat. for 1712.”



a candle; feared that she had thereby "committed the sin against the Holy Ghost," &c. I find the following case of perverted remorse in my memoranda. A man aged nearly seventy, of tall stature, thin habit of body, dark melancholic complexion, sensitive, humane, intelligent, temperate, but *living in cohabitation*—and having lived so for several years, was during many months of his last bedridden illness in a narrow, dark, and unwholesome apartment, evidently suffering from deep-seated remorse. Upon being urged to "open his grief," he said, "I have, indeed, something on my mind. In my younger days I was a soldier, and served in the West Indies. While we were there, the troops thought themselves hardly used. Some of them mutinied. One of them shot an officer, and was sentenced by the court-martial to be hanged. An offer was made of thirty shillings to any one who would act as executioner. I accepted the offer, and since I have been lying here, the thought of it comes into my mind day and night. I think I did wrong. The recollection of it distresses me more than anything I ever did beside." He repeated the name of the soldier very mournfully, "Poor Joseph!" It appeared to me that his mind had conceived a mal-association with his deed, partly, at least, from the similarity of the sum of money to that received by Judas Iscariot for the betrayal of his master. He was much inclined to superstition, and told stories of what he considered to be retributions of Divine Providence *in kind*, which he had witnessed, in which, however, the resemblances seemed to be indistinct. Nor could he derive lasting consolation from any moral reasoning offered to him respecting the particular cause of his own mental sufferings—could not be made sensible that he was living in sin.

VI. The irrational and disproportioned nature of mere spurious remorse is thus depicted by one of the most eminent Puritan divines. "In all other adversities a man is still a friend unto himself, favours himself, and reaches out his best considerations to bring in comfort to his heavy heart. But in this he is a scourge to himself; at war with himself; an enemy to himself. He doth greedily and industriously fetch in as much matter as he can possibly, both imaginary and true, to enlarge the rent and aggravate his horror. He gazes willingly in that false glass which Satan (?) is wont in such cases to set before him, wherein by his hellish malice he makes an infinite addition both to the already unnumbered multitude and to the too great heinousness of his sins, and would fain, if he will be led by his lying, cruelly misrepresent to his affrighted imagination every gnat as a camel, every mote as a molehill, every molehill as a mountain; every lustful thought as the most unclean act, every idle word as a



desperate blasphemy, every angry look as an actual murder, every intemperate passion as an inexpiable provocation, every distraction in holy duties as an absolute rebellion, every transgression against light of conscience as a sin against the Holy Ghost. Nay, in this amazedness of spirit and disposition to despair, he is apt, even of his own accord, and with great eagerness, to arm every sin as it comes into his mind with a particular sting, that it may strike deep enough, and stick fast enough, in his already grieved soul. He employs and improves the excellency and utmost of his learning, understanding, wit, memory, to argue with all subtlety, with much sophistry, against the pardonableness of his sins and possibility of salvation. He wounds even his wounds with a conceit that they are incurable, and vexes his very vexations with refusing to be comforted. Not only crosses, afflictions, temptations, and all matter of discontentment; but even the most desirable things also in this life, and those which minister most outward comfort; wife, children, friends, gold, goods, great men's favours, preferences, honours, offices, even pleasures themselves, everything: whatsoever is within him, or without him, or about him; whatsoever he thinks upon, remembers, hears, sees, turn all to his torment. No marvel, then, though the terror of a wounded conscience be so intolerable." \* Can any one doubt whether the foregoing is not a description of spurious remorse? Nor is such a kind of remorse confined to Christians. The Mahometan doctor, Maléc Ebn Ans, who is said to have "paid great regard to the traditions of Mohammed," and was remarkable for the conscientiousness of his instructions, was in his last illness found in tears, and upon being asked the reason of it, answered, "How should I not weep? and who has more reason to weep than I? Would to God that for every question decided by me according to my own opinion I had received so many stripes! Then would my accounts be easier. Would to God I had never given any decision of my own!" † It is also worthy of remark, that professed sceptics, even of the most intellectual order, have been equally liable to the inroads of remorse. Thus the ancient Epicureans themselves, who denied the intrinsic difference of human actions, all knowledge and concern of the gods about them, and consequently any future rewards and punishments, yet have left us the most graphic descriptions of remorse, as, for instance, Lucretius, lib. 3, v. 1024; and Mr. Hume describes remorse as one of the chief miseries common to all mankind.

VII. I have often observed spurious remorse to be a concomitant of incipient insanity, and of mental and bodily decay. In

\* Bolton, sect. 1. Part xi.

† Sales, "Prelim. Dissert. to the Koran," sect. 8.

many cases of this kind the patients have complained that all the sins they ever committed, of thought, word, disposition, and action, even from their infancy, seemed revived to their recollections, and tormented their minds with incessantly repeated accusations. In not a few of these cases, however, the absolute impossibility of their having committed some of the sins which they said distressed their conscience, was obvious to their friends. Such sufferers have compared their sensations to a fire smouldering in their vitals, and have by their own involuntary movements pointed out the stomach, heart, liver, and hypochondrium as the origin of their agonizing perceptions. In high states of this affection, the patient believes that the supposed self-reproaches of his own heart are the effect of divine agency; as did Job when he complained to God, "Thou writest bitter things against me, and makest me to possess the iniquities of my youth;"\* and as did the Roman emperor Tiberius, who, in his celebrated letter to the senate, attributed his remorse "to gods and goddesses eating him." In other cases, the patient believes that Satan or that demons are the causes of his wretchedness, holds imaginary conversations with them, and, according, as it would seem, to the variations of the physical disorder, believes his infernal accusers to come or to go: for all morbid perceptions, or rather the perceptions suggested by morbid states of the body, have a tendency, in proportion to their intensity, to personify themselves to the consciousness; and the mental visions so created, may be even mistaken by the subjects of them for actual impressions on the several senses.

VIII. Spurious remorse often greatly exercises its tyranny over persons of fanatical, weak, and only partially cultivated mind, and of feeble will; or whose judgment is not the invariable rule of their ideas and conduct. Sir William Temple says, "An ingenious physician told me, that in the fanatic times, he found most of his patients so disturbed by troubles of conscience, that he was forced to play the divine with them before he could begin the physician."† Persons of this description, even during their comparative health, complain of "feeling as if they had done something dreadful," or, "as if something dreadful was going to happen to them;" are nearly always grieving and vexed about something or other, are easily offended, suspicious of being "slighted," and evince other indications of undue self-consciousness, or of inordinate attention to themselves. Their physical symptoms are frequently hysteria, palpitations of the heart, and hypochondriacal affections.

The last reason to be assigned for the merely morbid and physical origin of spurious remorse, is, that the subjects of it, though

\* Job xiii. 26.

† "On Health and Long Life." Works.

often conscious of its unreasonableness, rarely exert themselves in promoting their own relief. "I know," said one of the most amiable of these sufferers, the late poet James Montgomery, "that this is my own fault, and that I am an insane self-tormentor." \* It is plain, however, that such a state of mind is not consistent with the *natural* effects and original intention of pain, which are to induce the patient to adopt, or to co-operate with, means for its mitigation. Neither do such states of mind yield to the intellectual consolations afforded by the Gospel, derived from its abundant representations of the infinite compassion of the Creator, and the perpetual and all-availing efficacy of the atonement as the medium of pardon for all confessed sin. Such sufferers, indeed, like the victims of morbid sentimentality, seem unwilling to part with their distresses. The writer, then, offers his conclusion from the foregoing reasons in the words of a well-known psychologist, that "religious enthusiasm and remorse, which often go hand in hand, are especially within the province of the physician." †

The first practical inference from the foregoing observations would seem to be, that owing to the possible morbid influences of bodily states upon the mind, the attempt never can be otherwise than precarious for any man to form a moral estimate either of his own general character, or of the character of any of his particular actions. It was possibly for such reasons that St. Paul considered "man's judgment of him a very small thing, and avoided judging himself." ‡ It would seem equally difficult, for the same reasons, to form a correct judgment of a fellow-creature from the account given of him by himself. The majority of persons speak on all subjects beyond their immediate occupations, rather from their feelings than from a dispassioned judgment founded on facts. When, then, we are listening to a person's account of himself we are too probably listening only to an expression of his present feelings, and which are most likely more or less morbid, and certainly so in the case of every invalid. I am happy to find that the same inference has been formed by a writer of eminence, "On the Value of Feelings in Religion," in the following words—"And now from all that has been said, we can form no other conclusion than this,—that a man's feelings, or his state of mind, in *any* circumstances of his repentance and *future religious life*, possess no necessary and universal certainty. We might produce a number of passages from divines of high respect in confirmation of our opinions." §

\* Memoirs of, by Holland and Everett, vol. ii.

† Feuchtersleben's "Medical Psychology." Sydenham Society, p. 136.

‡ 1 Cor. iv. 3.

§ "John Joachim Spalding," translated by Evans, 1827, pp. 248, 249.



2. It seems needful to be on our guard against what I must call the histrionic simulation by morbid feelings, of what are supposed to be, whether rightly or wrongly, those emotions, states of mind, &c., peculiarly desirable and proper. Whenever the mind, and especially of persons of excitable temperament, has formed to itself the *beau ideal* of any such state as admirable in itself or as worthy of imitation in others, the process of self-transformation into that state, by the minds of such persons, is neither tedious nor difficult. "Let me," says a writer already quoted, "discover unto you a mystery; but it is of iniquity and horrible hypocrisy. I have known some (would you think it?) who have counterfeited trouble of conscience; and made show without all truth or true touch of sundry temptations and spiritual distempers incidental only to the saints, and have for that purpose addressed themselves with much industry and noise, and had recourse many times to some spiritual physicians, with *many tears*, a heavy countenance, and other rueful circumstances expressing almost exactly the scruples, doubts, distrusts, complaints of such as are truly grieved in spirit and true of heart. O! the wonderful depth which lieth hid in the confluence of man's false heart! Such as these take upon them and lay aside terrors of conscience, as *players* do their apparel and parts."\* I am emboldened by the foregoing statement to express my entire conviction that the "extraordinary," that is, emotional, piety of children and of very young persons, and especially their expressions of remorse, humility, &c., are of this *imitative* character: and further, that it is too possible for persons of any age, of a peculiar temperament, and under especial physical and social circumstances, to maintain an artificial character—in plain words—to act a part, even on the bed of death. I do not charge such children and dying persons with deliberate or systematic hypocrisy in the worse sense of the term, but I resolve the phenomena exhibited by them into the fascination of their own ideas, the flattery of their circumstances, and the influence of disease combining with the all but infinite delusiveness of morbid religious feelings. A popular instance of this kind, though of a melancholy aspect, may, I think, be found in the account of Francis Spira, who, according to the narrative of his remorse, lay on his bed *talking* and descanting on his condition to the bystanders in the following language—"I tell you there never was such a monster as I am: never was man alive a spectacle of such exceeding misery. I now feel God's heavy wrath, that burns like the torments of hell within me, and affects my soul with pangs unutterable. Verily desperation is hell itself. The gnawing worm of unquenchable fire, horror, *confusion*, and,

\* Polton, p. 222.

which is worst of all, desperation itself, continually tortures me. The truth is, never had mortal man such experience of God's anger and hatred against him as I have. The damned souls in hell endure not like misery, *therefore* I desire to *die*. Oh that some one would *let out this weary soul!* My state is worse than that of Cain and Judas." Yet the exciting cause of all these phrensies, was his recantation of his peculiar theological opinions from worldly considerations, for which opinions he had been previously conspicuous. Do not his references to his bodily sensations indicate that they were highly diseased? Is it compatible with the nature of real mental anguish, even of an ordinary kind, that the sufferer should describe it so eloquently? His sanity was indeed doubted by some intelligent observers at the time; but his ravings were considered by multitudes in that controversial age, as they are to this day—to have been a foretaste of the misery awaiting the apostate in a future state.

3. It must be inferred from the whole topic that much, to say the least, of what is now too commonly supposed to be pre-eminently a religious state of feeling, and the result of even divine agency, has a mere physical and even morbid origin; or to use the words of a fellow labourer in this department, that "the physical terrors of disease, the nervous anguish of a disordered brain *full of scaring images*, are absurdly held by many to be the actual sense and feeling of divine wrath, and the certain signs of complete repentance. But the *influence of the body on the mind in such cases*, and the *consequent violent emotions*, are too well known to be denied, except by those who know nothing of nature and its operations, and who choose to call everything supernatural which is unusual."\* "It is also to be regretted, that many persons find it easier and even more agreeable to cultivate feelings of any kind, than to engage themselves in the close but noiseless study of the heart with its concealed impurities,—deliberate reflection on the great truths of religion and their reasonable grounds, due calculation of the gain or loss in our election between God and the present world, strict and incessant guard upon the conscience, the affections, and conduct,—*these* are too often smothered by the overwhelming sensations of enthusiasm; yet these alone are indispensable to true repentance, and violent emotions and excitements make not any necessary or essential part of it."† "The mind is, however, always disposed to strong emotions, and finds it more convenient to indulge than to explain them. It is loth to part with them, because it often has nothing with which to replace them. That spiritual instruction and guidance likewise is most welcome which gives least occupation to the thinking faculty,

\* Spalding, p. 115.

† Page 262, &c.

and withal is held to be the safest. Natural temperament, weakness and confusion of the mental powers, education, society, example, all contribute to the same effect."\* I take courage from these confirmations of the preceding sentiments in this paper to avow my belief that what is called "popular preaching," too generally, owes its charms to its suitableness to the morbid susceptibilities of its admirers, and serves to alienate their hearts and minds still further from the practice of virtue, and from even the requisite attention to their temporal interests. The faithful and learned pastor will ever bear in mind the morbid condition of humanity, and avoid, above all things, awakening spurious remorse, agreeably to the memorable saying of ancient times, "sadness is the greatest enemy of God's servants;" and will accordingly shun the inculcation of superhuman attainments, artificial duties, giving romantic, loose, or inaccurate representations of repentance, and will patiently submit to the labour and self-denial which the observance of these precautions will involve, in regard of the most arduous part of his duties—the adaptation of the multifarious contents of the Scriptures to the real wants and substantial interests of his fellow men. It is important for all persons to beware of supposititious duties, because when once the sense of obligation is established in regard of any sort of feeling or line of conduct whatever, the moral faculty takes that sense of obligation under its keeping, and unfortunately, in the case of too many minds and temperaments, is too apt to embrace an erroneous rule more tenaciously, and to enforce it more rigorously, than a rule that is "holy, just, and good."

It now remains to offer some suggestions for the prevention and cure of spurious remorse. The obvious means of prevention is to make the development, and constant and inflexible exercise of the reason and judgment in regard of all subjects, the primary object of education, and to establish in the youthful mind a supreme regard to practical rectitude of both inward and outward action.

Children, too, should never be subjected to the influence of enthusiastic *preaching*. From the *services* and *offices* of the Church of England no danger can arise, for they all seem fitted to prevent the creation of spurious remorse and of every other morbid feeling.

It is also much to be wished that a knowledge of the evidences of natural and revealed religion were made a branch of education, and that the unrivalled works of Dr. Paley should be adopted as the text-book. Especially should the youthful mind be early imbued with a belief in the infinite goodness, mercy,

\* Spalding, p. 254.



and reasonableness of the Creator in regard of all his dealings and intentions towards the human race, and of his requirements from them, and thoroughly enlightened respecting the provisions made by the atonement for the just and gracious exercise of these dispositions in the Deity towards the children of men; and carefully initiated into a firm and practical belief in the prevalence of confession of sins to God, as the immediate means of pardon and consolation.\*

I earnestly dissuade parents from allowing indiscriminate religious reading to their children. Among the works to be placed in the parental *index prohibitory*, I find myself compelled by my convictions to name Doddridge's "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul," Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," and all other works which describe and inculcate *a certain religious process* as necessary or even as desirable to be undergone, because children are often induced by the perusal of such works to force their feelings into a conformity with the representations they read; and because, "by such overstrained efforts, the mind is sure to lose its proper balance in some degree; and other contemplations are set aside, which would be of far more extensive and lasting benefit."†

The cure of the morbid physical and religious phenomena of Remorse, whenever apparent, depends primarily on the patient's restoration to bodily health and strength by those means indicated by his physical condition. During an appropriate course of medicine and diet, the acetate of morphia, unless forbidden by the especial circumstances of the case, is useful as an occasional sedative, until the healthy action of the viscera and brain can, by other means, be established. Mental remedies, or arguments addressed to the mind, will only be available in proportion as physical improvement advances. It seems advisable, as Dr. Feuchtersleben remarks with regard to any "fixed idea," for the attendants and friends "not to enter into it, by letting it pass unnoticed, and not appearing to think it worth while to refute it, or, when it can be done, pretending not to have heard or understood the patient;" or, in the case of morbid remorse, to change its direction by inspiring confidence in the infinite mercy of God.‡ Should pride, which *not unusually* attends this, as well as other forms of insanity, be suspected, it may be useful to lower the patient's undue self-importance by some such an expostulation as Elihu, misappropriately however, addressed to Job.§ Solitude and darkness should be avoided, and "occupation of the soberest kind, alternated with cheerful recreation, out of doors, and in a bracing atmosphere, must aid the direct religious

\* 1 John i. 8, 9.

† Spalding, p. 261.  
§ Job xxxv. 5-7.

‡ Pages 346, 347.

instruction which may be practicable.\* Since, too, spurious remorse is like some other diseases, periodical, its natural intervals and decline should be embraced as the most favourable opportunities for the employment of preventive means. The cure may be assisted by gradually drawing off the mind's attention from the feelings, and engaging it in the more active duties of life, and especially those duties which awaken a rational sense of self-interest. I subjoin below, more at length, the title of a work already quoted, of great value on the general subject.†

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#### ART. IV.—NOTES OF A VISIT TO THE PUBLIC LUNATIC ASYLUMS OF SCOTLAND.

BY JOHN WEBSTER, M.D., F.R.S., AND F.R.C.P.,

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IN former numbers of the "Psychological Journal," I communicated an account of various visits made to public asylums for the insane in France, which were repeated during subsequent years, although not published, from entertaining the opinion that, any additional data then collected would have too much resembled previous statements, to make them sufficiently interesting. Last autumn, my sphere of observation was changed. Then I visited Scotland, in order to inspect different institutions for lunatics in that part of the empire: as well to obtain correct information respecting their organization and management, as also to compare these national establishments with asylums of other countries. Believing an outline of my proceedings may prove acceptable, I would therefore remark that six public institutions were examined,—namely, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, Dundee, Montrose, and Aberdeen: upon each of which I propose giving a brief notice, wherein it will be my object to detail facts, rather than to enunciate opinions, so that readers may thereby be enabled to form their own conclusions, regarding the different establishments thus brought under review.

However, before adverting to any of the institutions above-mentioned, some notice of the laws applicable to lunatics in North Britain will not seem inappropriate, especially to members of the medical profession resident in England: many of whom, perhaps, may not be fully cognizant of the legal enactments

\* Feuchtersleben, p. 347.

† "Thoughts on the Value of the Feelings in Religion," by Joachim Spalding, a Dignitary of the Consistory of Berlin in the last century. Translated from the German by Arthur B. Evans, A.M., Rector of Colne Rogers, &c. London. 1827.

respecting insane persons, and the administration of asylums throughout Scotland. With the view of enabling psychological jurists to study this important subject more minutely than could be given by any cursory statement on the present occasion, I would observe that the following Acts of Parliament, recently passed in reference to the insane, may be consulted advantageously; since, by these statutes Scottish lunatic establishments, or *madhouses*, according to parliamentary phraseology—but which improper designation ought to be revised—are now regulated: whilst “fatuous or furious persons, or lunatics,” are taken care of and treated throughout the country. The Acts now referred to are,—1st, the 55th of George III., cap. 69; 2nd, the 9th of George IV., cap. 34; and 3rd, the 4th and 5th of Victoria, cap. 60, each of which will repay perusal.

Considering it unnecessary to discuss at any length the various clauses of the above enactments, I would for the present observe that, no person can be received into any public hospital or asylum for the insane in Scotland, without a warrant from the sheriff of the county, or his substitute: upon the petition of some relative or friend of the lunatic, which specifically states the party named therein “is in such a state of mental derangement as to require treatment in a lunatic asylum.” This document must be accompanied by the certificate of some legally-qualified medical practitioner, who declares, *on soul and conscience*, that, to the best of his belief and knowledge, the patient designated is insane, and a proper person for admission. Where no legally-qualified medical practitioner can be procured to put his name to the required certificate, it will then be sufficient if signed by any medical man of character whom the sheriff may think proper to employ: not being the medical officer of the asylum to which it is proposed to send the lunatic.

Such are the chief formalities, requisite prior to the reception of a lunatic patient into any licensed house; but in reference to private individuals who take charge of single maniacs, it is enacted by the 9th of George IV., that no person shall receive into his exclusive care and maintenance, except a relative, any one insane patient, without first having an order, and certificate signed by *two* medical practitioners: a copy of which the party receiving such single lunatic must transmit to the sheriff of the county in which he resides, within five days after the party's reception, accompanied by a statement correctly designating the parish wherein the house is situated, and also the name of its occupier. Afterwards, annually, on or within seven days of the 1st of January, a certificate must be transmitted to the sheriff, signed by two physicians or surgeons, describing the then state of such insane person; and lastly, should the party die, or be



removed elsewhere, these events must be forthwith notified to the sheriff. Besides the above essential formalities, any individual incurs a penalty of 50*l.* who receives into his house an insane person contrary to this enactment.

Although the clauses now specified embody the principal regulations respecting lunatic asylums, nevertheless, believing some readers of this paper might desire to possess more precise knowledge respecting the law generally, in Scotland, with reference to lunatics, particularly those who have not the Acts above quoted, or any legal publication upon the subject in their library, even at the risk of being reckoned tedious, I would subjoin the following additional remarks upon the subject: only premising, if more agreeable, the next nine paragraphs may be passed over as supererogation.

According to the several statutes previously mentioned, no one can, under a penalty of 200*l.* and expenses, keep an asylum for lunatics, without a licence from the sheriff of the county or his substitute, which must be renewed yearly: a certain sum being charged upon every mad person therein specified, both for the first granting, and each annual subsequent renewal of the licence. Further, all sums so received form part of the *rogue money* of the county, as ordered by fiat of Parliament. The last regulation seems, to say the least, a most extraordinary application of monies thus obtained. It looks as if classing the insane actually with rogues: or, like ancient proceedings, when lunatics were consigned to prisons, and there treated the same as vagabonds or criminals. Of this kind, examples were formerly too frequent: although, thanks to the present enlightened views entertained by all classes, such harsh treatment is now repudiated, and a more humane mode is happily pursued, almost universally. This reality having been acquired, even the semblance of connecting asylums with law-breakers, in any way, should be avoided; and therefore, making the proceeds obtained from granting licences to institutions for the insane form part of such a fund as county rogue money, is most objectionable, and ought to be altered forthwith.

Besides being invested with other official functions, as already stated, sheriffs are directed to use all means for ascertaining whether persons placed in asylums ought to be detained therein, and to make such order for the lunatic's care, or confinement, or liberation, as circumstances require. They may also commit vagrant maniacs. Again, no person can be admitted into any institution for the insane, without a sheriff's order; whilst every individual receiving a lunatic into his house, to be treated or confined, without such authority or licence, forfeits 200*l.* and

expenses, *toties quoties*. Further, every medical practitioner giving a certificate of lunacy, without having taken proper means for ascertaining the fact, forfeits 50*l.* and expenses. Lastly, asylums are inspected twice a year; once by the sheriff or his substitute, and once by the sheriff in person, with such medical man, or others, as he thinks should accompany him on that occasion.

Various books or registers ought to be kept in every licensed house, which must be produced to the inspectors, who insert the date of their inspection, together with any observations they deem expedient. The sheriff may recal any licence upon a report of two authorized inspectors. He can likewise make fitting rules for the management of asylums, and enforce the same with penalties, not exceeding 10*l.* for each offence. Houses of reception having 100 patients must have a resident physician or surgeon, or if the institution contains fewer inmates, unless kept by a physician or surgeon, it must be visited twice weekly by a qualified medical practitioner. Such visiting or resident physicians or surgeons being directed to make reports to the keeper, as he is termed at present, and once weekly to enter their remarks, signed, in a register, according to forms given in the schedule, which must be afterwards exhibited to the inspectors. An account of all monies received from asylums, and expenses incurred, is transmitted by the sheriff to the County Commissioners of Supply; besides which, he must also send a statement of the number of asylums in his county, and of the names, amount, and description of persons therein confined, to the Clerk of the High Court of Justiciary, as also to the College of Physicians at Edinburgh.

Inspectors of asylums are elected by the College of Physicians of Edinburgh, and the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow: each of these bodies appointing, annually, four of their ordinary resident members to that office. From amongst these, the sheriffs of Mid-Lothian and Lanark may employ any of the so elected gentlemen, within their respective jurisdictions. In other counties, sheriffs can choose for inspectors any physician qualified to make such inspection, unless local or other circumstances render that proceeding inexpedient. Justices of the peace may also appoint, at the Michaelmas quarter sessions, three of their number to visit and inspect any private or public asylum within their own county, and to report annually "thereanent." Ministers are also empowered, with written consent of the sheriff, to visit madhouses within their parishes: although the keeper may refuse them admission, if he thinks such visit would be prejudicial to the patients; but he must always enter this refusal, and its cause, in the register. In addition to the above

regulations, provision is likewise made for the procurator-fiscal of the county to enforce the acts now existing, and to recover all penalties incurred by parties contravening the law : which sums, like those received for licences, form part of the *Rogue money* !

The above constitute the principal laws in reference to institutions for the insane, and the admission or confinement of lunatics therein. Other minor regulations might be mentioned, but it is considered unnecessary. Nevertheless, before proceeding with my Notes respecting the present condition of public asylums in Scotland, I must beg permission to add to previous legal observations, that there are various degrees of aberration of intellect recognised by lawyers in North Britain. These may be divided into two classes. The first comprehends every person who is, in judicial language, *fatuous*, and naturally an idiot, or furious mad, and a lunatic ; or whose external senses are so imperfectly organized, as to render the party implicated totally unfit to undertake and superintend the independent management of him or herself, or affairs. The other division includes those persons who, although not so devoid of reason as to be absolutely incapable of acting for themselves in the minor affairs of life, are yet, from imbecility or weakness of judgment, considered by the law fit subjects for a limited degree of restraint in matters of importance. The remedy in the former case, is to place the fatuous or furious person under permanent and unlimited "curatory." The proceeding in the latter example being "interdiction," as it is denominated ; by which lavish and facile individuals are disabled from signing any deed to their prejudice, without the previous consent of their appointed interdictors.

To enter into any lengthened discussion respecting the above forensic questions, would be rather incompatible with the chief purpose aimed at in the present communication, therefore I will only now briefly observe, when thus bringing several important features characterizing the lunacy laws of Scotland, before readers of the "Psychological Journal," that one of the objects proposed, among others, was to notice briefly a procedure in that portion of Great Britain, which has many recommendatory reasons for its adoption, from being applicable to individuals not certainly altogether sane, but yet quite incompetent to manage their own affairs without some control. Interdiction here adverted to becomes truly a kind of *mézzo termine*, as it might almost be called ; or, something like that peculiar issue designated in the criminal law of Scotland, a "non proven verdict." Upon the above legal proceeding, prevalent North of the Tweed, in reference to imbecile persons, one or two observations seem advisable, with a view to induce subsequent discussion by legists and psychological physicians.



This system of interdiction, according to Scottish legal authorities, constitutes a species of restraint provided for those who, from weakness, facility, or profusion, are liable to imposition. It is directed at the option of the judge or Lord Ordinary at Edinburgh, on proper evidence proving the facility of the person arraigned: or is voluntarily imposed by the party applying for such protection. Hence the distinction into voluntary, and judicial interdiction. A sentence of judicial interdiction is pronounced, either in an action at the instance of the prodigal's heir, or his next of kin: or *ex proprio motu* of the judge, during a suit in court. This kind of interdiction can only be removed by the authority of the court. Voluntary interdiction, again, is the act of the party applying; but after bond has been once executed, he cannot withdraw it by his own hand.

The person who, from being conscious of mental facility, thus lays him or herself under voluntary restraint, signs a bond, whereby the granter comes under an obligation to execute no deed which may effect heritable estate, without the consent of certain persons therein specially named. This form of interdiction may, however, be removed:—1. By a sentence of the Court of Session at Edinburgh, either on the ground that such a proceeding was originally unnecessary, or, that the party has, since the bond was executed, become *rei sui providus*, as so expressed by jurists. 2. Without judicial interference, it may be quashed by the joint act of the interdicted party and interdictors. 3. And lastly, where a quorum of interdictors is mentioned, the restraint ceases, if, by death or otherwise, the number becomes reduced below the denominated quorum. Such are the chief characteristics in reference to interdicting any facile or insane person in Scotland: notwithstanding which, I would add, that this procedure is now more rarely adopted than formerly; the course usually pursued, of late years, being the appointment by the Court at Edinburgh, of a *Curator bonis*, speaking judicially.

As Dr. Winslow is on the eve of bringing before the legal and medical profession in England, some important suggestions respecting a modification of the law relative to persons alleged to be mentally incompetent for the government of themselves and their affairs, but who cannot be pronounced to be either "insane," "lunatic," or of "unsound mind," I consider it would be out of place, if not altogether superfluous, to pursue so interesting a topic any further in these pages; more especially, as the whole question will assuredly be treated in the fullest manner by that able writer, and distinguished psychological physician. Leaving, therefore, the investigation of such forensic, yet professional matters—whatever phase they may assume—to be discussed

by the above-named eminent medico-legal authority,\* I now proceed to describe the different establishments visited during my recent excursion to Scotland, and first, respecting—

### 1.—THE ROYAL EDINBURGH ASYLUM.

This public institution for the insane is of modern construction, and although not yet completed, already contains the largest number of lunatics, compared with any other similar establishment throughout Scotland. It is situated near the village of Morningside, about a mile and a half to the south-west of Edinburgh. The position is beautiful, slightly elevated, airy, and salubrious. It has a southern exposure, with the Braid and Pentland hills in front, but at a considerable distance, whereby the prospect enjoyed from the main building, as also from the garden and adjoining precincts, is really splendid, and only surpassed by that of Gart-nael Asylum, near Glasgow, and of Illnau, in the Grand Duchy of Baden: amongst all the public institutions for lunatic patients which I have ever visited, whether in Great Britain, or on the Continent. The grounds are extensive, being about forty acres, in which horticultural and agricultural occupations are carried out extensively by the inmates.

The asylum possesses a bowling-green, cricket-ground, and curling-pond, which is now being considerably enlarged. There is an extensive piggery, designed by a former patient, which is really a model for imitation, and where, in consequence of the superior feeding, unusual cleanliness of all the pigsties, as also the great attention paid to other requisites, some of the best hogs are here reared throughout this district of Scotland. In addition to being placed in a healthy, open situation, Morningside has an ample supply of water—so essential in all establishments for the insane—and likewise a good well on the premises, for special purposes. The general form of the chief building is that of the letter H, having the kitchen and offices behind; whilst, farther off, are numerous workshops for patients; and at each side, when all the proposed constructions are finished, there will be a smaller but separate building, joined by covered passages, for the accommodation of noisy and refractory inmates of both sexes: each having their own bed-rooms, dormitories, day-rooms, and separate airing-grounds. Altogether, when completed, this Asylum will be of a superior description, and, in addition to its present capabilities, will afford room for nearly 200 more patients, than it can now accommodate.

Besides the buildings here briefly described, there is also another house, or rather mansion, situated within the Asylum enclosure,

\* Indeed, Dr. Winslow has already mooted the question of interdiction, at page 126 of his valuable Lettsomian Lectures.

which is entirely distinct, but where only insane ladies and gentlemen are received. At the period of my visit to Morning-side, this department contained sixty private patients, whose board and lodging varied from 60*l.* to 350*l.* per annum. In short, this portion of the institution resembled in every particular a private establishment for the reception and treatment of insane patients, excepting that its pecuniary transactions did not augment the profits of individuals, the whole being under one management. In illustration of this point, as likewise to show the magnitude of its operations in reference to money matters, it may be here mentioned that the total ordinary receipts throughout the past year, as reported by the treasurer, amounted to 16,053*l.* 4*s.* 6½*d.*, whilst the whole expenditure is stated at 15,532*l.* 9*s.*, during the same period.

When I inspected the Asylum now under review, early last autumn, the aggregate population of both departments—viz., pauper and private—amounted to 556 lunatics; of whom 273 were males and 283 females. Amongst these, 48 were epileptics, 28 being males and 20 females. The dirty patients reached to 31; of whom 16 were male and 15 female inmates. Those affected with general paralysis were 10 in number; 8 being males and only 2 females. Lastly, in reference to the physical health of the entire population, it was reported in such a satisfactory condition that not more than 16 individuals were indisposed—3 being male and 13 female patients; their ailments, however, appearing nearly all of a very unimportant description. No inmate was confined by any kind of personal restraint, excepting two females, who were then placed in temporary seclusion, in consequence of their violence whilst labouring under a paroxysm of excitement. The general aspect of this establishment, therefore, seemed highly satisfactory; and I was much gratified on witnessing the order, quietude, and apparent comfort of its numerous residents: notwithstanding the hopeless nature of many of their mental maladies.

During the past year, 212 new patients were admitted; of whom 98 were male and 114 female lunatics. The numbers discharged cured being 28 males and 66 females, or 94 in all; hence it appears that the recoveries reached a ratio of 44·3 per cent. to the total admissions. Fifty-one patients died during the year, 24 being males, and 27 females, which gives the proportion of 9·2 per cent. to the average population; this mortality being, it is important to mention, rather less than in any previous year since first opening the pauper department of this Asylum. Such result is the more satisfactory, seeing cholera prevailed in the neighbourhood during great part of last year, but without a single case of that malady having occurred throughout the establishment: notwithstanding two epide-



mics actually appeared within its walls—namely, diarrhœa and influenza.

Amongst the 212 new patients received into this Asylum during 1854, the following were the principal forms of disease which they exhibited at their admission. Acute mania was recognised in 50 cases; monomania of various types affected 47 individuals; 30 were classed under the head of dementia; 29 under melancholia; 16 were examples of moral insanity; whilst 14 were cases of general paralysis, all of whom, it should be specially noticed, being male patients.

Respecting the latter form of mental malady, which has attracted so much attention in France, and is now often noticed by British medical practitioners, I would beg to transcribe the subjoined interesting observations contained in Dr. Skae's valuable "Annual Report," read at a meeting of the contributors held last February,—viz.:

"The number of cases of that most hopeless and deplorable malady, general paralysis, is nearly double that of the previous year. Of the fourteen sufferers from this fatal disease, two only laboured under melancholy; to all the others, although sinking slowly but perceptibly under a gradually progressive paralysis of mind and body,—to most of them even when the speech was inarticulate, and the power of locomotion nearly gone, the external world continued bright with visions of wealth, and power, and beauty, which were all their own. Even in the midst of the most extravagant delusions of all kinds, the passing events of public interest helped to dress up the pageant. One was busy fighting the Russians—another was aide-de-camp to Sir Colin Campbell, and about to walk to the Crimea—another had already taken St. Petersburg, and captured the Emperor; a fourth offered cheques upon Lord Palmerston for sums of money of fabulous amount, and was in daily expectation of his lordship's carriage to take him up to London; another spoke garrulously what he imagined to be a variety of foreign languages; whilst another was now lieutenant-general of Scotland, and anon general of India,—now the greatest statesman and the most renowned warrior alive, and again the universal king of the earth and the Almighty himself. Two of the cases were ascribed to falls from a height, several of them to intemperate habits, and the others to over-worked minds, anxiety, and excitement."

With reference to the causes assigned as chiefly instrumental in producing mental disease in those admitted; it may be mentioned, on the same indubitable authority, that intemperance figured, as heretofore, the most frequent cause of insanity: a seventh, or actually 33 cases out of the total 212 admissions being of that category; two-thirds of whom were male, and one-third female delinquents—all slaves of drunkenness! Dr. Skae next observes, in reference to causes, that—

"Griefs, anxieties, and distress occasioned by reverses of fortune and domestic afflictions, come next in order as the most frequent causes of

this malady. The case ascribed to imprisonment occurred to a young lad who stole under the urgent cravings of hunger, and became insane two days after he was committed to prison. In one of the cases ascribed to epilepsy, the symptoms of insanity were developed under the influence of mesmerism, which was being employed for the purpose of curing the epilepsy. Of the puerperal cases, one was ascribed to the use of chloroform during delivery; but of all the cases of puerperal insanity admitted into the Asylum since the introduction of chloroform into medical practice, amounting to 44, this is the first and only one to which this anæsthetic had been administered during labour."

The latter fact respecting puerperal insanity is highly important, not only as indicating the rarity of cases where chloroform was employed during child-birth, but that, in the single instance where the above often dangerous anæsthetic was administered to relieve labour pains, the patient became subsequently insane. If the whole truth were always known, similar results from the use of chloroform, in so natural a process as parturition, would be found more common, I believe, than some proselytes for its use will perhaps willingly admit, or could even imagine.

At this Asylum, one great object constantly kept in view during the treatment of insane patients, especially throughout the pauper department, is to occupy or amuse the inmates in the way which may be deemed most advisable. Consequently, many are employed daily in various trades and occupations, such as tailors, shoemakers, smiths, carpenters, and so forth. Working in the garden and adjoining fields, for males, and in the washing-house or laundry, for females, may be mentioned as the most beneficial, as also having the greatest repute amongst the different modes of employment. Upon an average, about 300 inmates are usually so occupied. The patients likewise enjoy all the customary means of recreation and healthy amusement, which are now deemed essential in every well-regulated institution for the insane. Frequent walking parties, daily drives, occasional excursions to the neighbouring hills, or pic-nic meetings, are permitted to inmates. Games of bowls, quoits, cricket, and curling on the ice in winter, are common amusements. Besides these, in-door recreations, such as billiards, bagatelle, and some other games, are never-failing attractions; whilst concerts, evening parties, and a regular weekly ball every Wednesday—where both sexes meet to enjoy the healthy, exhilarating influence of active exercise and music—must not be overlooked. I received a kind invitation to be present at one of these weekly re-unions; but unfortunately my limited time, and other engagements, did not permit accepting that gratification: which proves, not only a source of much pleasure to those insane persons who participate therein, but it

likewise benefits many of them, by the discipline thus imposed upon their behaviour.

An interesting feature in the management of this public asylum must also be specially noticed—namely, the “Morning-side Mirror,” which periodical has now been regularly published during nearly ten years. It is chiefly composed by inmates, and printed at the Royal Asylum Press; the profits being devoted to the patients’ reading-room. As a specimen of the matter supplied to readers, whether insane or otherwise, of this literary journal, the following extract from a recent number may be here transcribed. It was entitled the

#### “MONTHLY RETROSPECT.

“Notwithstanding the heavy rains of late, there have been some exciting amusements out of doors, the players of cricket, bowls, and quoits taking advantage of every sunny blink to make a ‘sortie’ in force, to have a throw at their favourite game, while small parties of skirmishers, making sudden attacks on the outer-works of peas and beans were often visible, and had sometimes to make a hasty retreat on the ‘staff’ approaching. Since the destruction of Strawberry-hill, Gooseberry-lane has become the chief object of assault, and although a small handful only may be carried off prisoners at a time, still, by perseverance and repeated attacks, they must ultimately be reduced, numerous though they be at present.

“We have again to acknowledge the kindness of the instrumental musicians belonging to Messrs. Nelson’s printing establishment, for their recent visit; but we have again to regret also that the weather, though not so wet, was rather uninviting, and prevented numbers from perambulating in the vicinity of the band, which would have greatly enlivened the scene. It is hoped, however, that before the season is over, there may be a grand gala day, with cricket, bowling, promenading, &c., with the band in the centre, playing in the usually enlivening manner, while we hope also to hear at intervals across the lake the warlike strains of the bagpipes. These on the ‘pibroch sounding, sounding,’ we think, with other martial airs, must become the favourites while the spirit of war remains in the ascendant. It is pleasing to see that on the Wednesdays, the ball-room is occasionally visited by some eminent professional musicians, such as Mr. Wallace and Sons, Mr. Mackenzie and Brothers, with a number of others, whose appearance is hailed as a guarantee of something extra instrumentally. The vocal department can never be at a loss while the Misses M’Pherson continue to come out. The younger sister, whom we shall here designate ‘Mattie’—she having appeared with us in that character—made her vocal *débüt* last night, and ‘came out strong’ and beautifully in ‘Ye banks and braes.’ We are much indebted to Mr. E. Drummond, in the dramatical line, we might say personally so, as he has occasionally studied parts and dialogues to oblige, and has shown himself well up in the characters on very short notice. While he continues to lend his valuable aid, it is intended to get up a series of



comic dialogues, with an occasional effort at something more lofty, in the tragic walk, by way of a change."

The medical staff at Morningside consists of one consulting physician, Dr. Gillespie: a resident physician, Dr. Skae: and two assistants—viz., Drs. Howden and M'Culloch; to the former of whom I feel especially indebted for the courtesy with which he accompanied me, in the absence of Dr. Skae—then on leave,—throughout the entire establishment, when he gave me much valuable information.

### GLASGOW ROYAL ASYLUM.

This establishment for lunatics—situated at Gart-navel, about four miles north-west of Glasgow—has only been recently constructed, to replace the old Asylum located within that city: but which has now been converted into a poor-house. The situation it occupies is rather elevated, open, airy, and enjoys an extensive prospect on every side, embracing the Grampians, Ben Lomond, with the banks and rising grounds bounding the Clyde. Indeed, the locality of this Asylum really seemed one of the finest possessed by almost any public building in Scotland; and on first approaching its precincts, the structure externally, and the elevation altogether, remind the spectator much of Windsor Castle: especially when passing near the main entrance.

Although superior in respect of position, and equally salubrious, when compared with the Asylum previously described, nevertheless, in the general plan and some interior arrangements, it appeared inferior, according to my judgment; whilst, in regard to the supply of water, Gart-navel is occasionally defective, particularly during dry weather. However, so soon as the gigantic scheme of supplying that essential element to the city of Glasgow, by conveying it from Loch Katrine, shall be achieved, it is then expected, the quantity of water will always be sufficiently plentiful for every purpose.

Like that at Morningside, this public institution also receives both pauper and private patients within its walls; each division being, however, quite distinct, although the buildings adjoin. At the period of my visit to Gart-navel, there were 85 private lunatic inmates of both sexes, who paid from 15s. and 1*l.* 1s. to 4*l.* 4s. per week: with one at 5*l.* 5s., who had consequently special accommodation. The total pauper patients, whose board averages from 8s. 6*d.* to 9s. per week, amounted to 296 individuals; hence giving an aggregate population of 381 lunatics, both sexes included, of whom 199 were males, and 182 females: thereby making the former most numerous; which coincidence is seldom observed in public asylums for the insane. No restraint exists at this Asylum, in which the strait-waistcoat is unknown. The

patients appeared quiet and cleanly ; many were working in the gardens and at various occupations ; whilst I remarked, with much satisfaction, that the dormitories seemed more lofty and better adapted as sleeping-rooms, than many similar apartments met with in various other establishments of this description. Amongst the female pauper patients, 118 were employed out of the 143 then resident ; 6 were sick or indisposed, and one was in seclusion. Of the 153 pauper male lunatics, 101 were occupied in some kind of manual employment ; only one was confined by sickness ; and not a single individual appeared in any way restrained. These facts consequently speak most satisfactorily, not only respecting the physical health of every inmate, but they likewise bear ample testimony in favour of the judicious management exercised throughout this establishment.

During the past year, 240 new patients were admitted, of whom 123 were male and 117 female lunatics, thereby giving a greater relative proportion of the former over the latter sex ; but which preponderance is not accidental, the same circumstance having been very generally observed, in the past history of this institution, ever since its first opening, fourteen years ago. Of those admitted, 107 were affected with mania, 83 exhibited monomania, including melancholia, and 50 laboured under dementia : which form of mental disease is by no means rare among the poor of Glasgow, and seems evidently induced by the privations and miseries, to which many of that class are exposed. The number of patients dismissed cured, during the same period, were 60 males and 56 females, making a total of 116 cases, or about 48 per cent., compared with the admissions : whilst the deaths amounted to 62, comprising 32 male and 30 female patients, or 24 per cent. for both, the sexes being nearly equal in mortality. Amongst the assigned causes producing insanity in the patients admitted, the intemperate use of alcoholic liquors stands forward pre-eminent ; 45, or about a fifth of the entire admissions, being attributed to this cause, 27 of whom were male and 18 female victims.

Upon this too frequent cause of mental derangement and other evils, throughout Scotland, the following judicious observations made by Dr. Mackintosh, the able physician-superintendent of the Glasgow Asylum, merit record and mature consideration. They are extracted from his last "Annual Report," which, like previous similar documents, deserve being read by all who take an interest in the management of institutions for the insane. The writer observes on this sad but important subject :—

"It is a mistake, however, to suppose that intemperance is, in every instance where it exists, the cause of the attack ; for there are cases in which it is clearly evident that the pernicious habit is the result of, or is consequent upon, the mental derangement. In a considerable

number of instances, it was ascertained that one or other of the parents of the patients (I speak of patients generally) had been addicted to intemperance. It was not, however, clearly ascertained in any instance that their habits had been such previous to the birth of their offspring; so that although it appears that this vice is indulged in by no means rarely by the parents of those who become insane, it is not proved by our investigations this year that the intemperance of the parents produced a predisposition in the children; it is nevertheless very likely, but this is a subject we cannot pursue farther here. Our inquiries, however, show that the children of parents having a proclivity to intemperance, and, at one period or other of their lives, actually of intemperate habits, are apt to become insane; that where the mental or physical organization of the parent is favourable to the development of intemperate habits, the offspring have a predisposition to insanity. That the children of drunken parents are apt to become intemperate is well known, and may be explained possibly by reference to the influence of example alone. But it is not of this I speak now, but of intemperance in the parent as a cause of insanity in the offspring."

Respecting general paralysis, which now so deservedly attracts the special notice of all psychological physicians, it appears 15 cases—general or partial—existed, of whom 10 occurred in male and 5 in female inmates. In reference to this intractable malady, the same experienced authority observes, with much truth, upon the cases under treatment:—

"One boasts of his amazing prowess, and that he can perform the most herculean feats; another fancies that he is possessed of enormous riches, and property of untold value; that he is the Supreme Being, a king, and the like. Voracity of appetite, and a restless activity, are not unfrequently found among patients of this class. The number of males here affected with paralysis is just double that of females. One case had been preceded by an attack of chorea; and in another case, a brother of the patient suffered from the same affection. In one, the attack was consequent upon, and was supposed to be caused by, the sudden healing up of old ulcers upon the legs. In another case, general blood-letting had been twice employed previous to the admission of the patient, and, according to the statement of the relatives, with a decidedly injurious effect. One fancies he is a king, and attaches 'Rex' to his signature; another is a Russian diplomatic agent; one says that she is the true Messiah, and denounces the greater part of the Old and New Testaments as a fabrication and imposture; another is a great Evangelist; a third has been dead and has come alive again, and believes that the millennium has begun, and that she has been inspired and commissioned to convert the world; some accuse themselves of having committed enormous crimes; others, by far the greater number, are the victims of plots and conspiracies; some profess to be the special favourites of Heaven, and to have divine revelations, while others are possessed of devils; one fancies that part of her body is made of glass, and dreads being touched; another that she is the



Evil One, and that her skin has become black ; some are tormented in one way or other by means of gas ; others are under mesmeric or electrical influences."

During the past year, 116 patients were discharged cured ; many of whom, however, appeared so hopeless of benefit on admission, that it was scarcely expected they would ever have become convalescent. If the proportion of cases be calculated according to the total number admitted, the per centage hence amounts to 48·3 : and as 62 died, the deaths upon the same ratio reached 22·14 per cent. Amongst the cases ending fatally, 32 were males and 30 females ; but although the mortality in each sex was recently nearly equal : still, past experience of this Asylum proves the proportion of deaths ranged considerably higher in male, than female lunatics. Of the chief causes of death, it may be stated, as showing the physical diseases under which the patients succumbed, that 13 died from paralysis, 11 through exhaustion, 9 by diarrhoea, 9 were phthisis, 3 originated in cardiac affections, 3 by apoplexy or cerebral disease, and 3 followed pneumonia or peripneumonia.

Dr. Mackintosh being so well known as an experienced practitioner in mental maladies, it seems almost superfluous to allude to the treatment, whether medical, physical, or moral, pursued in this Asylum. Nevertheless, the subjoined paragraph from the recent official Report of that accomplished physician seems worthy of being quoted on the present occasion, since it conveys to readers a correct notion of the general views entertained. He says :—

"The use of warm baths has been cautiously extended, and long-continued immersion practised, in some instances with a marked beneficial sedative effect, in cases in which there was much excitement. Although general blood-letting has now been almost if not entirely discarded in the treatment of the insane, recourse is still occasionally had to the local abstraction of blood, either by means of leeches applied to the head or cupping-glasses to the nape of the neck. The great mass of the patients, however, cannot bear depletion in any form, but the reverse ; and therefore, from the time of admission, stimulating nourishment, with alcoholic agents, as they are clearly indicated, are freely given, and with beneficial results. When in Forfarshire, I found, in my practice there, that the insane could bear any sort of reduction, whether by means of blood-letting or medicine, very much better than they can do here. The patients in this quarter are more exhausted, more reduced every way on admission."

Amusements and occupations of various kinds are assiduously pursued at the Gart-na-vail institution. Four subscriptions to the libraries of Glasgow are paid, so that the patients may possess the newest books and periodicals for their recreation, if not

instruction. There is a printing-press in the Asylum, which continues to be used by inmates. They compose the articles, put them in type, and then act as pressmen in throwing off the printed copies: whilst a great many schedules, and similar sheets have been thus printed, as also part of Shakspeare, with original introductory notes by a resident lunatic. To one patient—a profound melancholic—marble, and the necessary implements were procured, whereby he was induced to commence work; and before leaving the institution convalescent, this party had executed several sculptures in a very superior manner; thus showing the utility of occupying maniacs in a way their natural genius often indicates.

The medical staff of this Royal Asylum consists of Dr. Mackintosh, physician-superintendent, with Drs. Robertson and Ferguson as assistants; besides Dr. Fleming, of Glasgow, who is surgeon to the institution, but non-resident. There being thus three resident medical officers; it hence follows that, for every 127 patients one special medical attendant has been provided, which constitutes a much higher proportion than prevails in many other similar establishments; consequently such an arrangement deserves particular notice, as also high commendation.

*(To be continued.)*

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#### ART. V.—AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THE INSANE.

[The writer of the following narrative was for some period an inmate of Bethlehem Hospital, under the kind and skilful care of Dr. Hood, the physician of that establishment. Dr. Hood requested the writer, after his recovery, to describe his state of mind and sensations during his attack of insanity. The details he has given will be read with deep interest by all engaged in psychological investigations, and in the treatment of the insane.—*Editor.*]

AGREEABLY to your wishes, I will undertake to make you acquainted with, 1st, the causes from which, in my opinion, originated the disease that has brought me into this establishment; 2nd, my various sensations and thoughts whilst I was labouring under it.

Previous to this year, 1851, I never for one moment suffered from mental derangement, although, I must confess, that I commenced to take strong drinks with excess, at a period so far back as the latter end of 1849; until that time the only complaint I was subject to was accidental constipation, accompanied by fever and loss of appetite.

As my disease first made its appearance in Londonderry, I

shall take the liberty of giving you an account of my way of living there, from the time of my arrival to the day when illness, despair, and want of pecuniary resources, compelled me to leave it.

In August, 1848, on my return from France, whither I had gone to spend my vacation, I was, on the most pressing recommendation of the Manager of the Bank at Larne, who knew me, appointed French master at Foyle College, Londonderry. The Reverend Mr. Henderson, who was and still is the head-master, after the trial of a few days to put my qualifications to the test, agreed with me that I should receive my board and lodging in the establishment, in return for French tuition imparted to a limited number of pupils: my lessons were to be given four times a week, and to last two hours every time.

For three months I lived in the college, attending my classes there according to the agreement, and also other young gentlemen and ladies in town; but finding that I could not meet every one's wishes without interfering with the meal-hours at college, I resolved on taking up my residence in the city. The principal, to whom I communicated my determination, gave me his full approval, and desired me to continue my attendance in his establishment for the salary of one pound per quarter for each pupil.

I therefore removed on the 1st of December and got lodgings in a most respectable family, consisting of four sisters. They were elderly ladies, and nearly related to a gentleman whose daughters I attended.

There I spent, until June, the most happy months I ever enjoyed. My health was excellent, I had as many scholars as I could wish; the ladies of the house were more like sisters than strangers to me, and the steadiness of my conduct as a teacher caused the best families in and about Derry to honour me with their esteem. In a word, I saw before me most encouraging prospects, but there was in me, steady, sober as I was, the seed of many sins, a profound disrespect for religion.

Like many of my countrymen, and though brought up by a most pious mother, I was a Christian only by name. The college life in Paris had almost rooted out from me all notion of God. Thus, whilst in the sight of men my conduct was irreproachable, I shamefully forgot that the discharge of our duties towards our Creator is alone calculated to render our conduct irreproachable. Never did I once go either to church or to chapel during upwards of two years.

I returned to France, as usual, in June 1849, and came back in August next, after a stay of a few weeks with my family and



friends; but there too I was so obstinate in my refusing any attendance at church, on Sundays, that I left my poor mother quite dissatisfied at what she called my *déplorable esprit fort*. Many, many a time did she prophesy to me that I should one day weep on my impiety.

I was soon to experience the realization of that prediction. When I came back, I found on my arrival, a new servant occupied in my sitting room. She had been engaged, during my absence, to replace the elderly woman who used to wait on me at table, and to do whatever I might require. I was very much satisfied with her attendance, and sincerely regretted her discharge. On my asking why she had been dismissed, I was answered that she could not do all the work, and that a young, active girl was by far preferable.

The new servant was young indeed, and possessed of some attractions, which I was foolish and imprudent enough not to resist; but for my attention to which I have since been severely punished. Let it suffice to say that I yielded to temptation. From that time, I can assert it, may be traced all my troubles and misfortunes. The girl, though young, was knowing enough to perceive that I was in her power more than she was in mine. She openly told me so more than once. In the mean time, she took great care to obtain from me as much money as she could. I then commenced to drink whisky mixed with water, first in small quantity and only at night, after my business was over. The *libations* became by degrees more frequent and copious, especially when she apprised me that she was with child, and consequently expected that I should marry her.

I cannot describe to you, Monsieur le Docteur, the state into which that unpleasant news, expected as it might have been, threw my mind. I saw that my ruin was unavoidable, whatever plan I might adopt. If I do not marry her, said I, she will make a scandal, and I shall be obliged to leave the town. If on the other hand I marry her, I am sure to fall into discredit and to lose most of my pupils.

This happened at the latter end of March, 1850. Instead of returning to better sentiments, and praying to God that he would inspire me with the means of averting the catastrophe, by sending the girl out of town, with a sufficient maintenance, until I should be able to atone for my fault in the only honest way, that is, in marrying her, but so as to keep our marriage secret, I became the more reckless of the time to come, went on drinking whisky, and hoped in *chance*, the providence of those who have none.

Despite my endeavours to drive remorse away, the thought of what I had done did not cease to pursue me. My nights

were restless or troubled with painful dreams ; I could no longer indulge in reading or in walks, as before ; my appetite, too, was lost. The tuitions to which I had fortunately to devote a considerable portion of the day, were alone able to afford me a little tranquillity, by temporarily removing the annoying idea from my mind.

An incident which I little anticipated caused the girl to be removed from the house, and led me to hope that she would not object to leave the town, where her presence was a permanent danger for me. She, either on purpose (as she told me), or otherwise, got drunk, and received her immediate discharge. It was in May, two months before her quarter was over. In the precipitation of her dismissal, I found only time to direct her to go home and to wait for me, on the next Sunday, at an appointed place, when I should see what best was to be done. The ladies of the house consented to accept, for the two remaining months, of the services of her sister, who was then out of employment. The girl had always assured me that no one had the slightest suspicion of her state. I was, therefore, not a little surprised and annoyed when I learned from the new comer that *she* had not made her pregnancy a secret with all her family.

At our first interview, I expressed to the girl my dissatisfaction at her imprudent disclosures, and, as the only remedy, my willingness to send her away to some distant place, until vacation, when it would be easy for me to take her to France, and to leave her with my family, whom I should inform of what had taken place, but without saying a word about her having been my servant. Had such a plan been put into execution, everything could still be repaired, or at least the impending danger was indefinitely removed. There might be vague rumours about her absence, but nothing more. I should have left off drinking whisky, in consequence of my mind being more at ease, and attended to my daily occupations with a new courage. Such is, at least, what I then intended to do. Unfortunately, my proposal was drily rejected ; she would not go away ; she was afraid I should leave her ; she wanted to live in town, &c. ; or she would make everything known.

I submitted in despair to her haughty wishes, and gave her money for lodgings. She hired a room in a retired part of the town, and came to live there, not alone, but with her mother and a niece, the two latter saddling themselves on my shoulders, as if one encumbrance were not sufficiently heavy. Demands of money succeeded each other with a fearful rapidity, so that I found myself quite unable, for want of cash, to take my usual trip to France.

At that period of the year (July), the harbour of Derry re

ceived a number of French vessels, which gave me a daily opportunity of acting as interpreter between the merchants and the captains; but at the same time I neglected my private lessons, a fault which had never occurred before. Being a constant prey to sinister presentiments about the future, I used to drink wine and brandy on board, without, however, being ever sick (this fact I cannot account for); only, every morning when I got up, there was a kind of tremulousness in my limbs. I could scarcely take up a glass to my mouth without spilling a part of its contents; my walk was unsteady, and my speech broken, more difficult than usual, unless I got animated. The mind seemed to preserve its soundness; I had several times to draw up reports, which scarcely took more time than that of writing them down.

In this manner did I pass the month of July, be it said to my shame and deep regret. My visits to the girl were also frequent; it seemed as if an evil genius carried me there, though I well understood their danger and impropriety. I think that by that time I had lost a great deal of control over myself.

In August, the re-opening took place at Foyle College and at three other schools which I used to attend. The Rev. Mr. Henderson sent for me. I was not at home. Fortunately, a gentleman who also kept a school, and who was greatly attached to me, came on board an Italian ship, where he found me. He most justly said that he could not understand my way of living for the last month. There must be something wrong. That if I did not resume business immediately, he was afraid I should lose my pupils in town. He had been told something very painful to him, about my now taking to drink; but he did not believe that. He then carried me to his house for dinner. There he informed me that it was reported in town I had married my servant. This I denied.

My friend's lecture seemed to shake off my torpor for some time; I left off visiting vessels, to resume business.

Notwithstanding what had been rumoured, every one received me well. New pupils came to me, so that I could number upwards of fifty of them. But if this increase was gratifying to me, there were repeated calls on my purse which produced a very different effect. I continued to drink, and drank the more, on thinking of the fast-approaching time when there would be a living proof of my guilt.

This took place in November; as a rigorous consequence, I lost my situation at college and in another school. I did not repine. I acknowledged within myself that I deserved it. My remaining pupils were still in sufficient number to afford me the means of a livelihood. In order to avoid any further scandal, I



earnestly advised and prevailed on the girl to leave town. I rented for her a house in the country, about four miles from town. Had I thought that marriage would not have made things worse, I would certainly have married her, but out of all the persons to whom I spoke on the subject, Mr. Henderson alone gave me to understand that it was the only means of atonement from an honest man. It is true that when I asked him if my compliance with his advice would entitle me to a further attendance in his establishment, he answered that he could not employ me any longer, on account of the many respectable families whose children were at college, and who would object to the continuance of my tuition there.

Matters remained in this state until December 28th, when I went out to the country (as if led by my evil spirit). Hard drinking there for several days, joined to quarrels arising from constant demands of money, brought on me sickness and such exhaustion, that I could not leave my bed. From December 28th to January 13th, when I felt the real symptoms of the disease, I did not eat *one ounce of bread daily*. My only food was whisky, which I am sorry to say they were always ready to minister to me.

Until the 12th, I continued extremely weak, but felt so tired of the bed, that I got up.

Here, Monsieur le Docteur, I will endeavour to convey to you an exact idea of my disease in all its successive phases. I recollect everything so distinctly, that I can speak in the present tense, as if I were just *in the act of suffering*.

My night, as many others before, has been altogether sleepless. Itchings, hitherto unknown, are felt all over the body, and render my skin sometimes painfully tender, sometimes quite benumbed, as if it were dead. Diarrhœa increases my sufferings; I am so dizzy, that I cannot walk in the room without groping along. It seems to me as if there were small flies before my eyes; I hear their humming. If I look out through the window, all the objects assume confused, but not yet fantastic shapes. The itchings do not leave me; they are very troublesome, and make me worse. Cannot taste any food, and this day abstain from taking whisky. I retire to bed; no rest whatever; the itchings keep me in continual movements. Very early in the morning, and long before daybreak, I think I hear two or three peals of thunder, which frighten me very much. When I open my eyes, I see no more flies, but ignited small globules, like sparks. They are in myriads. I hear something like the ringing of many, many bells, and remark that if I rest my head on the pillow the din is really frightful. At times, I fancy that there are mice or rats running to and fro with their

usual cries, under my head, inside the pillow. The day breaks in; I want to get up. My bed has become a bed of torture for me. I try to walk a little in the room, but weakness compels me to sit down. My food consists only of a few cups of tea, without any bread, for which I feel no taste. Several times in the course of this day, I have *des envies de vomir*, but I cannot. I look at the fire; the burning peat has assumed strange fantastic forms, which seem to be animated. As I cannot sleep, I sit up very late, in the hope that I shall, from mere exhaustion, enjoy a little rest. Now and then, I take a cup of tea. I feel well nowhere. Sitting is often replaced by two or three turns about the room. Whatever position I may take, weariness, discouragement, anxiety, press on me. I attend to a conversation whispered between the mother and the daughter. They seem to talk about me and my affairs. I several times fancy they utter the word France, and my name, accompanied with curses. I think they are alluding to the possibility of my returning alone to my native country, but they will not let it be done; they will prevent my departure. The old woman says that her daughter had better have drowned herself. I then recollect that she for the last days has been very moody, because my money (I imagined) was drawing to an end. Yesterday, I sent the son and brother of the two women for some money due to me, but he has brought back a cheque, which I alone can get cashed. I go on walking as if I did not listen. I am very far from being at ease, especially when I recal to mind that this is a lonely house, in a bleak, deserted part of the country, and that I should have to deal not only with the two women, but with the brother, a stout fellow, who has required no invitation to take up his abode with us, and who seems rather too much inclined to idleness. My apprehensions are, moreover, roused by the fact of my possessing the above-mentioned cheque. They might believe that they too can get it cashed at the Bank. At about twelve o'clock, I want to take another cup of tea with the two women, who are still up, and sitting near the fire. They prepare it; but I fancy I see the mother slip some black thing, like tobacco, to her daughter; I approach the fire; and again the mother tries to hand another lump of black stuff, but she drops it. I see the object of my suspicions lying on the ground; the mother tries to get it under her foot, which she stretches out in that direction, but she cannot succeed, and I suppose she is afraid I should notice her movements. The daughter looks uneasy. I am sitting between both of them, watching their motions in deep silence. At last, I avail myself of the first opportunity to pick up the obnoxious black lump, and I thrust it into my overcoat pocket. I am trembling from fear; I feel that I should

hardly be able to speak. The sinister idea strikes me that they want to administer me poison, and the word vomica nux often presents itself to my mind. I get up from my seat, and resume my this time very unsteady walk, until the old woman presents me one of two bowls full of tea. I take it with a tremulous hand, and in a broken voice say to the daughter, "Drink it; I wish you to drink it;" but she would not; she does not want it. I then see my suspicions confirmed. I seize the two full bowls, and run with them out of the house, crying out: "You are two wretches; you wanted to poison me." I take the direction of the nearest house, in order to show the contents of the two bowls, but before reaching it, I let them fall, and pursue my way. I knock at the house, entreating that the door should be opened to me. A woman (the only grown-up person I see in the house) asks me what I want. In a most agitated tone I say that I have been nearly poisoned, and that I shall make an application to the magistrates about that. As I am speaking, the brother comes up. He has been awakened by the two others. Assures me that I am mistaken. "Well," said I, "come with me to any place where we may find a light, and I will show you that I am not mistaken. I have in my pocket an unquestionable proof of what your friends intended to do with me." "You are wrong, sir," replies he; "nobody wishes you harm; come you back to the house."

Fear prevents me from acceding to this request. I ran off through boggy grounds in the direction of a public-house, on Derry-road, about half a mile from the place. From the beginning of my flight I have lost my slippers, and have but a pair of stockings on. The night is very dark, and the rain is falling in torrents. I have to make my way through pools of water, dikes, rills, fences, and hedges. By day the task would be difficult, as there is but one very narrow and uneven path leading to the road—I do not keep the right direction for a long time; I hear close behind me the voices of the brother and sister; they are engaged in my pursuit. This idea increases my terrors. In the hope of escaping from that pursuit which I ascribe to bad motives, I leave the path and continue my run at random. I can assure that I am not less than half an hour wandering about, often stumbling in the marshes, often finding myself back again at places I just left a few minutes before. I once keep myself hidden in a ditch with water up to my knees; the voices are but a few yards behind me. Here is the road at last, but I see no public-house, and the darkness does not permit me to ascertain whether it is situated on my right or on my left. I take to the left, which is the wrong direction; I pursue my flight; the thought many times striking me that *God* has this



time more obviously than ever saved me from an untimely grave. I pray along the road for the forgiveness of my past errors ; I promise henceforth to behave like a true Christian, &c. . . . I feel not only refreshed and encouraged by my prayers, but much stronger than I could have expected from the extreme weakness I felt on the preceding days. After half an hour at least of this run in the opposite direction to the pot-house, I begun to think that I must have found it, if I had taken the right way. I therefore retrace my steps, with unabated speed, determined to knock at every door and to speak out concerning my escape from the lonely house. Strange to say, out of at least five or six houses where I stopped, knocking repeatedly for several minutes and crying aloud for admission, I receive answer but from one. A man comes to the door without unbolting it, and rudely says the only words, *Out away*. I am nowise disheartened.

On my arrival at the pot-house, I recommence rapping, and begging that they should be so kind as to open the door, for I am in great need of a shelter. A dog alone answers my knocks by his barking from inside. The fact is, that my pursuers got to the tavern before me, and there asking if anybody had called, said there was a man on the road, who was out of his senses, and who perhaps would ask for admission ; the landlord had better not let him in. Such is the account given since to me by the girl who went to the house along with her brother, and obtained admittance on pretence that they wanted candles. The landlord, being warned, does not move from his bed, and lets me stand out until I perceive that he has been prepared for my visit. I then make up my mind to return to Derry, where I should inform the police of what, in my fancy, has taken place. Indeed, I have not the least doubt but a criminal attempt has been made against my life. Curiosity, however, soon altered my resolution. When I reach a place on the road where a lane branches off in the direction of the lonely house, an unconquerable desire bids me go and see from outside the window what is passing in there. As if I foresaw some bad encounter, I break from a hedge a short stick which is to be my weapon, in case of danger. I have not proceeded many yards in my new direction, when I am stopped by two men carrying sticks. Who are they ? The brother, and a fellow of his acquaintance who is known under the name of the *dummy* (he was dumb). The former imperiously invites me to return to the house, where no harm is intended against me. I feel so frightened that, to show I do not wish to make any disclosures about the events of the night, I throw the black stuff out of my pocket and, though reluctantly, follow the two men.

When I come in, I find there the woman to whom I first applied. She appears to be on good terms with the others, and I learn that the dummy is her son. This raises my suspicions about her. She endeavours to make me understand that I am quite mistaken about what I call *poison*, it was nothing but *soda*. How far this assertion is true, I cannot say; but cannot help thinking that *soda* is not black.

They make me sit down and change my clothes, which are dripping wet. The brother goes out for some whisky, which, they say, will do me good. On his return from the public-house, I take a small glass mixed with water, taking previously care that it should be tasted by the others. Contrary to my expectation, I do not feel weary at all. I look at my feet and hands which, to my great wonder, bear not one single mark of a scratch, although I have been running for two full hours, shoeless, treading on sharp stones, and often obliged to jump over ditches or to force my way through thick thorn-hedges.

This I consider as the greatest proof that I was guided and protected by some supernatural Being. I say so to the people, but I am by no means reassured in mind. I reflect that I am in a sinful state, without any hope of forgiveness, were I to appear now before the Supreme Judge. My fears increase in proportion as the others endeavour to prevent my escape. I fancy they are all decided to make away with my life. I entreat them to let me go; I confess that I am afraid of them, &c. Strange visions throw my mind into great excitement; every object takes a hideous shape and moves about. I look at the windows; diabolic faces are laughing at me. Their laughter makes me shudder. On whichever side I may turn, a chilling wind is hissing by my ears, with unearthly shadows passing before my eyes. If I look towards the door it is opening noiselessly, and I imagine I see somebody whose terrific head is peeping in. I start painfully at the least noise and utter lamentable cries. This lasts for hours, while I am sitting by the fire.

I am prevailed upon to retire to bed. Do not feel any better. Vainly do I shut my eyes in the hope of avoiding the sight of everything; horrid phantoms appear amidst the darkness. I feel as if I were pricked behind with a sharp instrument. The itchings are insupportable. I am a prey to continual restlessness, mixed now and then with the cries produced by an unexpected noise, such as the fall of a chair, or by new visions.

At the break of day the excitement subsides a little, and gives place to a fainting fit of short duration. For some time no new starts occur; but the confused ringing of bells continues; my sight grows very dim; I see nothing but monsters calculated to

keep up my fright. Starts soon return more painful ; even one of them throws me down on my knees, compelling me, as it were, to address a fervent prayer to our Lord for the pardon of my past life.

From this day (13th) to the 27th no amelioration in my state. I look on the house as a cursed place and remove to Derry, again followed for my misfortune, by that family whom I dread, in spite of all reasonings. As if their number were not sufficient, the sister had also made herself at home. I say repeatedly that I don't want their presence, that there is but one whom I ought to provide for ; they stick to me like harpies, and take no notice of my remonstrations. They most likely will not go so long as there is anything to eat.

Driven to desperation, if I take no food, I keep on drinking whisky, not so copiously as before, but yet a great deal too much. I wonder how eagerly they give it to me, and advise me to take another drop whenever I complain of my extreme weakness. On my arrival in Derry, new fits of faintness : I sent for the priest, in order to receive his consolations ; for I do not expect to live much longer. The reverend gentleman who has come to see me, perceives at once that medical assistance is to be had immediately. He therefore leaves me, and shortly after returns with a doctor, to whom I explain what I can about my complaint. The women are upbraided for having given me so much strong drink in my present state. The two gentlemen advise me to leave the place and the company, and to come *alone* with them. They take me to a respectable hotel, where they get a comfortable room for me ; a nurse is also engaged to sit up all night in case of need.

Despite the excellent accommodation I have now obtained, I cannot enjoy one moment's rest. Besides my other sufferings, a new one came to complicate the symptoms of my disease. It is the fancy that I hear every one in the hotel speaking ill of me, and even the dreaded family is here too. They all proffer alarming threats ; they want to have my life. It is wonderful how faithfully their voices are reproduced. I would swear that mother, daughters, niece, brother, and even the infant are below stairs in the kitchen. I cannot be undeceived by the kind words of the landlady. I am even so foolish as to believe that she has given them admittance, contrary to the orders of the doctor. The night-nurse does not escape my distrust either. In short, I see but the face, I hear nothing but the voices of those which, from want of other words, I shall call my persecutors. They are here, now in the kitchen exciting their hearers against me, now outside the door, in the street. Cries distressing for me, such as, *Stop, stop the mad dog*, often fall



on my ears and cause me to spring out of the bed, and to look out either in the stairs or in the street. Such has been my daily state during the time that I stopped at the hotel. Meanwhile I received frequent visits from the priest and the doctor; my conversation with them was always sound, so far as the girl's family was not alluded to; for in the latter case I could not believe that I was the sport of a delirious imagination. Laudanum was several times administered to me in large doses, but to no purpose; on the contrary, I am of opinion that it did me more harm than good, for I then used to see everything more confusedly, and as if dancing before me. Unnecessary to say that appetite did not return, I had only some refreshing drinks prescribed by the medical gentleman.

Reasons of economy, and the advice of the doctor, induce me to go to the infirmary. I am conducted there by the doctor himself, and I obtain a bed in a small quiet ward generally used as a room for surgical operations. There are two other patients opposite myself, and the cook sleeps in a fourth bed on my left. Although restless and unable to sleep, I have no starts and make no noise whatever for many hours. It is two o'clock A.M., I am wide awake. I look towards the bed on my left and I have this painful vision.

I am (in imagination) in the lonely house. Sleep has overcome me. The mother lies in the other bed, on which my eyes are fixed, with the little niece who says: Grannie, where is Mr. D.?

*Grandmother.* He is away; let me alone.

*Child.* Grannie, where is Mr. D.?

*Grandmother.* Hold your tongue, he is killed, killed dead.

This lasts for several minutes, being repeated many times. All of a sudden I hear the mother ask the girl lying beside me: Does he sleep?

*Girl.* Yes.

*Mother.* Well, make haste off then, have done with him. It is two o'clock; we shall have time to run away.

*Girl.* I cannot find that cursed knife. Ah! here it is, I have got it . . . . .

Then I feel twice something like a pointed knife penetrating into my back. I utter a feeble cry, then all is silent. The mother again says: Well, have you done?

*Girl.* Yes; he has enough. Let us get off.

And it seems as if the mother were leaving her bed, and the girl slipping cautiously from mine. At the same time I hear from outside the voices of the sister and brother, who say: Quick, or we shall be caught. . . .

They all escape, and immediately after two doctors come to

examine my body, which I fancy is lying inanimate in an adjoining room. One of them says in French: *Il est mort, il est bien mort.* The other also, in French: *Le pouls bat-il encore? Voyons. Oui. Alors il n'est pas mort. Non, non, il n'est pas mort.*

They carry me away, and another scene offers itself to my eyes.

The mother and my ex-servant are gone; they are superseded on the tragic theatre by the sister and brother; the latter leading the little girl by the arm, and the former holding the infant. She is looking for the knife used against me. She finds it on the edge of a small well opposite the door. It was to be thrown into the water, but in the precipitation of her flight, my servant has missed her aim. I see (for you have not forgotten, Monsieur le Docteur, that my eyes are wide open) the sister stab the poor infant, and, to stifle his cries, she, with a curse, tears his tongue off and throws him into the well. The little girl is also got rid of because she cries that they have killed Mr. D. and her cousin. I am so well awakened that I relate to the night-nurse particulars after particulars, as they are taking place. My sense of hearing acquires, on this night, such a degree of quickness that I hear every quarter of an hour striking by the town-clock, and every time I say, It is half-past two, it is a quarter to three, &c. . . . For me there are very audible sounds which are hardly perceptible by others.

A few minutes after, when I think they have all escaped, here comes the dummy's mother to fetch water; she discovers the infant's body, and cries out, *Murder!* The sister makes her appearance again. The woman accuses her of murder; a struggle ensues, the result of which is that the woman is strangled.

Then I hear a confused noise produced by voices and the sound of heavy steps. It is the police. They have arrested the murderers, and bring them back. I see every one of them. There is the mother, there are the three others, handcuffed, and closely watched by the officers, who are armed with carbines, and have received the order of firing, should the prisoners attempt to escape. Now, too, the body of the woman is discovered, and I hear several voices say: This is really a cursed place: the house of murder.

Again the scene changes. I feel some one in my bed, who speaks to me. He says that he is my good genius; he has come to protect me from the wicked; but I must be truly repentant. I therefore pray for a long time in a low voice, until I fall asleep from exhaustion. My slumber is very short and agitated. I awake before daybreak. Now the scene of the night is continued. I hear criers in the street announce that the family —, convicted of murder on the persons of —, have been sentenced to



death, and are to be executed on the same day. It seems to me that I am under a strange sky. The fog is very thick. I hear nothing but the cries of sinister animals, such as wolves, dogs, and the shrieks of geese, the croaking of frogs, mixed with the monotonous voice of the criers. I again fall into unconsciousness until it is light. I have been very restless, but not so noisy as to prevent the other patients from sleeping. The nurse alone knows what my imagination has seen.

On awaking, my eyes wander from one object to another, and remain fixed on many pieces of wood, used by the doctors in their surgical operations, and which lie topsy-turvy on a press in a corner of the room. I first shrink from the sight, for now the top of the press is occupied by living beings: here are the mother and my servant again; then, on their rear, the sister and the brother. But in what state? My good genius tells me that such is the visitation of God on great criminals. The mother has a cadaverous face; her eyes are sightless and white; her hair has assumed the colour of flax; the rest of her body is concealed from me. The daughter is closer to me; she is dressed as for a *fête*, but her head is nearly bald; the hair has fallen off in the space of a few hours. There is a large stain of blood impressed on her brow, and a candle (like a sepulchral lamp) is burning beside her. They both stare at me now and then, like people who look but do not see. The two others, sitting exactly behind, present a disgusting aspect. The sister is as pale as a corpse; her hair, too, is white, and very thin on the forehead; the lips emit a kind of sanguinolent foam; the head performs the oscillations of a pendulum; she is an idiot. The brother's appearance is that of a hideous cripple; the head has decreased nearly to nothing, and would scarcely be visible, were it not for two green eyes, obstinately fixed on me, but without any significance. He reminds me of what I have read about *cretinism*. I forgot to say that there is a fifth actor in this tragic tableau—the young girl, with curling hair, neatly clothed, leaning sometimes on her grandmother, sometimes on her aunt, and repeating at intervals: Grannie, or Auntie, where is Mr. D.? to which question the only answer given is: Hold your tongue; he is away, he is dead, killed dead.

This spectacle keeps my mind in excitement for the whole day. Visitors come in and look with wonder on those strange beings, from whom my eyes cannot be removed. Those visitors say, It is strange—very strange indeed! In order to escape from the frightful sight, I once run off the room. The doctor, who happens to be in the next ward, brings me back, but cannot persuade me that I am mistaken. On another time, I fancy that an iron bar, placed to support a curtain above my feet,



pours on me something whitish, like melted lead, which burns all my body. The same imaginary tube is sometimes turned against the family, and seems to produce on them the same effect as on myself. Again, I think I hear the voice of a gentleman, the head man of the committee, who visited the wards a few hours ago. He is upbraiding the doctor, in most unbecoming terms, for having given me admittance, while there are so many poor Irish dying out for want of medical cares and of bread. A quarrel and a fight ensue, the result of which is, that the doctor is shot dead. I hear the report of the pistol and the cries of many persons calling for the police, who, after much delay, arrive and capture the murderer. Before the arrival of the police, I once imagine that he is ascending the stairs to kill me; I jump from my bed, and conceal myself under another. I am dragged from under it by a day-nurse; then I run off again, at the risk of killing myself in rolling down the stairs. I am caught at the bottom. They carry me up again to the room, not without an obstinate struggle on my part; for I am afraid of new visions. The strait waistcoat is resorted to. They fasten me so tight that I can no longer move: my breathing is even greatly impeded by a leather strap pressing on my chest. Night has come; I begin to utter cries of distress, because I see the unavoidable figures from the press quit their immobility and join in infernal fits of laughter.

Exhaustion again delivers me from consciousness. I am aroused from my torpor by the endeavours of the attendants to make me swallow some medicine. The idea immediately strikes me that the potion forced into my mouth is poison, and I spit it out. No more rest during the night. My eyes emit sparks of fire which fill the room. My persecutors are still there; no longer on the press, however, except the brother, who has resumed his natural form, and seems ready to spring on me. They are lying in the other beds; there seems to me as if an electric thread were carrying to them my inmost thoughts, which they repeat aloud. On the other hand, I can get, through the same imaginary thread, a knowledge of their designs against me.

My good genius has not left me; he bids me look for strength in a sincere prayer, and pours on my enemies the same white fluid already mentioned. It is directed from my side to the places they occupy, and instantly reduces them to silence. From time to time, also, when I pray without fervour, or when I entertain any doubt about my good genius' power, the shower is turned against me, from the iron bar, and especially directed to my head. This has the effect of fire; it burns my body all over so sorely that I cannot help crying.

The heat is oppressive; the room is full of a reddish smoke, at

intervals chased out, through the door, by a blast of wind. I tell the nurse that, although the door is opened, I am afraid we will soon be blown up, if she does not put out the gas; she answers that there is no occasion for it, as we are in no danger, and I had better sleep, as if sleep were to come at my command. In my restlessness, I fancy that there is the head of a wolf, with glaring eyes, on the bolster; I pray for a long time; the head disappears. I am a little refreshed, but cannot sleep. My mind soon turns to other fantastic thoughts. I am no longer an inmate of the infirmary. I am kept a prisoner by my persecutors in a small house, where they endeavour to smother me by shutting the door and lighting a fire of straw in the middle of the room. The mother and sister are more implacable than the others, and appear to enjoy my torments. Whilst I am a prey to great sufferings, and scarcely able to breathe, I hear from the street a voice which I immediately know to be the voice of my brother-in-law. I wonder that he has come from Paris to Ireland. He answers that he has come with my sister for the purpose of settling as a French teacher. I turn then his attention to my present miserable state. I implore his assistance; I entreat him, in the name of my sister and of our former friendship, to deliver me; but he laughs at my supplications, and even joins with my persecutors, whom he also excites to show no mercy and to take no heed of my cries, as there is nobody at hand to hear. I hear him walking up and down the street; he is with my sister; they both say, repeatedly — *Il est perdu, il n'est pas perdu. Eh bien! Oui, il est perdu. Tant pis pour lui.*

At daybreak the visions disappear for a little time. My lips are parched from crying; my feet are now cold. I complain to the nurse. They give me a drink of milk, and place a jar of hot water at my feet. I remain thus quiet, and as if prostrated, until the doctor comes in on his round. He inquires of my state; feels my pulse; asks if I could sleep last night. He is told that I was noisy, speaking about dangers, praying aloud, &c., and that I would take no laudanum. He kindly remonstrates with me, saying that everything is prescribed for my good. (*That medical gentleman was well known to me, and he also knew me very well, as I used to give lessons in French to his family.*) Unfortunately the subordinates have a rough way of discharging their duty. They, in my helplessness, illtreat me, threaten me now with a stick, now with the red-hot poker, which they approach to my mouth. In these illtreatments and menaces my delicious imagination sees nothing but a continuation of the tortures inflicted on me by my enemies. I look upon the night-nurse, the day-nurse, and especially on the *infirmier*, as people under the power of Satan, whom my prayers alone can drive away.

Their drugs, too, I consider as being made by an evil hand, and only calculated to soil my soul. I have made up my mind to accept of nothing, except water or milk.

In the course of the day, I come to think that my mother is dead, and that my eldest sister has arrived, and wants to see me. She stops with my brother-in-law and my other sister; but she cannot obtain any information about the place where I am kept. My persecutors re-appear; I find myself in another house quite unknown to me. Besides the family, there are strange faces, equally hostile. They want me to sign a promise of forty pounds, in return for my release. I consent to their request, but when the signature is given, they won't let me go; they now say that they must have their revenge. I am stretched on a mattress, tightly fastened with ropes and leather straps. I can hardly move my head. Presently my legs are stripped, and the toes of my feet covered over with a thick layer of fat meat. What do they intend to do? From their conversation I at last learn that my toes are to be devoured, along with the meat, by a huge dog of theirs, whom they have taken care to keep in good appetite for the *occasion*. The dog cannot be got for some time, during which I am a prey to frightful apprehensions. He is brought in by two men, and rushes, from the first, upon my feet, which he dreadfully mutilates. I hear the cracking of the bones under his teeth; I again cry and weep pitifully. There are many people—men and women—around me. They all seem to enjoy the spectacle, and take no notice whatever of my cries and tears. I have lost all remembrance of what followed; I suppose that I fainted. The fit, however, was short; for at night I have the following dream. (Let it be understood that all my dreams are nothing but visions; for they take place when I am wide awake, and when my eyes are open; my properly styled dreams have left no recollections in my mind.)

(To be continued.)

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## ART. VI.—ON SOME UNRECOGNISED FORMS OF MENTAL DISORDER.

BY FORBES WINSLOW, M.D.

IN the ordinary practice of medicine we occasionally meet with cases of disease which are at variance with our past experience and *à priori* notions, set at defiance our preconceived views of morbid physical phenomena, resist every attempt to embody them within the *nosological* chart, and which repudiate all reduction to any of the acknowledged orthodox pathological standards or tests. These affections are anomalous or *pseudo* in their charac-



ter, are, with difficulty defined, not easily diagnosed, occasionally escape observation, and often resist, too successfully, the operation of the best directed remedial measures. If, among the diseases more particularly implicating the ordinary organic functions of life, we witness these pseudo or eccentric deviations from the recognised pathological character, *à fortiori*, are we not justified in anticipating that in the subtle, complicated, varied, and often obscure affections of the cerebral matter, deranging the operations of mind, we should have brought within the sphere of our observation extraordinary, anomalous, and eccentric deviations from certain pre-determined, morbid, cerebral, and psychological conditions? It is the purport of this essay to illustrate some of these spurious morbid mental states. It is not my intention to discuss that *vexata quæstio*, what constitutes insanity, or to lay down rules by which we may successfully trace, in every case, the line of demarcation between the sane and insane condition, passion and insanity, eccentricity and mental derangement.

With the view of avoiding this discussion, I have preferred confining my remarks to those unrecognised forms of what may be properly termed *mental disorders*. I presume it to be a generally admitted axiom that the mind may be *disordered* without being *insane*, using this phrase in its strictly legal acceptance. These conditions of morbid thought may be considered by some as only *degrees of insanity*; but I would suggest that this term be restricted to those mental affections accompanied by positive aberration or derangement of idea, associated with loss of controlling power, clearly justifying the exercise of moral restraint; and to those morbid conditions of the intellect which sanction an appeal to the protective influence of the law. In other words, I would confine my remarks to those cases in which the mind may be said to be *pathologically* disordered but not *legally* insane. Have we in practice sufficiently appreciated this distinction? Fearful of committing ourselves to an opinion that might authorize an interference with the free agency of the subject, and justify the use of legal restraint, have we not exhibited an indisposition to admit the existence of positive mental disorder, even in cases where it has been obviously and painfully apparent? This excessive caution—originating in motives that do honour to human nature—has often, I fear, been productive of serious, fatal, and irremediable mischief.

The subject under consideration is one, I readily admit, of extreme delicacy, but one, nevertheless, to my humble conception, of incalculable importance to all sections of the community. It is beset with difficulties and surrounded by dangers. In the hands of the inexperienced, the ignorant, the indiscreet,

and the wilfully designing, the facts that I have to record, and principles which I purpose to enunciate, might be productive of much mischief ; but, I ask, ought any apprehensions of this kind to deter me from entering upon this important inquiry ? The subject of latent and unrecognised morbid mind is yet in its infancy. It may be said to occupy, at present, untrodden and almost untouched ground. What a vast field is here presented to the truth seeking and philosophical observer, who, to a practical knowledge of the world and human character, adds an acquaintance with the higher departments of mental philosophy and a knowledge of cerebral pathology. How much of the bitterness, misery, and wretchedness so often witnessed in the bosom of families arises from concealed and undetected mental alienation ! How often do we witness ruin, beggary, disgrace, and death result from such unrecognised morbid mental conditions ! It is the canker worm gnawing at the vitals, and undermining the happiness of many a domestic hearth. Can nothing be done to arrest the fearful progress of the moral avalanche, or arrest the course of the rapid current that is hurling so many to ruin and destruction ?

This type of morbid mental disorder exists to a frightful extent in real life. It is unhappily on the increase, and it therefore behoves the profession, as guardians of the public health, as medical philosophers engaged in the loftiest and most ennobling of human inquiries, as practical physicians called upon to unravel the mysterious and complicated phenomena of disease, and to administer relief to human suffering, to fearlessly grapple with an evil which is sapping the happiness of families, and to exert their utmost ability to disseminate sound principles of pathology upon a matter so intimately associated and so closely interwoven with the social well-being of the human race. These unrecognised morbid conditions most frequently implicate the affections, propensities, appetites, and moral sense. In many instances it is difficult to distinguish between normal or healthy mental irregularities of thought, passion, appetite, and those deviations from natural conditions of the intellect, both in its intellectual and moral manifestations, clearly bringing those so affected within the legitimate domain of pathology. Are there any unfailing diagnostic symptoms by means of which we may detect these pseudo forms of mental disorder with sufficient exactness, precision, and distinctness to justify the conclusion that they result from a deviation from the normal cerebral condition ? This question it will be my duty to consider. The affections of which I speak are necessarily obscure, and, unlike the ordinary cases of mental aberration of every day occurrence, they frequently manifest themselves in either an exalted,



depressed, or vitiated state of the moral sense. The disorder frequently assumes the character of a mere exaggeration of some single predominant passion, appetite, or emotion, and so often resembles, in its prominent features, the natural and healthy actions of thought, either in excess of development or irregular in its operations, that the practised eye of the experienced physician can alone safely pronounce the state to be one of disease. I do not refer to mere ordinary instances of eccentricity, to certain idiosyncrasies of thought and feeling, or to cases in which the mind appears to be absorbed by some one idea, which exercises an influence over the conduct and thoughts quite disproportionate to its intrinsic value. Neither do I advert to examples of natural irritability, violence or passion, coarseness and brutality, vicious inclinations, criminal propensities, excessive caprice, or extravagance of conduct, for these conditions of mind may, alas! be the natural and healthy operations of the intellect. These strange phases of the understanding—these *bizarrieries* of character—these vagaries of the intellect—these singularities, irregularities, and oddities of conduct, common to so many who mix in every day life, and who pass current in society, present to the philosophical psychologist many points for grave contemplation and even suspicion; but such natural and normal, although eccentric states of the intellect, do not legitimately come within the province of the practical physician unless they can be clearly demonstrated to be *morbid results*—to be positive and clearly established deviations from cerebral and mental health. It has been well observed by Dr. Coombe that a brusque, rough manner, which is natural to one person, indicates nothing but mental health in him, but if another individual, who has always been remarkable for a deferential deportment and habitual politeness, lays these qualities aside, and, without provocation or other adequate cause, assumes the unpolished forwardness of the former, we may justly infer that his mind is either already deranged or on the point of becoming so; or if a person who has been noted all his life for prudence, steadiness, regularity, and sobriety, suddenly becomes, without any adequate change in his external situation, rash, unsettled, and dissipated in his habits, or *vice versâ*, every one recognises at once in these changes, accompanied as they are by certain bodily symptoms, evidences of the presence of disease affecting the mind through the instrumentality of its organs. It is not therefore the abstract feeling or act that constitutes positive proof of the existence of mental derangement, but a departure from, or an exaggeration of, the natural and healthy character, temper, habits of the person so affected.

These forms of unrecognised mental disorder are not always accompanied by any well marked disturbance of the bodily



health demanding medical attention, or any obvious departure from a normal state of thought and conduct such as to justify legal interference ; neither do these affections always incapacitate the party from engaging in the ordinary business of life. There may be no appreciable morbid alienation of affection. The wit continues to dazzle, and the repartee has lost none of its brilliancy. The fancy retains its playfulness, the memory its power, and the conversation its perfect coherence and rationality. The afflicted person mixes as usual in society, sits at the head of his own table, entertains his guests, goes to the stock-exchange, to his counting-house or his bank, engages actively in his professional duties, without exhibiting evidence, very conclusive to others, of his actual morbid condition. The mental change may have progressed insidiously and stealthily, having slowly and almost imperceptibly effected important molecular modifications in the delicate vesicular nervous neurine of the brain, ultimately resulting in some aberration of the ideas, or alteration of the affections, propensities, and habits.

The party may be an unrecognised monomaniac, and acting under the terribly crushing and despotical influence of one predominant morbid idea, he bringing destruction upon his once happy home and family. His feeling may be perverted and affections alienated ; thus engendering much concealed misery within the sacred circle of domestic life. His conduct may be brutal to those who have the strongest claims upon his love, kindness, and forbearance, and yet his mental malady be undetected. He may recklessly, and in opposition to the best counsels and most pathetic appeals, squander a fortune, which has been accumulated after many years of active industry and anxious toil. *He may become vicious and brutal—a tyrant, a criminal, a drunkard, a suicide, and a spendthrift, as the result of an undoubtedly morbid state of the brain and mind, and yet pass unobserved through life as a sane, rational, and healthy man.*

We witness in actual practice all the delicate shades and gradations of such unrecognised and neglected mental alienation. It often occurs that whilst those so affected are able to perform with praiseworthy propriety and with scrupulous probity and singular exactness, most of the important duties of life, they manifest extraordinary and unreasonable antipathies, dislikes, and suspicions against their dearest relations and kindest friends. So cleverly and successfully is this mask of sanity and mental health sometimes worn ; so effectually is all suspicion disarmed, that mental disorder of a dangerous character has been known for years to progress without exciting the slightest notion of its presence, until some sad and terrible catastrophe has painfully awakened attention to its existence. Persons suffering from

latent insanity often affect singularity of dress, gait, conversation, and phraseology. The most trifling circumstances rouse their excitability,—they are martyrs to ungovernable paroxysms of passion, are roused to a state of demoniacal furor by insignificant causes, and occasionally lose all sense of delicacy of feeling and sentiment, refinement of manners and conversation. Such manifestations of undetected mental disorder are often seen associated with intellectual and moral qualities of the highest order. Neither rank nor station is free from these sad mental infirmities. Occasionally the malady shows itself in an overbearing disposition. Persons so unhappily disordered browbeat and bully those over whom they have the power of exercising a little short-lived authority, and, forgetting what is due to station, intelligence, reputation, and character, they become within their circumscribed sphere petty tyrants, aping the manners of an Eastern despot. They are impulsive in their thoughts, are often obstinately and pertinaciously rivetted to the most absurd and outrageous opinions, are dogmatic in conversation, are litigious, exhibit a controversial spirit, and oppose every endeavour to bring them within the domain of common sense and correct principles of reasoning. Persons, who were distinguished for their sweetness of disposition, unvarying urbanity, strict regard for truth, diffidence of character, evenness of temper, and all those self-denying qualities which adorn and beautify the human character, exhibit, in this type of disordered intellect, states of morbid mind the very reverse of those natural to them when in health. The even-tempered man becomes querulous and irascible; the generous and open-hearted become cunning and selfish; the timid man assumes an unnatural boldness and forwardness. All delicacy and decency of thought is occasionally banished from the mind, so effectually does the spiritual principle in these attacks succumb to the animal instincts.

The naturally gentle, truthful, retiring, and self-denying, become quarrelsome, cunning, and selfish—the diffident bold, and the modest obscene. We frequently observe these pseudo-mental conditions involving only one particular faculty, or seizing hold of one passion or appetite. Occasionally it manifests itself in a want of veracity, or in a disposition to exaggerate, amounting to positive disease. It may show itself in a disordered volition, in morbid imitation, in an inordinate vaulting ambition, an absorbing lust of praise, an insane desire for notoriety, a sudden paralysis of the memory or impairment of the power of attention, with an obliteration from the mind of all the events of the past life. The disorder occasionally manifests itself in a depressed, exalted, or vitiated state of the reproductive function—in morbid views of Christianity, and is often connected with a profound *anæsthesia*



of the moral sense. Many of these sad afflictions are symptomatic of unobserved, and, consequently, neglected cerebral conditions, either originating in the brain itself, or produced by sympathy with morbid affections existing in other tissues in close organic relationship with the great nervous centre.

The majority of these cases will generally be found associated with a constitutional predisposition to insanity and cerebral disease. These morbid conditions are occasionally the sequelæ of febrile attacks, more or less implicating the functions of the brain and nervous system. They often succeed injuries of the head inflicted in early childhood; and modifications of the malady are also, unhappily, seen allied with genius; and, as the biographies of Cowper, Burns, Byron, Johnson, Pope, and Haydon establish, the best, the exalted, and most highly gifted conditions of mind do not escape unscathed. In early childhood this form of mental disturbance may be detected in many cases. To its existence may often be traced the motiveless crimes of the young, as well as much of the unnatural caprice, dulness, stupidity, and wickedness often witnessed in early life. In the majority of instances, the patient is quite ignorant of his condition, and indignantly repudiates the imputation of mental ill health. In some cases, however, the unhappy sufferer is perfectly conscious of his lamentable state, and, feeling a necessity for cerebral relief, eagerly seeks the advice and consolation of his confidential physician. In this stage of mental consciousness, a painful struggle often takes place in the patient's mind relative to the reality of his mental impressions or suggestions. The questions occasionally occurring to the mind are as follow:—Are these ideas consistent with health? is there any basis for such thoughts? am I justified in harbouring feelings of this nature? are they false creations, or notions of a healthy character, arising out of actual circumstances? A battle of this kind, with ideas clearly of a morbid character, I have known to continue for a long period before the intellect has become prostrated, or succumbed to the insane delusion, or suicidal suggestion. This type of case often comes under the notice of those engaged in the treatment of mental maladies.

Hamlet, when he imagined his soundness of mind questioned, exclaims—

“This is not madness, bring me to the test.”

Again: Shakespeare makes Lady Constance, when accused of insanity, in consequence of her intense manifestations of grief, declare

“I am not mad.”

She then proceeds to describe to her accuser her reasons for repudiating the imputation of insanity;—



“I am not mad; this hair I tear is mine;  
 My name is Constance;  
 Young Arthur is my son, and *he* is lost.  
 I am not mad;—I would to Heaven I were;  
 For then, 'tis like I should forget myself.  
 O, if I could, what grief should I forget!”

Then, in the bitterness of wild despair, she begs the Cardinal to “preach some philosophy to make her mad,” for she exclaims—

“Being not mad, but sensible of grief,  
 My reasonable part produces reason;  
 If I were mad, I should forget my son,  
 Or madly think a babe in clouts were he.”

Again: overpowered by the terrible consciousness of her sad condition, she thus repeats her declaration of sanity—

“I am not mad; too well, too well I feel  
 The different plague of each calamity.”

This condition of mind is closely allied to positive insanity. In this stage of consciousness the disorder easily yields to medical treatment.

It is unnecessary for me to direct attention to the frightful amount of unrecognised and untreated cases of mental depression associated with an irresistible suicidal propensity which has prevailed, within the last twelve or eighteen months. The daily channels of communication convey to us this sad intelligence in language that does not admit of misconstruction. The melancholy history of one case recorded is but a faithful record of hundreds of others that are occurring within the range of our own vision. If the evidence generally adduced before the coroner is to be credited, in nearly every case of suicide, cerebral disorder has exhibited itself, and the mind has been clearly and palpably deranged. In many cases, the mental alienation has clearly existed for weeks, and occasionally for months, without giving rise to the suspicion of the presence of any dangerous degree of brain disturbance likely to lead to an overt act of suicide. There are few morbid mental conditions so fatal in their results, as these apparently trifling, evanescent, and occasionally fugitive attacks of mental depression. They almost invariably, in certain temperaments, are associated with suicidal impulse. I am never consulted in a case of this character without fully impressing upon the relatives and friends the importance of careful vigilance. These slight ruffles upon the surface, these attacks of mental despondency, these paroxysms of morbid *ennui*, accompanied as they generally are with intense weariness of life, a desire for seclusion, love of solitude, and a want of interest in the ordinary affairs of life, are fraught with fatal mischief. How much of

this character of disordered mind not only escapes observation, but is subjected to no kind of medical and moral treatment. Occasionally it may happen (but how rare is the occurrence), that the unhappy suicide may have exhibited no appreciable symptoms of mental derangement; but even in these cases we should be cautious in concluding that sanity existed at the time of the suicide. It often happens that a person is impelled to self-destruction by the overpowering and crushing influence of some latent and concealed delusion, that has for weeks, and perhaps for months, been sitting like an incubus upon the imagination. Patients often confess that they have been under the influence of monomaniacal ideas and concealed hallucinations for months without their existence being suspected even by their most intimate associates. "For six months," writes a patient, "I have never had the idea of suicide, night or day, out of my mind. Wherever I go, an unseen dæmon pursues me, impelling me to self-destruction. My wife, my friends, my children, observe my listlessness and my despondency, but they know nothing of the worm that is gnawing within." Is this not a type of case more generally prevalent than we imagine? May we not say of this unhappy man, with a mind tortured and driven to despair by a terrible, overpowering, and concealed delusion, urging him on to suicide, as the only escape and relief from the acuteness of his misery,

"HE hears a voice WE cannot hear,  
Which says, he must not stay,  
HE sees a hand WE cannot see,  
Which beckons him away" ?

(*To be continued.*)

## Part Second.

### REVIEWS.

#### THE DIAGNOSIS OF DISEASES OF THE BRAIN, SPINAL CORD, NERVES, AND THEIR APPENDAGES.\*

To supply the practitioner and student with a concise manual of Diagnosis of Nervous Diseases, is the object Dr. Reynolds has in view in this work.

\* "The Diagnosis of Diseases of the Brain, Spinal Cord, Nerves, and their Appendages. By J. Russell Reynolds, M.D., &c. London. 1855."

In the present state of our knowledge, when the physiology of the nervous system is involved in so much obscurity, any attempt to classify its diseases on a purely pathological basis must result in failure. Dr. Reynolds contents himself at present with symptoms and physical signs, upon which he founds his classification—open it is true to many grave objections, as we shall shortly see—but presenting one decided advantage, namely, that it involves no theory.

In the first part of his book, the author considers in a general manner the objects and elements of diagnosis, and the classification of nervous diseases. The second part is devoted to diseases of the brain; the third, to diseases of the spinal cord; and the fourth, to those of the nerves and their appendages.

The following analysis will supply the reader with an idea of Dr. Reynolds' views.

The first chapter treats of the objects of diagnosis, which are three in number, "first, the locality; second, the nature; and third, the anatomical conditions of the lesion." The symptoms by which we are guided to the locality are "extrinsic" or constitutional, and "intrinsic," or local. As to the nature of the affection, it may be "acute" or "chronic."

The anatomical conditions may be "simple functional derangement,"—which the author supposes in the case of "epilepsy, chorea, hysteria, neuralgia," &c.; or it may be a "physical change, as in organic diseases."

The second chapter considers the elements of diagnosis; by which "is intended the symptoms of disease, which furnish means by which diagnosis may be established."

"The intrinsic, or proper nervous symptoms, are essentially modifications of the manner in which the organs of the nervous system perform their functions;" they may be "mental, or connected simply with motility and sensibility."

The mental phenomena referable to volition, may be in relation to ideas, as when there is "modification of the power of attention," "modified power of apprehension," "changes in the faculty of recollection," or "modifications in the power of directing thought."

Volition, in its relation to emotion, may be affected by "diminished control of emotion," or by "diminished contrast of expression;" both prominent features in various forms of insanity. "The two need not coexist; the former is an internal change, sometimes to be discovered only by diligent search, and by gaining the 'confidence' of the patient; the latter betrays itself at once in his tone, manner, and gesticulation." Diseased volition in relation to sensation may show itself by the "morbid quickness of perception," as instanced by "the hypochondriac, who not only exaggerates all his sensations, and with unhealthy rapidity interprets them to his own discomfort, but can create them in accordance with his preconceived ideas;" or by "the maniac, who can with marvellous quickness of intuition adapt everything that the individual hears, feels, or sees, into some confirmative evidence of his own delusion."

The opposite condition of this, is when there is diminished percep-



tive power, which may be the case in delirium, or in that state where the patient "lies perfectly motionless, cannot be made to utter a sound, and makes no attempt to do so spontaneously." The author takes exception to the phrase, "loss of consciousness," as applied to this condition, "because," says he, "it is merely an assumption that such loss exists—an assumption which the after-evidence of many cases has proved to be incorrect." He proposes instead, "loss of perception," as "conveying what exists in fact."

We doubt if this brings us much nearer the truth. A case occurs to us, in which a man lay for months in this condition, apparently having lost alike consciousness and perception, and who on recovering, showed that he had not only perceived what was going on around him—even to the motions of the spiders in his room—but had formed his likes and dislikes to those attending on him in proportion as they had been kind or unkind in their treatment. In fact, it is one of the secrets of the moral treatment of the disease, that in general the patients not only perceive and appreciate, but even remember acts of kindness or cruelty, often when they do not appear to do so.

"Volition in reference to motility," may be affected in its "power of occasioning movement," either by excess as in the maniac, or by deficiency as in hysteric paralysis, so common in the female sex, termed *sofa disease*.

There may be a defect in the "power of directing movements," or in the "control of involuntary movement." The mental phenomena referrible to "ideation," or "modification in the processes of thought," may have relation to "external impressions," either by abstraction from their influence as in mental "absence," or by perverted notions of their nature or relation.

Again, ideation in relation to internal sensations, may be affected as in *hypochondriasis*, &c.; or it may be as "an independent process," either by "loss of power to appreciate the logical sequence of events," by the "sequence of ideas" being "rapid, but accidental," by "the absence of all discoverable sequence," by the "loss of memory in its severer forms," by "positively exaggerated ideation," which is seen in some forms of delirium, or by "perverted ideation, or the existence of fixed delusions," as in insanity. "Ideation in relation to motility," is implicated in "the hypochondriac, the hysteric, and the choreic patient," or in electro-biologic subjects, where muscular movements are effected in opposition to the will.

The mental "symptoms referrible to emotion," consist in morbid exhibitions of pleasure, displeasure, joy, sorrow, &c., either by their exaggeration, perversion, or diminution.

The intrinsic symptoms which are not mental, are referrible to sensation or sensibility, or to motility. Sensibility may be affected in one of these ways, it may be increased, diminished, or modified, so as to produce false sensations.

The phenomena of motility "resolve themselves into muscular contraction or its absence."

The author classifies them thus:—

- "a. Modified relation of motility to volition.

- "b. Motility as induced by ideation.
- "c. Disordered relation of emotion and motility.
- "d. Motility in relation to sensation.
- "e. Motility in relation to reflection, or a sensual impression.
- "f. Motility in relation to centric irritation.
- "g. Motility in relation to electric stimulation.
- "h. Proper motility of the muscles."

We omit any notice of the extrinsic symptoms, as there is nothing peculiar in the author's arrangement of them.

In Chapter III. Dr. Reynolds explains the classification he has adopted, and his reasons for doing so, which are simply that he considers it the most convenient for his purpose—namely, diagnosis.

The three objects of diagnosis, as stated above, are "locality, nature, and lesion;" and these are his guides in the following classification:—

#### I. Diseases of the encephalon.

##### A. Acute.

1. Febrile, or inflammatory.
2. Non-febrile.
  - a. Apoplectic diseases.
  - b. Diseases marked by delirium.
  - c. Convulsive diseases.
  - d. Diseases marked by pain.

##### B. Chronic diseases.

1. Marked by increased activity.
  - a. Ideation, its characteristic being hallucination, &c.
  - b. Sensation, its characteristic being pain.
  - c. Motility, its characteristic being spasm.
2. Marked by diminished activity.
3. Marked by the combination of increased and diminished activity.

#### II. Diseases of the spinal column and cord.

##### A. Acute.

##### B. Chronic.

#### III. Diseases of the nerves.

##### A. Structural, or organic.

1. Neuritis.
2. Tumor.

##### B. Functional, or dynamic.

1. Neuralgia, and spasm.
2. Anæsthesia, and paralysis.

Chapter IV. treats of the diagnosis of locality generally. We have to distinguish between "diseases of the nervous system itself," and "the nervous complication of other diseases;" also "affections of the brain, spinal cord, and nerves from one another;" and between "meningeal and central lesions."

In diseases of the nervous system—

- "1. Prodromata are of intrinsic character, or absent;
- "2. Signs of distinct general disease are undiscoverable;
- "3. The intrinsic symptoms precede such general or extrinsic

symptoms as may be present, and are of greater relative intensity than the latter will account for."

When the nervous symptoms are but complications of some general or some extrinsic disease—

- "1. The prodromata are highly marked, and consist of extrinsic symptoms;
- "2. The signs of general (or extraneous) disease are discoverable;
- "3. The extrinsic symptoms have not only preceded the intrinsic, but the latter bear a definite and direct proportion to the former; and the extrinsic derangements are more highly marked than those which the supposed nervous conditions could induce."

The points to be attended to in distinguishing disease of the brain, spinal cord, and nerves from each other, are—

- "1. When perception, ideation, volition, and special sensations are affected; and motor and general sensory changes exhibit a unilateral distribution, the brain is commonly the seat of the disease.
- "2. When the mental functions are unchanged, and motility and general sensibility are affected bilaterally, we infer the spinal cord to be the locality of the lesion.
- "3. When the relations between motility, volition, and reflection are lost, the mental functions being unchanged, and when the motor and sensory disturbances are purely local, we refer the disease to some of the nervous trunks."

The diagnosis between centric and excentric diseases of the nervous system is guided by the following general characters. At the outset, or at a very early stage in the development of a centric disease, there is "loss of some one or more of the proper nervous functions, such as by paralysis, anæsthesia, loss of memory, &c."

Whereas, in "meningeal diseases there is extremely severe excitement or exaggeration of function, such as furious delirium, anæsthesia, convulsions, and well marked epiphenomena, pain, tenderness, &c."

The second part of Dr. Reynolds' work is occupied by the classification of diseases of the brain and their symptoms. In Chapter V. he divides acute and chronic diseases into various groups; the former into "febrile, apoplectic, delirious, and convulsive;" the latter into those marked by excessive activity of some functions; those characterized by diminution, and those presenting, in combination, the features of the latter two."

This classification is avowedly a faulty one; it not only brings together diseases widely different in their nature, but separates others which, if not identical in their pathology, are closely allied. The author himself is not blind to those objections; he says—"Although, therefore, it will be found that softening of the brain (for example) occurs in the apoplectic, delirious, convulsive, and quasi-febrile form, I prefer considering that peculiar condition of the brain in conjunction with its several groups of symptoms as representing four different conditions of the disease, rather than looking upon them as variable phenomenal phases of the same malady."



The sixth chapter is devoted to the "Differential diagnosis of acute febrile diseases affecting the brain."

These are as follows:—

"I. Meningitis, or inflammation of the pia mater, distinguishing—

A. Simple—*i. e.*, non-diathetic, or primary, when affecting—

1. The convexity of the hemispheres.

2. The base of the brain.

B. Tuberculous, accompanying deposit in the pia mater.

C. Rheumatic, or meningeal rheumatism.

"II. Inflammation of the dura mater.

"III. Cerebritis, commonly meningo-cerebritis.

A. General, and then always meningo-cerebritis.

B. Partial, or limited (red softening).

"IV. Continued fever (typhoid and typhus) with cerebral complication.

"V. Gastric remittent fever of children.

"VI. Simple hyperæmia, or 'determination of blood.'

"VII. Delirium tremens, in its febrile form.

"VIII. Mania, with marked febrile symptoms."

"Meningitis of the base" is seldom to be distinguished from "meningitis of the convexity of the hemispheres;" but when we see "intelligence being preserved for a time (without delirium), and coma, or somnolence, occurring very early in the disease," the base is probably its seat.

"Tubercular meningitis" is presented under two forms, the first occurring in the child, the second in the adult. "Mutism is not uncommon" in this disease. The author quotes Dr. Wahle as having drawn attention to this symptom. The diagnosis of rheumatic meningitis is based upon the facts of—

1. Rheumatic fever being present in a—

2. Weak or exhausted subject; and the sudden occurrence of—

3. Delirium, of marked, furious character,

4. Cephalalgia, and

5. Spasmodic movements, partial or general, followed by a—

6. Comatose condition, with paralysis.

"Inflammation of the dura mater" is generally the result of the suppression of a chronic discharge from the ear.

Unless complicated with inflammation of the pia mater, the furious delirium of meningitis is supplanted by oppression, drowsiness, and coma.

"Cerebritis" may be "general" or "local;" there is "confused thought," and general obscurity of the intellectual faculties—absence of "excitement;" and in the partial form or "red softening," "loss of power," with "tingling and numbness in one limb, or side."

"Hyperæmia cerebri," or cerebral congestion, "resembles very closely," as, indeed, it probably is, the first stage of meningitis, from which it differs only in its negative characters.

The febrile form of "acute mania" is so easily known from meningitis and cerebritis by the mental phenomena, that it is unnecessary to mention its symptoms.

The other acute febrile diseases affecting the functions of the brain are continued fever, "gastric remittent fever," and the febrile form of "delirium tremens."

In the two former the head symptoms are accidental, and in the latter the previous history, as well as the characteristic form of delirium, serve to distinguish it from allied diseases.

The seventh chapter is devoted to "apoplectic diseases;" there are—

"I. Congestion of the brain, or 'coup de sang.'

"II. Hæmorrhage, extravasation of blood ('apoplexy' proper).

"A. Hæmorrhage into the substance of the hemisphere.

"B. Ventricular hæmorrhage.

"C. Arachnoid hæmorrhage.

"III. Serous effusion in large quantity. ('Serous apoplexy.')

"IV. Local cerebritis, or 'softening of the brain.'

"V. Tumour of the brain, or meninges.

"VI. Tubercular meningitis.

"VII. Urinæmia and diathetic states.

"VIII. Anæmia, morbus cordis, vascular obstruction."

The phenomena of apoplexy are too well known to require specification. Dr. Reynolds says, "The essential nature of apoplexy is the occurrence of some static or dynamic change which, *pro tanto*, severs volition and perception (the brain functions) from motion and sensation."

"As congestion frequently accompanies or precedes all apoplectic diseases, its symptoms are often present as their prodromata. Where congestion, however, forms the whole anatomic basis of developed apoplexy, they are more marked in intensity, and have commonly existed for a longer period." Hæmorrhagic apoplexy is characterized by the suddenness of its invasion. "The patient, as a rule, if standing, falls instantly, as if knocked down." The accompanying paralysis is generally hemiplegic if the hæmorrhage be into the substance of the hemispheres. If it be into the ventricle, "the most frequent combination of symptoms" is profound coma, with general paralysis and rigidity. In arachnoid hæmorrhage the symptoms are more slowly developed, and "rarely simultaneously."

"There is no certainty in the diagnosis of "serous apoplexy."

"The clinical history" of "acute red softening" "closely resembles that of cerebral hæmorrhage" . . . "in some case the differentiation is impossible." Apoplexy may occur in the course of the growth of a "tumour of the brain," or in the progress of "tubercular meningitis;" it may also be the result, or at least the accompaniment, of various poisoned states of the blood, as in Bright's disease, jaundice, or diabetes.

"Morbus cordis," anæmia, and vascular obstructions are the remaining causes of apoplexy.

The diseases (Chap. VIII.) marked by delirium, unaccompanied by fever, are—

"I. Hyperæmia of the brain and meningitis.

"II. Partial cerebritis, or red softening.

"III. Delirium tremens.

"IV. Extrinsic diseases, including urinæmia, icterus, diabetes."

The first of these is marked by "the simplicity of the delirium—*i. e.* its freedom from complication with other intrinsic nervous symptoms."

In "acute softening," the "delirium is mild and inoffensive," and in the intervals of delirium there is distinct mental weakness, loss of memory, confusion of ideas, &c.

Delirium tremens, on the other hand, is "of a fearful, wandering, but tractable type, with delusions; a peculiar tremor, wakefulness, a non-febrile state, with clammy, cool skin, and disordered, offensive secretions."

In "diathetic diseases," "the delirium is commonly mild, and 'low muttering' in its character, attended by subsultus tendinum, or chronic spasms."

Convulsions (Chap. IX.) may have a "centric" or an "eccentric" origin. The latter are—

"I. Blood diseases, or toxæmiæ.

"1. Introduced poisons, including the acute specific diseases, the exanthemata, mineral poisons, &c.

"2. Retained poisons, or excreta, such as urinæmia, icterus, rheumatism (?), &c.

"II. Eccentric irritations (not toxæmiæ).

"1. Gastro-intestinal dentition, dyspepsia, worms, constipation, &c.

"2. Bronchio-pulmonary. Laryngismus, pertussis, &c.

"3. Genito-urinary. Morbid uterine conditions, calculoid affections, &c."

The "convulsive diseases of intrinsic origin (centric)" are—

"III. Idiopathic, without assignable static cause.

"IV. Congestion of the brain, and meningitis.

"V. Softening of the brain (local acute cerebritis).

"VI. Tubercular meningitis.

"VII. Tubercle and tumour of the brain.

"VIII. Cerebral hæmorrhage.

"IX. Cerebral hypertrophy.

"X. Acute chorea.

CEPHALALGIA as an acute symptom may be of extrinsic or intrinsic origin; under the former we have it, 1, in the acute specific diseases; 2, rheumatic cephalalgia; 3, sympathetic headache. Where of intrinsic origin it may be, 1, congestive; 2, inflammatory; 3, connected with organic diseases; 4, neuralgic.

Of chronic diseases of the brain, the first, treated of in Chapter XII., are those "characterized by exalted activity."

"A. Excessive ideation.

"I. Hypochondriasis.

"II. Tarantism.

"B. Excessive sensation.

"III. Hemicrania, or hyperalgesia cerebri.

"IV. Hallucinations.



"V. Illusions (vertigo of sensation, &c.).

"C. Excessive motility.

"VI. Vertigo of motion (rotatory movements).

"VII. Co-ordinated spasm (muscular tic).

"VIII. Chorea.

"IX. Tremor (paralysis agitans)."

The diagnosis of hypochondriasis from melancholia, says the author, "is based upon the hypochondriac's constant self-regard, and the habitual reference of his delusions to the corporeal sphere."

"The predominance of motor disturbance" in hysteria "will generally serve to distinguish" it from hypochondriasis.

By "hallucinations," the author means those which are unconnected with insanity; so that the subject of them, "although his phantasms may have the appearance of reality, does not believe in their objective existence."

A somewhat similar distinction should be drawn between the illusions of the sane and insane. *Muscæ* and *tinnitus aurium* are illusions common to every one, and the result of a real impression on the sensory nerve; but where the *muscæ*, on the one hand, are firmly believed to be furies or devils, or the ringing in the ears, on the other, is transformed into "voices," then the mind is insane.

The same thing holds good in reference to optical illusions, as spectra; the sane mind can by experiment convince itself of their real nature, whereas no process of reasoning will ever unseat the delusive impressions of the insane.

"The most important chronic diseases of the brain, and nervous system generally, present a combination of exaggerated activity in some portions and diminished function in others."

Those so characterized are as follow:—

"I. Hysteria, and allied affections, catalepsy, &c.

"II. Epilepsy, 'le haut' and 'le petit mal.'

"III. Tumour of the meninges, cerebrum, and cerebellum.

"1. Carcinomatous, } sometimes separable.

"2. Tuberculous, }

"3. Aneurismal, fibroid, hydatid, &c., not separable.

"IV. Chronic meningitis.

"V. Chronic softening.

"VI. Induration of the brain.

"1. In the adult (from epilepsy, lead poisoning, &c.)

"2. In the child (hypertrophy of brain).

"VII. Chronic hydrocephalus.

"VIII. Urinæmia."

There is nothing pathognomonic in the symptoms of specific tumours. The tuberculous and carcinomatous are inferred by the presence of the cachexia; the aneurismal by the existence of arterial disease elsewhere; while the other varieties may be guessed at from the discovery of similar growths in other parts of the body.

As indications of the "special locality" of a tumour, the following are valuable. "Pain is most commonly situated on the same side as that in which the tumour exists." "Motor phenomena (both spas-

modic and paralytic) are observed almost invariably on the opposite side."

"Convulsions are most frequent in tumours of the cerebellum."

"Amaurosis, on the other hand, is most common in tumours of the anterior cerebral lobes."

"The implication of the special senses generally (but not exclusively) indicates a location near the base."

A suggestion of Romberg's, confirmed by one case observed by Dr. Reynolds, will form a valuable means of diagnosis, if more extended observation proves it to be trustworthy; namely, that when the tumour is situated on the upper surface of the encephalon, a "forced expiration increases the pain;" whereas when affecting the base, "this effect is produced only by inspiration."

"Paraplegia rarely occurs from encephalic tumour, unless the cerebellum is its seat."

"When softening has observed a chronic course throughout, its most difficult differentiation is from tumour and meningitis. The three may, however, be distinguished in many cases by the following characters.

"A. Tumour,—intense, locally limited, paroxysmal pain; anæsthesia of special senses; local paralyses; epileptoid convulsions without paralyses; unimpaired intelligence; coma at close of life.

"B. Chronic meningitis,—pain, not very severe, not limited; mental and emotional excitement; disorderly spasms and paralyses; with frequent, but irregular accessions of fever.

"C. Chronic softening,—oppressive, not intense pain; with gradual failure of intelligence, motility, and sensibility."

The nervous symptoms of urinæmia may resemble those of these three affections, but then "the pain is rarely acute; there is drowsiness, or a peculiar coma and stertor, and the extrinsic symptoms furnish the means by which a diagnosis may be established."

The third part of the book is devoted to diseases of the spinal cord.

With regard to the special locality—the cervical, dorsal, or lumbar regions may be affected.

When the lumbar or lower dorsal portions of the cord are the seats of disease, the "lower limbs are alone implicated." "The bladder and rectum are paralyzed." If the upper dorsal region be affected, "respiration is impeded;" "unless the lesion extends above the second dorsal vertebra, the upper limbs retain their function." "Affections of the cord opposite the first dorsal, or the last two cervical vertebræ, implicate the movements of the arms."

"If the disease extends no higher than the sixth cervical, the arms retain their movements at the shoulders;" if above the sixth or fifth, "and the phrenic nerve is implicated, the dyspnœa is most urgent."

"If the lesion exists higher than the fourth or third vertebra, death is extremely rapid, owing to asphyxia from paralysis of the respiratory muscles."

"The locality of disease may be discovered by the existence of spontaneous pain, or tenderness, at a particular point of the vertebral

column; and the latter may be estimated by pressure, concussion of the spinous processes, or the application of heat (by means of a sponge or cloth wrung out of hot water)."

"Where motility is at first exclusively affected, the anterior and antero-lateral columns are most probably diseased; and *vice versa*, when sensibility is primarily deranged, the probability is, that the posterior, or postero-lateral columns are principally affected."

"Acute diseases of the spinal cord and its meninges" are as follows:—

"I. Plethora spinalis, or congestion.

"II. Meningitis.

"III. Myelitis (acute softening).

"IV. Meningo-myelitis.

"V. Tetanus (idiopathic).

"VI. Hydrophobia.

"VII. Hæmorrhage, meningeal and spinal.

"1. Into the spinal cord.

"2. Into the tuber annulare.

"VIII. Concussion of the cord."

Spinal meningitis is ushered in by "highly marked fever," and is accompanied by "pain referred to the spine, at first slight, but rapidly increasing in severity, and becoming almost intolerably violent." Tonic spasm is the chief motorial symptom.

Myelitis, on the other hand, is denoted by "peripheral pain, or anæsthesia, and paralysis;" it is "commonly hyper-acute, and terminates in a few days; but if this is not the case, sloughing of the integuments occurs, and hastens the prostration of the patient to a final issue."

Meningo-myelitis "is more common than either of its elements in an isolated form."

The chronic diseases of the spinal cord are—

"I. Chronic myelitis (or softening).

"II. Chronic meningitis.

"III. Induration and hypertrophy.

"IV. Tumours.

"1. Diathetic—*e.g.*, tubercle, carcinoma.

"2. Non-diathetic—*e.g.*, hydatids.

"V. Idiopathic paraplegia (dynamic)."

In the fourth and last part of this work, Dr. Reynolds considers the diseases of the nerves.

The diagnosis of the particular nerve affected "can be arrived at only by a knowledge of the anatomical distribution," "and physiological functions of each division."

The functions of a nerve may be modified by—

"I. Excessive activity.

"A. Of sensation or sensibility.

"B. Of motility.

"II. Diminished activity, or complete loss of function.

"A. Of sensation, or rather of impressibility.

"B. Of motility."



The special diseases of the nerves are thus arranged :—

- “ I. Neuritis (inflammation of the nerve trunks).
- “ II. Tumours ; of two kinds.
  - “ *a.* Painful subcutaneous tubercle.
  - “ *b.* Neuroma (of various kinds).
- “ B. Inorganic or functional.
- “ III. Neuralgiæ, considering specially,—
  - “ *a.* Facial. Neuralgia of the fifth nerve.
  - “ *b.* Ischiatic. Sciatica.
  - “ *c.* Dorso-intercostal.
- “ IV. Hypercineses, or spasms, considering specially,—
  - “ *a.* Facial-spasmodic tic.
  - “ *b.* Oculo-motor. Strabismus.
  - “ *c.* Laryngeal. Laryngismus stridulus.
- “ V. Anæsthesiæ, especially of the fifth nerve.
- “ VI. Acineses, or paralyses, and especially that of the facial nerve (portio dura of the seventh).”

## Part Third.

### FOREIGN PSYCHOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

#### *Medico-Legal Consultation on a Case of Monomania.*

By M. BAILLARGER.

THE parents of M. M—, who died in the Charenton, 10th Jan. 1851, consulted M. Dubois as to whether deceased was in a sound state of mind at the time of making his will, in June, 1848. The confinement in Charenton dated from Nov. 1850, when he was in a state of dementia and general paralysis. The question to be determined was, whether the mental affection was of recent origin in 1848, or was the last stage of a much older affection existing at the time of the execution of the testament. This was to be answered—1st, by certain writings of deceased ; and 2ndly, by the statements of the medical attendants of M. M—.

In July, 1846, M. M— addressed a letter to the “*Constitutionnel*,” giving notice that the police had directions to check the machinations of his enemies. In 1847 he also complained to the *procureur du roi* that he was annoyed by anonymous letters, and by the culpable designs of certain persons to terrify him, and *alterer son intelligence*. A note was also found, written by himself five days before the will was made, and which purported to contain a receipt for an antidote to poison, that had been, it stated, administered to him by a *garde mobile*. The antidote consisted of vanille and milk.

Among the papers belonging to deceased was a list of his enemies written by himself.

The medical attendant of the deceased, Dr. Delente, stated that M. M— had suffered an attack of apoplexy in 1841, the traces of which were visible after death. Dr. Delente had regarded M. M— as a monomaniac, being under the impression that his heirs had conspired to poison him.

From these and other circumstances, M. Dubois gave it as his opinion that the deceased was a monomaniac in 1846; that the mental affection continued; and, that at the date of the execution of the will he was not in a sound state of mind.—“*Annales Médico-Psychologiques*.” Juillet.

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*On the Identity of Dreaming with Insanity.* By M. MOREAU, of Tours.

M. MOREAU holds, as a fundamental point in the explanation of the phenomena of insanity, the essential identity of the state of dreaming with insanity. This proposition he regards as the corner-stone of the edifice of the science of psychology. This conviction M. Moreau has arrived at from researches long conducted by himself, and from the study of other writers upon psychology.

The following extracts will illustrate the principal arguments of M. Moreau on this question.

In refuting certain objections taken by M. Delasiauve, M. Moreau observes—

“No dream can be called spontaneous, we do not of our own accord, and according to our own good pleasure, plunge into the state of dreaming; we may prepare all the conditions, we may drive away all the obstacles to sleep, but we cannot dream voluntarily; that is altogether another matter. At the very moment that these conditions for which we have arranged promise the desired result, at that instant we cease to be ourselves; with the inner consciousness our spontaneity of action is lost, the *ego* is transformed; another individuality, that of the dreamer, takes the place of the awake. We see then here that nothing takes place but that which occurs in delirium, in a dream—one is delirious. In the former it is so in obedience to a physiological cause unknown; in the second, in obedience to an unknown pathological cause in spontaneous insanity, or well known (in the madness of intoxication). The result in both cases being the extinction, the slow or sudden annihilation of intellectual spontaneity—a metamorphosis of the *ego*—a dream.

• “The state of dreaming has in all ages attracted the attention of physiologists, but has it been sufficiently studied in itself, independently of the organic conditions in which it is produced? Are we not too much accustomed to regard these conditions as indispensable to its development? Has it been ascertained whether it may not be met with in very different pathological and physiological conditions? In other words, must we recognise in the dream a particular manifestation of the thinking faculty, determinable by essentially different causes?”

“a. We have elsewhere said, that what we call absence of mind, is in reality but incomplete dreaming, an intermediate state between waking and sleeping, and received more with reference to the intellectual than to the properly organic conditions of sleep. We speak indifferently of reverie and absence of mind as an intense mental pre-occupation, which absorbs our attention to things around us. Here, then, common language bears us out in our views.

“It may be said that, in this case, the phenomena of dreaming are produced under normal conditions, the intellect not being vitiated by any morbid influ-

ence, which does not in the least reveal the presence of a germ that the slightest cause may suffice to germinate.

"There is a physiological axiom—no sensation, no perception of sensation, without attention. Where then, from any cause whatever, internal impressions absorb the attention, internal impressions are necessarily unheeded, and are as if they were not. The individual is entirely delivered over to his internal reflections, to his meditations; he has broken with the outer world, so far, at least, as regards his thoughts. He is in a veritable dream, always within the limits of the same thoughts.

"*b.* The state of dreaming may be exhibited in its highest degree of development, even where the most important elements of sleep are wanting, for instance, in somnambulists.

"*c.* By the word sleep we understand that particular state which we can only comprehend by, so to say, decomposing and separating the physical from the psychical elements thereof."

Sleep, the author observes, is but a state of suspension, or temporary annihilation, of the thinking faculty, and between this and the state of stupor, whether produced by congestion of the brain or by the poisonous action of opium, hachisch, alcohol, or the inspiration of ether, &c., despite the differences of cause, there is absolute identity of physiological conditions. The objections urged against the identity of dreaming and delirium, M. Moreau attributes to the confusion of two essentially distinct points, the form and the basis (*fond*), the latter remaining uniform, however the former may vary. Apparently, the characters which most differ are, on the one hand, the duration of physiological sleep and its attendant dreams, the great number and variety of objects which constitute the latter; and on the other hand, the intermittence of phenomena of delirium proper, with the restricted limits within which, in ordinary cases, they are confined.

"But these differences are after all (M. Moreau remarks) but differences of form, which, considerable as they may be, do not destroy the identity of the nature of the phenomena themselves.

"So true is this, that one sees these very differences disappear in many acute cases of delirium, in all those caused by alcohol, opiates, &c., and in stupidity, in which the recent researches of M. Baillarger have shown that the play of the imagination is no less capricious, or less extensive, than in ordinary sleep. In many instances, indeed, it would be correct to say that physiological dreams are even more limited and restricted in their conceptions than those to which the name of delirium or insanity is exclusively applied.

"It would be sufficient to infer a greater tenacity and persistence, and the individual would be then positively and absolutely mad.

"This supposition, moreover, is borne out by more facts than generally supposed; thus there are many insane persons who trace their delirious ideas, or convictions, or hallucinations, to a dream. With many, insanity is in reality but the continuation of the dream.

"In confirmed insanity the dreams have effected such profound impressions upon the organism, that they cannot be effaced by the waking condition."

The impressions of dreams are sometimes so vivid that it is difficult to divest oneself of the idea of their reality.

"*This is certainly a moment of insanity* (observes M. Moreau, who adds):—In order that the insanity shall continue, we have only to imagine that the fibres of the brain have suffered too violent a shock to have recovered themselves. The same thing may occur more slowly."



M. Moreau supports his own views by quotations from Condillac, Sauvages, Virey, Spinoza, Van Helmont, and other writers.

"Insanity (the author proceeds to observe) implies a real transformation of personality. There are cases in which this transformation is so evident that the line of demarcation between the wakeful and the dreaming states could not be more clear and precise. There are among the insane, for instance, persons whose whole life previously to the delirium offers not a trace of its existence.

"Every act of the thinking faculty, performed without our free and voluntary assent, appertains to the state of dreaming.

"The mind cannot quit its ordinary wakeful condition without passing into that of dreaming; in any other state its actions must be destroyed or suspended, as in profound sleep or coma.

"Sleep may be compared to the repose of a pendulum, which is still susceptible of new oscillations under the slightest impulse, so long as the machinery by which it is set in motion retains its integrity. Death may be closely represented by this same pendulum, when the destruction of its wheels has put it for ever beyond the possibility of moving. Time exists only in relation to the succession of our thoughts.

"It follows from what has been said, that the impression made upon the thinking faculty by loss of consciousness is the same, whatever may be its duration. Every person can recal that of which he is sensible at the moment of waking; whatever may be the length of time that has lapsed during sleep, the state of the mind is the same; there is a feeling of a new existence, the primary elements of which are supplied by the memory. It is perfectly true that in this state there is no difference between a moment and an age, so that if an individual were to wake at the end of many thousand years, his first impressions would not differ from what he would have experienced had he slept only a few hours.

"What occurs when an individual who has been transformed by delirium, and coming to himself with his inner consciousness annihilated, recovers his reason after ten, fifteen, or thirty years of mental disease? Exactly what would have occurred had he woken from several hours' sleep. He is surprised that he does not find everything in the same state as at the moment that he was struck by insanity. His eyes seek the old objects, his affections look for the same persons; every person and object around him, and among which he has passed so many years, he sees now for the first time, or has but a confused recollection of having seen them. He cannot recognise in the grown-up persons around him his own children; he is not sure of his own identity,—whence these wrinkles, these grey hairs, these indications of advanced age?"

M. Moreau concludes his paper in the following *resumé*:—

"It is not easy to allow that a body can be propelled simultaneously in two opposite directions.

"Morally, likewise, whether it affirm or deny, the mind is in either the affirmation or negation entirely one and the same, successively or alternately—but never simultaneously.

"Now, that which the delirious individual denies, he would in the normal state have affirmed. Moreover, since delirium, as we have described it, does not affect the essence of the intellectual powers, or if one may so speak, the internal economy of those faculties, but with an uniform relation to certain objects on which their action is directed, these faculties remain intact, even amidst their false and extravagant perceptions; so that we may say, without transgressing psychological truth, that the insane are such as they are according to the point of view from which they are regarded. It follows that not to

admit the absolute transformation of the *ego* in the state of delirium, is to declare that the soul may deny without ceasing to affirm, or in other words, may simultaneously undergo two modifications—two modes of existence which destroy one another.”

As naturally connected with the preceding notice of M. Moreau's paper in the “*Annales Psychologiques*,” we append an abstract of the Report of the Commission of the Imperial Academy of Medicine, by M. Bousquet, May 1855, upon a memoir of M. Moreau, on the pathological anatomy of delirium; and a brief notice of the discussion thereon.

The Report takes exception to the views of M. Moreau, who, it observes, regards insanity, like other diseases, as an organic disease. The reporter charges M. Moreau with having confusedly used the words delirium and insanity, not regarding the distinction between the two: the one being a temporary condition, they remark, the other more durable, often lasting for life, and transmitted hereditarily; the one generally combined with fever and constitutional disturbance, the other compatible with perfect bodily health. M. Moreau, remarks M. Bousquet, considers that insanity has been viewed too much as independent of organization, and the dominant idea of his memoir is to restore it to its proper place. The reporter, as opposed to M. Moreau, holds that that source of the mental disorder is to be sought sometimes in the brain, sometimes elsewhere. The exclusive theory of either one or the other opinion they look upon as erroneous. The most opposite condition of the nervous centres may influence and implicate the brain; in these cases, insanity may be an eventual contingent effect. Reasoning from physiological analogy, it is urged that as impressions are conveyed from the periphery to the nervous centres, and *vice versâ*, so a similar relation of causation may occur in insanity. Besides which, those who attribute mental disease in all cases to structural change in the brain, contravene their own fundamental doctrine, which is not to admit anything of which they have not the evidence of their senses. The reporter further urges the difference between the temporary condition of the brain during sleep, and the permanent state of insanity transmissible hereditarily. The views of M. Moreau they consider to be the misapprehension of resemblance for identity.

M. Baillarger criticised and opposed the Report, which, he observed, contained only negative propositions; the general conclusion of which was to the effect, that as we are not able to unravel the mysteries of the subject, we should therefore expose all our doubts and conceal our hopes. The study of mental diseases, observed M. Baillarger, would not present the attractions it does, or be followed with so much ardour, if it were as fruitless as indicated in the Report. M. Baillarger defended M. Moreau, on the ground that his object was not to affirm the exclusively material nature of insanity, but to endeavour to counteract extreme spiritualistic notions, which to a too great extent influence practice. M. Baillarger further urged in defence of M. Moreau's opinions, that the author had enforced only a strong analogy between insanity and sleep.

M. Londe drew a distinction between delirium and insanity; in the former, he recognised only a disorder of the intellect; in the latter,



other functions also are deranged. M. Londe objected to the strictly physiological view of the opinion that insanity cannot exist without organic disease. M. Londe further criticised the objection of M. Bousquet, that if insanity be analogous with dreaming, then do we lose our reason nightly, and recover it in the morning. This view, said M. Londe, is too spiritual, for that natural sleep does not overtake us without our having some idea of its approach; but if before sleeping the brain be excited by drinking, or by emotions, or by work, it is attended with dreams more or less fatiguing. With reference to the failure of pathologists to detect any certain alteration of the brain in insanity, M. Londe observed that similar failure had occurred in other diseases. M. Londe, in concluding, stated his opinion to be that, in recent and curable cases of insanity, the causes, chagrin, &c., have acted upon only a portion of the brain; while in more serious forms of the affection—*e. g.*, following violent disturbance, febrile delirium, &c.—the lesion has been general, or has become so, whence not only the intellect, but also other cerebral functions, are injured.

M. Ferrus opposed the Report, which he characterized as having for its object to exhume and diffuse exclusive doctrines.

M. Piorry combated the arguments of M. Bousquet from the difference in the permanency of insanity as compared with that of delirium. This, observed M. Piorry, cannot be regarded as a ground of distinction, since cases of delirium with fever are met with lasting ten, fifteen, twenty days, or even longer; while there are cases of delirium without fever which should be regarded as insanity, passing off within a week: the absence of fever, according to M. Bousquet, distinguishes insanity from delirium. Insanity, again, does not always develop itself slowly, but often breaks out as suddenly as delirium.

In answer to the objection urged by M. Bousquet against the analogy drawn by M. Moreau between insanity and dreaming, M. Piorry observed, that it is by such physiological studies that psychological science is to be advanced.

With reference to the statements of M. Bousquet that morbid anatomy has thrown but little light upon the nature and cause of insanity, M. Piorry urged that it does not follow, that because in so delicate and complex an organ as the brain many instances occur in which nothing of value has been found, therefore that those numerous instances should be lost sight of in which sufficient has been found to account for the perversion of the thinking faculties.

The Report of the discussion upon this, M. Bousquet's paper, occupies eighty-two pages. We cannot afford space for its reproduction. It may suffice to say that it was severely criticised, and its principal positions refuted by various speakers.

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#### *Pathological Condition of the Brain in Epileptics.*

At the *Société Medico-psychologique*, January 19, 1855, M. Delasiauve observed how frequently no appreciable alteration of structure can be detected after death in epileptics; while on the other hand, the most varied *post-mortem* appearances are sometimes met with, in



which the etiological relationship is not traceable. He had recently met with a case in which a large osseous plate, from three to four centimetres in extent ( $=1.181$  to  $1.574$  English inches), was placed in the form of an arc between the two hemispheres of the brain, and appeared as if a portion of the falx were ossified. Was this growth, asked M. Delasiauve, the cause of the convulsions? It would not seem from its position, that it could have much interfered with the functions of the brain. The symptoms, moreover, seem to have coincided with an apoplectic seizure dating about four years previously, and which had left a large cell in the substance of the middle lobe of the left hemisphere, as evidence of its occurrence. There had been three or four paroxysms at monthly intervals; during the last few months the dementia and general paralysis had made great progress.

Another patient had presented a more striking ossific deposit. This was a fragment of bone, of a cubic form, about the size of a filbert, and studded all over with needle-shaped spiculæ. This fragment was lodged in the fissure of Sylvius, adhering slightly to the pia mater. It is probable that these spiculæ irritated the otherwise healthy brain and gave rise to the attacks. The patient had frequently suffered from vomiting, both at the time of the fits, and in the intervals. It was not clear whether these attacks of vomiting were referrible to the cerebral irritation, or to onanism, to which the patient had abandoned himself.

M. Loiseau related the case of an epileptic in whom it was found that an osseous growth had caused absorption of a portion of the hemisphere.

M. Ferrus related the case of a lady of high intellectual development, who had suffered from intense pain in the anterior region of the brain, and on one occasion an epileptic seizure occurred. It was found that an osseous tuft had been formed on the orbital plate, which had torn the membranes and injured the brain.

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#### *A Peculiar Form of Insanity in Children.*

M. DELASIAUVE brought this subject under the notice of the *Société Médico-psychologique*, February 26th. This affection M. Delasiauve described as having for its fundamental character a disturbance of the intellectual faculties, manifested more or less confusion of ideas, but was always complicated with ecstatic phenomena, the paroxysms of which varied in duration, and in some cases returned at short intervals. The patients remained several hours of the day as if wrapt in a sort of mystical contemplation. Often the attention was fixedly directed to one spot from which not even the most vivid impressions could arouse them. In other cases the attention was alternately directed to different points. The limbs and body were placed in the most grotesque attitudes and positions; sometimes the head was bent in forced directions, sometimes the arms and legs remained elevated and extended. In some of these cases there was seen slow and measured jactitation, after the fashion of Punchinello. Of the eight or nine cases seen by M. Delasiauve almost all were cured within a limited period, in some

cases with relapse. Bathing, sulphate of quinine, and attention to hygiene, were followed by successful results.

Although these cases were important, they did not, in the opinion of M. Delasiauve, deserve a special nomenclature as a new form of mental disease. The phenomena of these cases do not belong to mania, nor specially to early age. They are met with in those forms of partial insanity attended with convulsions, such as catalepsy and epilepsy. The ecstatic state corresponds to a slight degree of cerebral erethism, whereby the intellect, acting through volition, is subordinated to the automatic organic system. Hence, if this view be correct, ecstasy may take place whenever from moral or physical causes the normal activity of the nervous centres is increased, and favours the production of spasm. The preference of these attacks shown towards early age may be explained by the greater impressionability of that time of life. In some instances this special predisposition is referable to onanism, or intimidation, which either depress or concentrate the nervous sensibility. Several of the patients were addicted to the solitary vice, nearly all had been the subject of cruelty or unjust rigour, or had been frightened by exaggerated representations of their offences, and by fear of the wrath of God.

M. Moreau had met with instances of this form of affection, and regarded them as cases of epilepsy, attended with a degree of stupor, offering some resemblance to ecstasy.

M. Belhomme inquired if M. Delasiauve considered that an analogy existed between ecstasy and catalepsy?

M. Delasiauve in reply, stated that he recognised in ecstasy a state of muscular immobility without contraction, accompanying a particular cerebral disorder, while in catalepsy there was abolition of feeling with tetanic rigidity. The difference is one rather of degree than of kind. Ecstasy seems to be a slighter degree of this cataleptic state.

M. Alfred Maury, mentioned an epidemic melancholy which had prevailed among the inhabitants of a district in Siberia, some years ago, under the influence of a Buddhist prediction. In this disorder the sufferers uttered a sad monotonous chant, concluding with a paroxysm of excitement, which was followed by insanity or restoration. The moral and physical condition of this people resembled that of childhood.

M. Buchez did not consider that either of the speakers had elucidated the phenomena related by M. Delasiauve. He would ask whether ecstasy occurring in the insane and epileptic is of the same nature as ecstasy occurring in the previously healthy and in those persons who can induce the ecstatic condition by profound meditation? He further asked, whether ecstasy and catalepsy are physiologically the same? whether they might exist separately? whether they have the same organic seal?

M. Baillarger had seen cases of melancholy stupor pass into ecstasy. He objected to the use of the word "physiological" to express conditions referred to in this discussion, and which he considered as strictly pathological. For instance, if ecstasy be a suspension of the intellectual powers, how can it be said to be a physiological state?



M. Alfred Maury compared the state of ecstasy to the passing delirium of fever, which, frequently recurring, may pass into insanity.

M. Buchez considered that there was a great analogy, but not an identity, between the ecstasy occurring in health and that occurring in disease. M. Buchez further illustrated his opinions by reference to the state of internal abstraction or contemplation under which musical composers, without the presence of a musical instrument, veritably hear the pieces they compose; and a painter sees in imagination the persons he transfers to his canvas.

M. Ferrus asked if a person in a state of ecstasy was, medico-legally speaking, responsible for his acts; M. Ferrus promised to lay before the Society the particulars of some cases bearing upon this point.

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*On the Organic Cause of Mental Alienation, accompanied by General Paralysis.* By M. BAYLE, who lays down the following as the chief points of his Paper:—

1. There is a particular species of mental affection, of a symptomatic character, perfectly distinct from the essential forms of alienation, and forming a malady by itself, an individual malady, having its own causes, with symptoms and anatomical characters too distinct to permit of their being confounded with any other affection.

2. Its causes have one common effect in producing slow or sudden congestion of the vessels of the pia mater and brain.

3. The symptoms may be reduced to two, which commence and progress concurrently—viz., paralysis general and incomplete, and non-febrile delirium with great feebleness of the faculties. The paralysis makes constant progress in the course of disease, and terminates in almost entire privation of voluntary movements. The delirium has the peculiar feature of being characterized by ambition, and passing successively through the forms of monomania, mania, and dementia. Frequently, mania is wanting.

4. The anatomical characters are those of chronic inflammation of the membranes of the convexity of the cerebral hemispheres, often extending to the subjacent surface of the substance of the brain itself.

The proofs of these positions are deduced from the post-mortem examination of the brains of insane paralytics compared with the brains of sane individuals, and from the analogy of this disease with other inflammations of serous membranes.

Among the lesions discovered in the examination of one hundred bodies, and which were characteristic of chronic inflammation of the membranes of the brain, some were met with in all cases, while others were absent in a certain number. The changes constantly met with were opacity, thickening, increased toughness of the arachnoid to such an extent that sometimes it was possible to suspend a slice of brain by its means without tearing it; extreme congestion of the pia mater; thickening of the arachnoid of the ventricles, which also was covered with granulations; considerable effusion of serum into the cavities of the ventricles and into the network of vessels of the pia mater.



The morbid appearances less frequently met with were adhesions of the membrane, and the softening of the surface of the convolutions; false membranes, or extravasated blood. The substance of the brain was softer in a few cases; in some it was firmer; in the majority it retained its natural consistence.

These post-mortem appearances are not met with in other diseases than chronic meningitis; the slight opacities, &c., occurring towards the close of life in other forms of cerebral disease, do not offer even an analogy. They have always been found by M. Bayle after death from general paralysis, and never in the case of patients who have died from other maladies; hence it is inferred that chronic meningitis is the organic cause of insanity with general paralysis.

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*Structure of the Cortical Layer of the Convolutions of the Brain.*

M. BAILLARGER refers to his previous discovery of six alternate layers of grey and white matter in the cortical layer of the brain, and states that MM. Foville and Gratiolet, in confirming his results, have added the existence of another layer of white matter. This last layer follows internally all the folds of the cortical layer, as the pia mater follows them externally. The cortical layer of the convolutions separates itself distinctly from the white substance, especially at the depths of the anfractuositities; it remains, in effect, as if doubled by a very thin layer of this substance. This is a fact which, observes M. Baillarger, he had himself more than once observed, but to which he had not attached the importance it merits. M. Baillarger does not, in the present communication, examine the structure of this white layer, nor the nature of its connexion with the grey substance and the radiating fibres. The present notice records a fact in pathological anatomy, the separation of a group of convolutions from the white substance, and lined by this seventh lamina, such as he has often met with in the sheep.

A female, thirty-seven years of age, was admitted into the Salpêtrière, suffering from symptoms of general paralysis; at the end of eighteen months she died. The left hemisphere of the brain was found softened throughout its whole extent. The attempt to raise the thickened membrane brought with it the entire cortical layer and a portion of the white substance of the brain. At the anterior and superior part it was possible thus to raise and separate an entire group of convolutions. On examining these convolutions in their then reversed position, their summits were smooth and of a bluish-white colour. On cutting into the summit it was observed that the white layer which covered the cortical substance was grey and very thin, of a uniform consistence, and tolerably adherent. This white lamina is the layer described by MM. Foville and Gratiolet as the seventh layer of the cortical substance of the brain.—“*Annales Médico-Psychologiques*.” Janvier.

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“The American Journal of Insanity,” July 1855, contains a history of the several attacks of insanity under which his Majesty King

George the Third suffered. These particulars, which have not hitherto been published in any collected form in this country, have been collected from "parliamentary reports, public papers, political squibs, diaries of persons about the court, tittle-tattle sent to other nations," &c., and have now been embodied in the form of a narrative by Dr. Ray, of Butler Hospital, Providence, United States. We take leave, however, to question whether the result is worthy of all the labour it must have cost. We were in England too well aware of the melancholy fact of the King's insanity at the time, if not familiar with all the details. We have had too much reason to regret the consequences thereof to wish to revive so painful a subject. We are very well convinced that much indirect good has also been providentially educed from that national affliction, by the countenance it gave to improvement in the general principle of the treatment of the insane. Nevertheless, so much being taken for granted, we fail to perceive the benefit that can accrue to psychological medicine from a revival of scenes so painful, and from a history which, after all the laborious research of Dr. Ray, is still imperfect.

Our transatlantic brethren may probably trace in the results of the mental disorder of George the Third, their own elevation to a national status. We may be disposed to concur in the inference, but content to submit with the best grace we may to the dispensations of Providence, we would not raise the veil that screens the domestic griefs of royalty—in the belief that a sovereign has as inalienable a right to have his home held sacred as has the meanest citizen of a republic. And notwithstanding we may incur the imputation of a squeamish tenderness, we hold that such a narrative as the history of the insanity of the King goes very near to trench upon the inviolability of professional confidence. In the ordinary publication of cases by medical men, names are usually suppressed—and where for the ends of justice both names and particulars must be made known, still no more than is required for the furtherance of judicial objects is usually laid bare to public gaze. Why, then, should not the same measure be meted out to the most exalted member of society?

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## Part Fourth.

### JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

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#### AN EXPOSITION OF THE LAW RELATING TO CHANCERY LUNATICS.

LUNATICS, for the purposes of legislation, have been divided into three classes:—

1. Persons found lunatic by inquisition, often called Chancery lunatics.
2. Persons not so found lunatic, but who are placed under the re-

straint of a lunatic asylum ; *i.e.*, in private asylums, or as single patients, under certificates.

### 3. Pauper lunatics.

The various statutes relating to the first class were consolidated and amended by "The Lunacy Regulation Act, 1853" (16 and 17 Vict. cap. 70) ; "An Act for the Regulation of Proceedings under Commissions of Lunacy, and the Consolidation and Amendment of the Acts respecting Lunatics so found by Inquisition, and their Estates."

The statutes relating to the second class were consolidated and amended by the 8 and 9 Vict. c. 100, "An Act for the Regulation of the Care and Treatment of Lunatics," and which has since been amended by the "Lunatics' Care and Treatment Amendment Act, 1853" (16 and 17 Vict. c. 96), "An Act to Amend an Act passed in the ninth year of her Majesty, for the Regulation of the Care and Treatment of Lunatics."

The statutes regulating the third class were consolidated and amended by "The Lunatic Asylums Act, 1853" (16 and 17 Vict. c. 97), "An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Laws for the Provision and Regulation of Lunatic Asylums for Counties and Boroughs, and for the Maintenance and Care of Pauper Lunatics in *England*."

We have frequently in this journal considered the state of the law as to the second class, and in vol. vi. p. 590, we enumerated the various alterations and amendments made by the 16th and 17th Vict. c. 96, with reference to private asylums and single patients. We propose now to consider the state of the law relating to Chancery lunatics.

Previous to the year 1842, the practice in lunacy was conducted according to the then dilatory and expensive fashion of Chancery proceedings, in the offices of the Masters in Chancery ; but in that year a measure was introduced by Lord Lyndhurst, and was passed,\* which had the effect of greatly diminishing the delay and expense of proceedings in lunacy. The following were the principal alterations effected by that statute and the general orders framed under its authority. Two Masters in Lunacy were specially appointed to execute commissions of lunacy, and to conduct the business of the lunacy department of the court, which before devolved upon the Masters in Chancery. By this arrangement the time occupied in the execution of commissions, as well as the expense, was considerably reduced ; the expenses of proceedings after the inquisition were also much reduced by the diminution of the number of petitions, orders, and reports, the Masters having jurisdiction to inquire and report in many cases without any order of reference ; and the general orders in many cases provided for measures which previously would have required a special order in each case. These alterations having worked well, both simplifying the practice and diminishing expense, Lord Lyndhurst, in 1852, introduced into the House of Lords a bill for effecting further improvements, intituled "An Act to diminish the Expense of Proceedings under Commissions *de lunatico inquirendo*."

The expense of lunacy proceedings may be divided into two classes :

1. The expenses incurred in obtaining the decision of a competent

\* 5 and 6 Vict. c. 84.



legal tribunal as to the lunacy; 2. The expenses connected with the care of the lunatic and the management of his estate after he has been declared lunatic. The first class comprehended the costs of suing out a commission of lunacy under the great seal; the fees of a numerous jury, usually more than twelve in number, and when special jurors paid a guinea each per diem; the expense of witnesses and fees of counsel when retained; and all other expenses incurred about the inquisition, as well as the traverse, if the inquisition were traversed, but which seldom occurred. The expense of the inquisition in a contested case must always be considerable, but much unnecessary expense arose from the form of the commission requiring the verdict to determine, not simply the fact of the lunacy, but also the date when the lunacy commenced. This latter inquiry might run through many years, requiring numerous witnesses at great expense, and its advantage is not apparent; for, if the lunatic has contracted a debt subsequently to the period to which the verdict applies, the creditor may nevertheless prosecute his claim for it, or, if he has made a will or executed any deed during the same period, any person interested may attempt to establish the sanity of the lunatic at the date of such will or deed. The finding of the verdict of lunacy is undoubtedly *primâ facie* evidence against the debt, or will, or any other transaction subsequent to the date fixed by the verdict, but it is not conclusive against any person who was not a party to it.\*

With respect to the second class of expenses of lunacy proceedings, the appointment of committees by grant of the custody of the person and estate of the lunatic under the great seal formed one item; but the expenses under this head were occasioned chiefly by the multiplicity of petitions, orders, and reports required to give effect to the various matters of constant occurrence in the administration of a lunatic's estate. Lord Lyndhurst proposed to meet this by striking at the root of the evil, and suggested the adoption of a mode of proceeding somewhat similar to the principle of the Joint-Stock Companies' Winding-up Acts† and the Irish Chancery Act‡—viz., that the Master's report should be dispensed with, and an order should be made in the first instance, not by the Lord Chancellor, but by the Master in Lunacy, whose order should be binding and conclusive on all parties, if not appealed from to the Lord Chancellor within a given time.§ There can be little question that the simplification of the mode of procedure is the true means of obviating both delay and expense, for both are chiefly caused by the circuitous mode formerly, according to the practice, unavoidable in almost every proceeding. The following is a list of suggestions made by Lord Lyndhurst for simplifying the practice and diminishing the expense of proceedings in lunacy:—

1. That the fiat of the Lord Chancellor should be substituted for, and have the same effect as a commission of lunacy.||
2. That the jury should be dispensed with, and the Master in Lunacy

\* 120 Hansard, 353.

† 11 and 12 Vict. c. 45; and 12 and 13 Vict. c. 108.

‡ 13 and 14 Vict. c. 89.

§ 120 Hansard, 351.

|| Ibid. 351.

should by himself decide the question of lunacy, unless the alleged lunatic required the verdict of a jury.\*

3. That the inquiry as to the lunacy should be confined to the period when the inquisition is made, or otherwise reduced within narrow limits, instead of being carried back to the commencement of the lunacy.†
4. That the Master in Lunacy should be invested with a discretionary power to limit the costs of opposition to the inquiry as he should think proper, with the view of checking such opposition by improper persons for the sake of obtaining the costs.‡
5. That the traverse should be altogether disallowed as a *matter of right*, and be at the discretion of the Lord Chancellor.§
6. That the grant of the custody of the person and estate of the lunatic under the great seal should be discontinued, and that the Lord Chancellor's order should have the same effect as a grant.||
7. That the Master's report should be dispensed with, and an order should be made in the first instance by the Master, which should be binding and conclusive on all parties, if not appealed from to the Lord Chancellor within a given time.¶
8. That the powers given by the Act 8 and 9 Vict. c. 100, § 94—98 (under which, in certain cases, the Master in Lunacy, without a jury, decided as to the lunacy of a party confined as a lunatic,) should be extended so as to correspond with the powers given by a commission of lunacy.\*\*

These were valuable suggestions, and, as we shall see hereafter, most of them have practically been carried into effect by the provisions of the 16 and 17 Vict. c. 70; indeed, the only room for debate as to their soundness would be on the 2nd and 5th suggestions, as to which the Briton's veneration for trial by jury and the right of appeal might raise a doubt in the mind of one not informed on the subject. In submitting his suggestions to the House of Lords, Lord Lyndhurst mentioned that "he had intended to propose them as soon as he had acquired experience of the working of his bill of 1842. He had, however, given up the custody of the great seal before he could carry his intentions into effect,"†† and concluded by stating that "he knew his noble and learned friend, the Lord Chancellor (St. Leonards), was so anxious to introduce, as far as possible, perfection in every department of the administration of justice under his control, that he might safely leave the case in his hands. He (Lord Lyndhurst) was desirous of consulting and co-operating with him, for the purpose of carrying into effect as many of the suggestions he had made as he thought could be adopted consistently with the security of the lunatic and the advantage of the public."‡‡ Lord St. Leonards intimated that when he had disposed of the measures of Chancery reform then under consideration, he should endeavour to meet Lord Lyndhurst's suggestions.§§ The bill introduced by Lord Lyndhurst was not advanced during that

\* 120 Hansard, 355.

† Ibid. 352.

‡ Ibid. 353.

§ Ibid. 357.

|| Ibid. 352.

¶ Ibid. 351.

\*\* Ibid. 358.

†† Ibid. 350.

‡‡ Ibid. 359.

§§ Ibid. 361.



session, but in the following session Lord St. Leonards, in his speech from the woolsack, on the administration of justice,\* announced that his proposed measures of reform would include the law of lunacy, and the three several acts before mentioned (16 and 17 Vict. cc. 70, 96, 97) were introduced and passed.

The "Lunacy Regulation Act, 1853" (16 and 17 Vict. c. 70,) repealed the various acts and portions of acts mentioned in the schedule, and re-enacted so much thereof as was to be retained. This act regulates proceedings under commissions of lunacy, and the management of lunatics so found by inquisition and their estates. The Masters in Lunacy act under a general commission, and instead of a special commission of lunacy being directed to them in each case, they proceed under an order of the Lord Chancellor or Lords Justices,† directing an inquiry into the lunacy; the jury is dispensed with, except where the alleged lunatic demands a jury. Committees are appointed by a simple order, instead of a grant, under the great seal; the practice requiring frequent petitions, reports, and orders, is much simplified; a check is placed upon unnecessary costs; the Masters have enlarged powers for preventing delay in proceedings; the Lord Chancellor's jurisdiction over the lunatic's property is extended so as to provide for almost any imaginary contingency; the fees are reduced to three, which are small in amount, and are collected by means of stamps; and a moderate percentage is paid on all incomes of 100*l.* and upwards, for defraying the official expenses incident to the administration of lunatics' estates, which includes the percentage heretofore collected under the 3 and 4 Wm. IV. c. 36, for meeting the expense of visiting lunatics. The act extends to England and Wales, and to Ireland where the same is specifically mentioned, § 4; and took effect from the 28th Oct. 1853, § 5.

We will now consider, more in detail and in their order, some of the principal alterations effected by this statute.

The act recites that it would greatly facilitate the simplification and improvement of the practice in lunacy, and would be attended with convenience, and with a saving of expense to the estates of lunatics, that the charges incident to the administration of the estates of lunatics under the authority of the Lord Chancellor, should be defrayed in part by means of a percentage, graduated in an equitable manner as between the richer and poorer estates, and in part by means of fees on proceedings; and by § 26 it is enacted, that a percentage on the clear annual incomes of all lunatics shall be paid according to the following rates:—

The rate of four per centum for each clear annual income amounting to 100*l.* and not amounting to 1000*l.*, but so that no larger sum be payable in any such case, in any one year, than 30*l.*;

The rate of three per centum for each clear annual income amounting to 1000*l.*, and not amounting to 5000*l.*, but so that no larger sum be payable in any such case, in any one year, than 100*l.*; and

The rate of two per centum for each clear annual income amounting

\* 123 Hansard, 181.

† The Lords Justices of the Court of Appeal in Chancery, under warrant from the Crown, have concurrent jurisdiction with the Lord Chancellor in Lunacy.



to 5000*l.* or upwards, but so that no larger sum be payable in any such case, in any one year, than 200*l.*

And by § 29, all fees heretofore payable in relation to proceedings in lunacy are abolished, and in lieu thereof the following fees only are to be paid:—

For each order or fiat of the Lord Chancellor . . . . . 2*l.*

For each report or certificate of the Masters and Taxing

Masters . . . . . 1*l.*

For attending any court by the Clerk, per diem . . . . . 1*l.*

And instead of the exorbitant charges for copies, &c., the charge for all engrossments, transcripts, and copies of documents and papers will be the actual amount paid to the stationer. But by § 30, the Lord Chancellor has power to vary the rates of percentage, so that they do not exceed the rates fixed by § 26; and he may also vary the fees. The percentage and fees are collected by means of stamps, under the provisions of the 15 and 16 Vict. c. 87, § 6—13 (§ 31); and by § 32 the Lord Chancellor may, if he think fit, exempt small properties not exceeding 700*l.* in respect of corpus, or 50*l.* per annum in respect of income, from payment of fees and percentage; though it may be observed, that § 26, which regulates the percentage, does not authorize the payment of any percentage on incomes less than 100*l.*

The principle of levying a percentage for defraying the expenses of administering the estates of lunatics is only just, and we are glad to find it at length adopted. The fees, now so few and of such small amount, even with the addition of the percentage, will no longer be a burden on small estates. If it is right that there should be any tax on the administration of justice, it is only reasonable that the amount levied should bear some relation to the value of the subject matter in suit or under administration; and here it cannot be said that the rich estate is unfairly made to bear the expense of administering the poor estate, for 200*l.* is the largest amount of percentage that can be paid in any one year for any estate, and that only on an income of 10,000*l.* or upwards.\*

With respect to the commission and inquisition, very considerable alterations are made by § 38—54. In lieu of the commission heretofore issued specially in each case of alleged lunacy, a general commission has been issued under the great seal, directed to the Masters in Lunacy, who, under its authority, proceed in each case of alleged lunacy, concerning which the Lord Chancellor directs them to inquire,

\* The late Lord Truro stated in the House of Lords, "that there are 497 lunatics' estates under the jurisdiction of the great seal. The aggregate income of those estates is £317,493. Of those

100 are under £100 a-year.

112   "   200   "

57   "   300   "

46   "   400   "

30   "   500   "

31   "   600   "

13   "   700   "

16   "   800   "

23   "   1000   "

27 are under £1500 a-year.

7   "   2000   "

14   "   3000   "

9   "   4000   "

4   "   5000   "

3   "   6000   "

2   "   7000   "

3 upwards of 7000 a-year."

§ 39. Where the alleged lunatic is within the jurisdiction, he has notice of the presentation of the petition for inquiry, and he may, by notice signed by him, demand an inquiry before a jury, § 40;\* upon which the Lord Chancellor, by his order for inquiry, directs the return of a jury, unless he be satisfied, by personal examination of the alleged lunatic, that he is not mentally competent to form and express a wish for an inquiry before a jury, for which purpose the Lord Chancellor may, where he deems it necessary, require the alleged lunatic to attend him, § 41; but where he does not demand an inquiry before a jury, or the Lord Chancellor is satisfied by personal examination of him that he is not mentally competent to form and express a wish for a jury, and it appears to the Lord Chancellor upon consideration of the evidence adduced before him on the petition for inquiry, and of the circumstances of the case, so far as they are before him, to be unnecessary or inexpedient that the inquiry should be before a jury, and he accordingly does not in his order for inquiry direct the return of a jury, then the Masters, by virtue of their general commission and under the order for inquiry, without a jury, personally examine the alleged lunatic, and take such evidence, upon oath or otherwise, and call for such information as they may think fit or the Lord Chancellor may direct, in order to ascertain whether or not the alleged lunatic is of unsound mind, and certify their finding thereon, § 42; and the Master's certificate as to the state of mind of the alleged lunatic is to be deemed an inquisition, and is to be of the same force and effect to all intents and purposes, and is to be returned, filed, and proceeded on in the same manner in all respects as an inquisition taken upon the oath of a jury, § 44.

This is an important change, and may be objected to by those who would allow no substitute for trial by jury; but its object is to meet cases of obvious insanity. Lord St. Leonards said he "agreed with Lord Lyndhurst that it would be undesirable to abolish altogether trial by jury in cases of disputed lunacy—to say that they would take away the liberty and estate of the subject without the benefit of a jury was quite impossible; but this he thought was perfectly clear, that there were a great many cases where there was no question as to the insanity, in which such a trial was an idle waste of money, at the expense of the lunatic himself whom you were seeking to protect. You protected him by this trial indeed, but it was at the expense of his property; and you left him without the means of maintenance by a measure which was not of the slightest benefit to him. This was especially true as regarded lunatics possessed of small property."† But section 43 will no doubt afford the public every necessary protection. It is thereby enacted that when the Lord Chancellor does not in his order for inquiry direct the return of a jury, but the Masters acting under the commission, upon consideration of the evidence before them, certify to the Lord Chancellor that in their opinion an inquiry before a jury is expedient, they are without further order to issue their precept to the sheriff, and to proceed in all respects as if the Lord Chancellor had directed the return of a jury in the first instance. We may well

\* See Forms of Notices, General Orders in Lunacy, of 7th November, 1853. Nos. 8 and 10.

† 120 Hansard, 360.



suppose that the Masters, if only for their own protection, will under this provision always call for a jury in a doubtful case.

The inquiry, whether with or without a jury, is confined to the question whether or not the alleged lunatic is of unsound mind, and incapable of managing himself or his affairs at the time of the inquiry, except where the Lord Chancellor, under special circumstances, directs that there should be an inquiry from what time the alleged lunatic has been of unsound mind and incapable of managing himself or his affairs, or directs that there should be an inquiry whether or not the alleged lunatic was of unsound mind and incapable of managing himself and his affairs, at a previous time specified, and thenceforth down to the time of the inquiry, § 47. Lord Lyndhurst pointed out that no advantage was derived from carrying back the inquiry, and that it must often unavoidably lead to enormous expense;\* and Lord St. Leonards said, "a large expense is now incurred by the inquiry at what time the party first became of unsound mind. The result of the inquiry on this point is in nine times out of ten of no value at all."†

Where the alleged lunatic resides out of the jurisdiction, the inquiry is to be before a jury, and "no further or other notice shall be necessary to be given to him than he would have been entitled to receive if this act had not been passed," § 45. With regard to notice, it has been said that the inquisition is an *ex parte* proceeding, and that therefore the alleged lunatic is not entitled to any notice, but in *ex parte* Cramer, a lunatic,‡ Lord Erskine said that "the party certainly must be present at the execution of the commission; it is his privilege." If this dictum be correct, it would seem that in ordinary cases, unless notice were given, the inquisition might be quashed. It very rarely happens that an inquiry takes place as to the lunacy of a person out of the jurisdiction.

The Lord Chancellor may from time to time, by order, regulate the number of jurors to be sworn, but so that every inquisition upon the oath of a jury be found by the oaths of twelve men at the least, § 46. The person executing an inquiry with a jury, while so employed, is to have all the like powers, authorities, and discretions as a judge of a court of record, § 48. The Lord Chancellor may still issue a commission specially, or may issue a commission directed to any person or persons in addition to the Masters in Lunacy, or one of them, if he shall upon any occasion deem it proper to do so, § 50.

Under the provisions of the statute 8 and 9 Vict., c. 100, § 94 and 95, if the Commissioners in Lunacy reported to the Lord Chancellor that they had reason to suppose that the property of any person detained as a lunatic was not duly protected, or that the income was not duly applied for his maintenance; or when any person had been detained as a lunatic for twelve months upon an order and certificates, the Lord Chancellor might direct that one of the Masters in Lunacy should personally examine such person, and take evidence, and report whether he was a lunatic; and on the Master reporting that such person was a lunatic, the Lord Chancellor might appoint a guardian of his person and a receiver of his estate, and might direct his income to be

\* 120 Hansard, 352.

† 123 Hansard, 184.

‡ 12 Ves. 445.



applied for his maintenance. But the proceedings under these provisions being less effectual for the protection of a lunatic and the management of his estate than proceedings under a commission, they have been discontinued by § 53 of the recent act; and now, by § 54, on the Commissioners in Lunacy reporting that the property of a person alleged to be a lunatic, or detained as such, but not found so by inquisition, is unprotected, or the income is not duly applied for his benefit, the Lord Chancellor may direct an inquiry, which is to be conducted in like manner as if a petition for an inquiry had been presented. It is well to have uniformity of procedure, especially as the expenses will be so much diminished by this act.

Many of the provisions included in § 55—97, regulating the proceedings after the inquisition, are new. Under § 59, where an affidavit is required for verifying all or some of the statements contained in a petition, state of facts, proposal, or other document, the affidavit may be annexed or underwritten thereto in the short form given in the third schedule, with such variations as the circumstances may require; and where the Taxing Master is of opinion that the form is applicable, the costs of such an affidavit only are to be allowed. This affidavit is to be made by the petitioner or other person bringing in the document, and is to be to the effect that so much thereof as relates to his own acts and deeds is true, and so much thereof as relates to the acts and deeds of any and every other person he believes to be true. This appears to be a very loose mode of taking evidence, but experience will show how far it can be made to answer.

The Masters in Lunacy instead of the Attorney-General now approve of the security to be given by the committee of the estate, § 62; and the approved committee may be permitted to transfer stock or pay money into court, instead of entering into a bond or recognizance with sureties, § 64.

Sec. 63 directs that the grant of custody be dispensed with, if her Majesty shall think fit to authorize the Lord Chancellor to make orders for the custody of the persons and estates of lunatics, without requiring a grant to pass under the great seal; and any such order will (as to the custody of the person immediately, and as to the custody of the estate upon the Master's certificate of completion of the committee's security) have the same force and validity as a grant under the great seal. The appointment of committees is now made by order instead of a grant under the great seal. Where several persons are appointed joint committees, the grant or order of custody may be extended so that, on the death or discharge of one or more of the committees, the others may continue to act without a fresh grant or order, § 66.

The Masters may receive and deliver out deeds or securities belonging to the lunatic, and authorize the payment or transfer into court of money or stock belonging to the lunatic, § 65.

The Masters may, without any order of reference, receive any proposal, and conduct any inquiry relating to the person or estate of the lunatic, and report thereon whenever they are of opinion that if application were made to the Lord Chancellor concerning the same, a reference would be made to the Masters, § 70; and this provision is ex-

tended by the general order, No. 14, so as to embrace any inquiry affecting the lunatic's property.

Subsequent sections provide for objections made by parties attending before the Master, and the allowance of the costs of such proceedings. Sections 75—81 relate to inquiries as to next of kin, dispensing with or limiting such inquiry when it may be inexpedient, and regulating their attendance on the proceedings; and by § 82 the Master may appoint a guardian to infant next of kin, for the purposes of the lunacy. The Masters may direct the time at which any proceeding shall be taken or continued before them, § 86; inquire into delays, § 87; and disallow unnecessary costs, § 88.

Sections 90—97 regulate the form and confirmation of reports. Objections to the report must be submitted to the Master in writing, and if insisted on after being disallowed, they must be brought forward in opposition to the confirmation of the report without petition; where there are no objections, or they are abandoned, the report is to be submitted to the Lord Chancellor for confirmation, without petition, and without the attendance of parties, unless the Master shall otherwise direct; and when submitted without petition, the report must contain the directions consequential on its confirmation, and the fiat of the Lord Chancellor on the report will give it the operation of an order.

This is not following the principle of the Joint-Stock Companies Winding-up Acts and the Irish Chancery Acts, as was suggested by Lord Lyndhurst; namely, that instead of the Master making a report (requiring the confirmation of the Lord Chancellor), he should in the first instance make the order, which should be binding and conclusive on all parties, if not appealed from to the Lord Chancellor within a given time. It may well be doubted whether the plan adopted will work satisfactorily in the case of reports to be submitted to the Lord Chancellor for confirmation without petition and without the attendance of the parties. It is desirable to save unnecessary expense, but it is more important that the business should be efficiently performed. Either the confirmation of the report by the judge will be a mere form, or he must have before him and read all the evidence upon which the report was made, and even then he would be in a worse position than the Master, for he would be without the assistance afforded by the attendance of the parties whose knowledge of the facts and circumstances under consideration must be of material aid in the decision of the particular matter in question. So that, if the system of reports is to be adhered to, the reports should still go to the Court on petition; for if the judge is to go through all the evidence, as he must do if the parties are not to attend him, he might as well dispense with the report, and himself make the order in the first instance. But experience will show whether this part of the new practice will work. In any case, we should prefer seeing the Masters working out the matters before them by orders subject to any proper power of appeal; it is a waste of judicial strength to let two officers be engaged in the work of one.

Reports are to be brought before the Lord Chancellor for con-



firmation by petition in each of the several cases specified in § 97. Orders are regulated by § 98—103. The visiting of Chancery lunatics is regulated by § 104—107.

Many of the provisions contained in § 108—147, relating to the management and administration of the estates of lunatics, are re-enacted from the statutes 11 Geo. 4 and 1 Wm. 4, c. 65, as to the admittance of lunatics to copyholds and payment of fines; the surrender of leases to which the lunatic is entitled, and acceptance of new leases; the sale, mortgage, or leasing of the lunatic's property; the transfer of stock, &c.; but there are also several new enactments of great importance. The powers conferred upon the Lord Chancellor by the 11 Geo. 4 and 1 Wm. 4, c. 65, as to the sale or mortgage of the lunatic's property for his benefit were very limited, and these powers were only slightly extended by the statute 15 and 16 Vict., c. 48 (an Act for the amendment of the law respecting the property of lunatics); but now, by the present act (§ 116 and following sections), the Lord Chancellor has almost absolute power over the lunatic's real as well as personal estate, whether in possession or in expectancy: by § 116, where it appears to the Lord Chancellor to be just and reasonable, or for the lunatic's benefit, he may order that any estate or interest of the lunatic in land or stock, either in possession, reversion, remainder, contingency, or expectancy, be sold or charged by way of mortgage, or otherwise disposed of, as may to him seem most expedient, for the purpose of raising money to be applied, and may accordingly order that the money when raised be applied, for or towards all or any of the purposes following:—

1. The payment of the lunatic's debts or engagements;
2. The discharge of any incumbrance on his estates;
3. The payment of any debt or expenditure incurred or made after inquisition, or authorized by the Lord Chancellor to be incurred or made for the lunatic's maintenance, or otherwise for his benefit;
4. The payment of or provision for the expenses of his future maintenance;
5. The payment of the costs of applying for, obtaining, and executing the inquiry, and of opposing the same;
6. The payment of the costs of any proceeding under or consequent on the inquisition, or incurred under the order of the Lord Chancellor; and
7. The payment of the costs of any such sale, mortgage, charge, or other disposition as is thereby authorized to be made.

Where the net amount or estimated value of the property of a lunatic does not exceed 500*l.*, and it appears to be expedient that the same should be made available for his maintenance in a direct and inexpensive manner, and that it can be safely and properly done, the Lord Chancellor may, instead of proceeding to order a grant of the custody of the estate, order the property to be realized and paid to a relative of the lunatic, or such other person as he may think proper, to be by him applied for the maintenance of the lunatic at his discretion, or as the Lord Chancellor may direct, § 120. This appears to be an admirable



provision; indeed, some proceeding of this description is really the only way of giving a lunatic possessed of small property the means of enjoying it, provided the Lord Chancellor's order be made in a *summary* mode without an *expensive* inquiry in the first instance as to the lunacy and other matters. The costs of ordinary proceedings would almost swallow it up. The following section (§ 121) also contains a useful provision: when there is reason to believe that the unsoundness of mind of any lunatic found so by inquisition is in its nature temporary, and will probably be soon removed, and it is expedient that *temporary* provision should be made for his maintenance or the maintenance of his family, and he has a sum of ready money available for the purpose, the Lord Chancellor may authorize its application for the temporary maintenance of the lunatic and his family.

The provisions of § 123 and 124 will save much expense in the cases to which they are applicable. Where a member of a co-partnership firm becomes lunatic, instead of the expensive process of a Chancery suit being necessary for winding-up the affairs of the partnership, it may now be dissolved, and the property may be disposed of under the order of the Lord Chancellor (§ 123). By § 124, where a lunatic is seised of or entitled to an undivided share of land, and it would be for his benefit or expedient that there should be a sale or partition, or where an exchange of the lunatic's land would be beneficial or expedient, the same may be effected under the order of the Lord Chancellor, instead of a special act of parliament being necessary to effectuate the object. This will be of great importance in the management of lunatics' estates; and it will also remove a cause of great hardship to those who are interested in real estate jointly with a lunatic. Sections 129—135 regulate the granting of leases, and confer new powers as to leases by lunatics having a limited estate in land and leases of mines.\* Much inconvenience has arisen from the inability of a committee to execute a power vested in a lunatic either for his own benefit or for the benefit of others. This is now remedied by § 136, 137, 138, under which the Lord Chancellor may authorize the committee to execute a power vested in the lunatic for his own benefit, § 136; or a power vested in the lunatic in the character of a trustee or guardian, § 137; and where a committee under the foregoing provisions exercises, in the name of the lunatic, a power of appointing new trustees vested in the lunatic, the trustee so appointed will have the same rights and powers as he would have had if appointed by the Court of Chancery under the Trustee Act, or by decree in a suit, § 138.

With respect to the traverse of the inquisition, the provisions of the 6 Geo. 4, c. 53, are in substance re-enacted in § 148—151 of the new act, and the only new provision appears to be that "no person shall be admitted to traverse oftener than once," § 150; under this section the Lord Chancellor still has power to direct one or more new trials if he should be dissatisfied with the verdict returned upon a traverse. No alteration is made in the law as to the right of the person found

\* By the 18th Vict. c. 13, "An Act to explain and amend the Lunacy Regulation Act, 1853," extended powers of granting leases, &c., are conferred upon tenants-in-tail.

lunatic to traverse the inquisition, so that the law on this point remains as it was settled in *re Cumming*.\* Lord Hardwicke† and Lord Thurlow‡ were of opinion that the traverse was not matter of right; but Lord Rosslyn,§ Lord Eldon,|| Lord Cottenham,¶ and Lord Truro\*\* held that the traverse was a matter of right. In *re Cumming* the question came before Lord St. Leonards and the Lords Justices Knight Bruce and Lord Cranworth in full court, and they were unanimously of opinion that the traverse was a matter of right, subject to such a control over the matter by the Court as may be necessary for the protection of the person and estate of the alleged lunatic; as, for instance, the ascertaining that the application is *bonâ fide*, and that the alleged lunatic, where he is the person applying, is competent to judge of what he is doing, and is really desirous that the traverse should issue. It was stated in this case that there did not appear to be any instance in which the traverse had been refused when applied for by the lunatic himself.

Both Lord Lyndhurst†† and Lord Campbell‡‡ were of opinion that the traverse should not be allowed as of right, and Lord Truro proposed to meet the point by having the question of lunacy, when disputed, tried in the first instance before the judge at the assizes. But, of course, in this latter case there would be the right to grant a new trial if, in the opinion of the judge before whom the issue was tried, or in the opinion of the Lord Chancellor, there were grounds for a new trial. Lord Truro stated that, during the last forty years there had not been a single instance of the verdict upon the trial of the traverse being contrary to the verdict upon the inquisition.§§

It is provided by § 152 that when any person has been found of unsound mind by inquisition, but the question of unsoundness of mind is disputed, and liberty to traverse has been applied for, and whether granted or not, and it appears to the Lord Chancellor to be for the lunatic's benefit, and also expedient that the inquisition should be superseded on terms and conditions, and subject to an arrangement respecting the lunatic's estate, he may, upon the consent of the lunatic and of the person entitled or claiming to traverse, and of such persons, if any, whose consent he may deem necessary, order the inquisition to be superseded on such terms and conditions to be fulfilled by the lunatic or such other person, and subject to such arrangement respecting the lunatic's estate, as he may under the circumstances of the case think proper, and may by the same or any other order direct the lunatic and any other persons, being consenting parties to the arrangement, to do such acts as may seem necessary or proper for securing the fulfilment of such terms and conditions and the completion of such arrangement.

By § 153 the Lord Chancellor, with the advice and assistance of the

\* De Gex, M. and G. 537.

† Ex parte Roberts, 3 Atk. 5.

‡ In re Fust, 1 Cox, 418.

§ Ex parte Wragg, 5 Ves. 450; and ex parte Ferne, 5 Ves. 832.

|| Ex parte Ward, 6 Ves. 579.

¶ In re Bridge, Cr. and P. 338.

\*\* 1 De Gex, M. and G. 541, 551.

†† 120 Hansard, 358.

‡‡ 126 Hansard, 903.

§§ 120 Hansard, 364.



Lords Justices, is empowered to make general orders for carrying into effect the provisions of the act, and regulating the form and mode of proceeding and the practice in lunacy. Under this provision general orders, 56 in number, were issued on the 7th November, 1853, whereby the previous general orders of the 27th October, 1842, and 15th April, 1844, are discharged. Orders 7—10 regulate the notice to be given to an alleged lunatic of the petition for inquiry; and he may within seven days after such notice demand that the inquiry be had before a jury. By other orders the jurisdiction of the Masters in Lunacy is extended; and for the purpose of saving repetition in orders in lunacy that may from time to time be made, of directions usually inserted therein, many of such usual directions are embodied in the new general orders, 34 to 56.

A glance at the 153 sections of the New Lunacy Regulation Act, and the 56 General Orders issued under its authority, would show that they effect many and valuable improvements both in the law and the practice, and we feel bound to express our sense of the great praise which is due to Lord St. Leonards for the valuable improvements he has been able to effect in this branch of the law. The dispensing with the special commission in each case, and the jury in certain cases,\* the abolition of the grant, and the enlarged jurisdiction of the Masters, considerably reduces the expense of proceedings; the abolition of nearly all fees, and the substitution of a graduated percentage upon the incomes of lunatics, is also a great relief to small estates; and as regards the amount of percentage paid on the large incomes, it will practically be an *ad valorem* payment, not for the administration of justice, but for administering the lunatic's property. The extension of the Lord Chancellor's power of dealing with the lunatic's real estate, as well as his property generally, is also highly important, and many other minor changes are valuable; but at the same time we think that the practice may be simplified to a much greater extent, and the expense so reduced as to allow the property of every case of a chronic and incurable lunatic, who has property in his own right, and is not merely dependent upon eleemosynary support of relatives or friends, to be brought within the jurisdiction of the Lord Chancellor, and under his authority, so that his property may be legally administered for his benefit. We think something similar to Lord Lyndhurst's bill would be a decided improvement on the recent act. Instead of reports requiring an order to give it operation, orders would be made at once, which would not only lead to a further saving of expense, but also to increased expedition in the despatch of business. There would be the right of appeal whenever it was desired. The matters requiring the decision of the Master or the Judge are generally not points of law, they are administrative matters, no doubt involving points of delicacy and importance; but all that is necessary is to obtain the consideration by a person of competent experience and authority, and his direction for carrying into

\* The friends of lunatics have often been most reluctant to resort to legal proceedings, owing to the painful exposure of a public exhibition of their relative before a jury. The privacy with which an ordinary inquiry is now conducted may well be included among the great benefits conferred by this Act,



effect, according to law and the rules of the court, the wishes and suggestions of the family and friends of a lunatic, with regard to his care and the management of his property.

We subjoin the principal clauses of Lord Lyndhurst's bill :—

SECT. I.—After inquisition found, it shall be lawful for the Masters in Lunacy to conduct all such inquiries, as to the care, custody, and management of the person and property, and to make such orders relating thereto, and for payment of money into court, or for sale or mortgage of real or personal estates, or for leases of real estate, and generally to make such orders, and give such directions in relation to the persons and properties of lunatics, as may from time to time seem to such Masters necessary and proper; and for the purposes aforesaid the Masters shall have (subject to the restrictions and regulations herein provided) the same jurisdiction, authority, and discretion, and the same power to make orders, and otherwise to act in and about the matter, as the Lord Chancellor or the Masters in Lunacy could have exercised or done in relation thereto, according to the ordinary practice of the Lord Chancellor in lunacy: Provided always, that it shall be lawful for the Lord Chancellor, if he shall see fit, by order, to direct that the matter of any person found lunatic by inquisition shall be excepted from the provisions of this Act, so far as they give the said Masters the same jurisdiction, authority, and discretion as the Lord Chancellor, and the same power to make orders, and otherwise to act in and about such matter, and that thereupon the proceedings relating to such matter shall be conducted according to the ordinary practice in matters in lunacy before the passing of this Act.

SECT. II.—No order of the Masters under this Act shall require confirmation, except when such order is made subject to the opinion of the court, or is a special report, as hereinafter provided, but every such order shall have the same authority and effect, and shall be binding on the same persons, companies, and bodies, and may be enforced by the same, or any such process, as if the same had been made by the Lord Chancellor, or as may be directed by any general orders to be made in that behalf as hereinafter directed.

SECT. III.—The Masters shall have power, if they think fit, to make a special report in any matter in which they shall proceed under the authority of this Act, or upon any question or matter arising in the proceedings thereupon, or to make any order, subject to the opinion of the court, to the intent that the opinion of the court may be taken on the subject of such order, and such special report or order shall be brought before the Lord Chancellor upon motion; and on the hearing, such report or order respectively of the Master shall be confirmed, discharged, or varied, or such directions shall be given as to the Lord Chancellor may seem just.

SECT. V.—An appeal shall lie to the Lord Chancellor, upon motion, from or against all orders, directions, and other proceedings of or before the Masters under this Act; provided that such appeal shall be made within fourteen days from the time when such order, direction, or other proceeding shall be made or taken, or such further time as the Masters shall by order made in the matter allow.

## IMPORTANT MEDICO-LEGAL TRIAL—THE PLEA OF INSANITY.

ROBERT HANCOCK (41, N) was indicted for the murder of his wife, at Northam, in August last, and was tried at the Winter Assizes, Dec. 15, 1855. The prisoner, on appearing at the bar, was visibly affected, and on the charge being read, sobbed bitterly, and was scarcely able to utter "Not Guilty."

The prisoner is a mild-looking man, of the labouring class. He is about 40 years of age, and has light hair and whiskers. He was attired in a fustian jacket and dark trowsers. Throughout the trial, he was often affected to tears, and his restless eye and perturbed manner showed the anxious feelings which were working within him.

Mr. Karslake and Mr. Bere prosecuted; and Mr. Cox defended the prisoner.

Mr. KARSLAKE, addressing the jury, said the investigation upon which they were about to enter was one which demanded their very serious attention. The charge against the prisoner at the bar was no less a charge than that of murder upon the person of his wife. He (the learned counsel) was glad that they (the jury) had been chosen from a part of the county far removed from that in which the occurrence took place, because he would not have them brought into the jury-box in any way prejudiced by anything they had heard outside this court; and if any of them had preconceived, or prejudged, he hoped they would dismiss all such prejudices from their minds, and listen only to the evidence which would be laid before them. Having said this much, he thought he would best discharge his duty by detailing the particular acts and particular circumstances which took place prior to the decease of the unfortunate woman as to whose death it was their duty to inquire. Robert Hancock, the prisoner, had been married to his wife more than twenty years. There were two children by the marriage, but neither of the children were living with Hancock at the time of the death of the wife. He and his wife were living together at a small cottage at Northam, near Appledore, a town or village situated upon the sea, at the mouth of the estuaries of the rivers Torridge and Taw. He believed that for about seventeen years the prisoner and his wife had been living at Northam, and during the greater part of that time they lived in peace and harmony, and behaved to each other as man and wife ought to do. But for some little time before the dreadful occurrence, which took place on the 1st of August last, bickerings and quarrels existed between man and wife, the result, in a great measure, of a jealous feeling entertained by the prisoner toward his wife, which was constantly showing itself in observations, revilings, and quarrels which took place. He (the learned counsel) did not know whether the prisoner had any cause of jealousy or not, but certain it was, from many observations they would hear detailed, that he had frequently charged her with having been too intimate with a man named Punchard, and she, he regretted to say, did not give that contradiction to the charge which was made against her which she ought, but rather fostered the charge, and represented herself, at all events, as having been intimate with Punchard. At home this was a constant cause of irritation, and a constant quarrel; and at last, on the 1st of August, that dreadful occurrence took place which formed the subject, or rather, which had led to the investigation which they were now to enter upon. It seemed—and without going into the quarrels specifically, he would take up the case as regarded the facts of it, upon the 1st of August, the day on which the unfortunate woman was killed,—that about three o'clock in the afternoon of that day, the prisoner was with his wife in the house of a woman named Hele, and while there, one of those violent quarrels took place



between them, and expressions were used by the prisoner towards his wife which he would not repeat, but leave to the witness Hele. The prisoner was one of the labouring class, and his wife also had been in the habit of labouring in the fields: and during what was called the lime season, the time of year at which vessels from the coast of Wales came to Appledore with lime, both of them were frequently in the habit of working, heaving limestone, that was, discharging it from the vessels. The quarrel which, as he told them, took place on the afternoon of Wednesday, the 1st of August, appeared to have been to a certain extent, indeed very considerably, quieted up between the man and wife, and on the evening of that day they both proceeded to Appledore, for the purpose of getting a job at lime heaving. It appeared that when they got there, there were a sufficient number of persons already engaged, and in consequence they could not obtain any work upon that occasion. It appeared that the prisoner and his wife came home together as far as Northam. They came home in company, and, as witnesses who would be called before them would tell them, apparently at that time on good terms, the prisoner doing some little act of civility to his wife, in carrying a bundle of rough clothes which she had taken with her to put on in prospect of getting work at lime heaving. They were then in company, and they were never seen together again; and the wife was never seen alive after that time. About nine o'clock on the same evening, the prisoner was seen to light his pipe at the house of a woman named Jane Saltern, at Northam, and at eleven o'clock he was seen going in the direction from his house, in a lane called Back Lane, in the village of Northam. The prisoner was not seen again till two days afterwards. On the morning of the following day, Thursday, the 2nd of August, some suspicions being entertained, in consequence of a child which had been taken in to nurse being heard to cry in the house of the prisoner, the woman, Jane Saltern, opened the up-stair room in the house, and she there found upon the bed the body of Phillippa Hancock, dead. In company with others, examination was made of the person of Phillippa Hancock, and very shortly afterwards, it was found that beyond all doubt death was caused by a most severe blow inflicted upon the left temple and the throat being cut. The pillow and bed-clothes were covered with blood. The hammer by which this deed was committed was lying upon the pillow, and there could be no question whatever in this case that the wounds which appeared on the unfortunate woman's person were not self-inflicted, but feloniously inflicted upon her. Search was made for the prisoner, who was not in the house, and he was not found during the next day, but on the morning of the following day, Friday, the 3rd of August, he was seen in a tallet, which the jury would know was a loft above a stable. He went from there, and went across some fields, and afterwards gave himself up to a man named Dennis, his brother-in-law, who was seeking for him in the village of Appledore. He (the learned counsel) had told them the facts which would be presented before them in this case by witnesses, and it would be material for them to listen attentively to these facts, because, in all probability, they would raise a very strong presumption that the hand which committed the act upon the person of Phillippa Hancock was the hand of the prisoner at the bar, and the more so when he told them that he gave up a razor, which, no doubt, was such an instrument as caused the wound in the throat, to Dennis and the constable. There was some blood upon the hammer found on the pillow, and blood upon the blade of the razor. He (the learned counsel) had stated to them what would be spoken to by witnesses who had knowledge of the facts of the case, and probably it would be better that he should not detain them by statements made by the prisoner subsequently, as they would be laid before them by the witnesses to whom they were made. They would find by these statements the fullest admission of the fact that by his hand that murder was committed, and that it was committed first by



blows from a hammer, and afterwards by the throat being cut by the razor. These were the facts which would be laid before them, and he believed they must bring it home to the prisoner as the man who murdered his wife. His friend Mr. Cox was for the defence, and he was at a loss to understand what defence he should make, but he (the learned counsel) would have an opportunity, if he called witnesses for the defence, of again addressing them on the facts. The learned counsel then called the following evidence:—

*June Saltern*—I am the wife of Henry Saltern, and live at Northam. I know Robert Hancock, the prisoner, and I knew his wife. They lived at Northam, near me. I have lived in the village all the days of my life, and the prisoner and his wife have lived there 16 or 17 years. I remember Wednesday, the 1st of August last. Prisoner came to my house at nine o'clock that night to light his pipe. I lived next door to him. I was called by Mary Bere on the following morning, and I went to Hancock's house—the door was unlocked, and I went in. I saw the prisoner's shoes and his wife's shoes at the bottom of the stairs, and then I went to the foot of the stairs and called upon them both. There was no answer.

By the JUDGE—A little child, about three years of age, lived in the same house with the prisoner and his wife, and no one else.

*Examination continued*—I then went up stairs, and saw the deceased, Phillipa Hancock, lying on her right side on the bed. I saw the marks of a blow on the side of her head. She had a cap on, and there was blood on the left side of her head. I was so frightened that I ran downstairs and hollaoed "murder." This was about half-past one o'clock in the day. I saw George Labbitt, and said to him—"Phillipa Hancock is murdered." Before this the prisoner used to throw-up (or accuse) to her, Punchard, and threaten her life. He was a mason, and living at Northam. The prisoner and his wife had been next-door neighbours to me about six months, and during that time there had been frequent quarrels between them. I have heard the prisoner say he would murder her; he said so in my house, and in the presence of his wife, about a week before the 1st of August, when the crime was committed. I heard him say that he should not be easy until he had killed her, and he would then kill himself afterwards. I never saw him in a passion in my life; it always seemed as if there was something out of the way with him.

His LORDSHIP—What do you mean by that?

*Witness*—I think there was something the matter more than common, because he put out such naughty words.

Mr. BERE—To whom did he use these words?

*Witness*—To his wife. I cannot repeat what he said—they were bad words such as I would not use.

His LORDSHIP—Were they unchaste words, imputing to her that she was a bad woman?

*Witness*—Yes, sir; that's what he meant, with William Punchard.

His LORDSHIP—Did he use coarse and vulgar expressions?

*Witness*—Bad words. He seemed not to be in a passion, but spoke them as if he meant what he said.

*Cross-examined*—She had known him for many years; and it was about two years ago that she heard he was in the habit of using these words. She only heard them from about six months ago. She did not know he was so bad before that—it was different from what she had ever heard of him. He was always very kind except in this matter with his wife. Punchard lived at the head of the street, not many yards from the prisoner's house. I have heard other people use hard words, but they were not like the way he did it. From the odd way in which he did it, I thought there was something wrong about it.

By the JUDGE—I did not think he was in his right mind in using such bad words to his wife.

His LORDSHIP—Do you mean to say that you thought he was under a mistake and from his mind being wrong he imagined these things?

*Witness*—I thought there was something more than common about him and I was struck with his making these charges against his wife. I thought he was bringing a false charge against her. I did not think there was any truth in it, nor that there was any cause for his jealousy. I was on intimate terms with his wife, and never saw anything going on wrong. I never saw Punchard go into the house, nor never saw anything going on wrong between him and deceased.

*Re-examined*—I had heard deceased say to prisoner, "Why should you throw it up to me, when I bain't deserving of it." At one time, and before this happened, Punchard lived in a house next but one to the prisoner, and after that prisoner's wife came to live next door to me. I have seen prisoner, deceased, and Punchard together. These were the only times I ever heard prisoner use bad words when he was accusing his wife.

*George Labbitt*—In August last I lived near Hancock—two houses and a garden separated us. I had known prisoner and his wife about seven years. I remember being told by Jane Saltern of something having occurred. This was about half-past one o'clock. I went to Hancock's house, which consists of three rooms, two up stairs and one down. I went up stairs, and saw the deceased lying on the bed on the floor; there was no bedstead. She was lying on her right side; her legs were across, and one leg was partly uncovered. The bed clothes covered the top of her person. I saw blood on the side of her head and the strings of the cap were saturated with blood. Her right arm extended across the bed. A hammer lay on the pillow by the side of her head. There was no razor; I did not look for any. The deceased was lying as though she was perfectly composed—her left arm being across her stomach. I did not examine her wounds; Philip Dennis came before I left. I went down stairs and brought Willis with me, and I then left the body, which was quite cold and stiff. Dr. Pridham came to the house whilst I was away. I was absent for a quarter of an hour and when I returned there were several persons there, among them being Dr. Pratt and his son. The latter handed the hammer to his father, which was the same as I had previously seen. I put a screw over the latch, so that the door could not be opened without removing the screw, and the hammer was left in the room. The prisoner was not in the house on the day in question. I made search for him about the outskirts of Northam, but could not find him. I have heard the prisoner and his wife quarrelling as I passed the door, but nothing more.

*Cross-examined*—It was lately that I heard them quarrelling, since they removed to the house next to the first witness.

*Philip Dennis*—Philippa Hancock was my sister. I heard from Jane Saltern, about half-past one o'clock on the 1st of August, of her being dead. When I went to the house, many people were in the bed-room. I saw my sister lying in a pool of blood, with the hammer on the pillow by her forehead. It was a large hammer. Mr. Pridham, surgeon, came afterwards, and he sent for Mr. Pratt. I came away with the rest of the people, when the door was screwed up. There was a little child in the house, which my sister took care of, but it was not her child. My brother-in-law and sister had been married 20 years, and lived in Northam 17. They had two children, one 12, and the other 16. They both lived in service. Hancock was not in the house when I was there. I found the remains of raspberry pie on the table, with a cup of cream and two plates, just as they had been used, in the down-stairs room. I and others made inquiries for Hancock in the afternoon, but I could not find him. On the following Friday I was at work at Kuapp, a half a mile from Northam. I saw people going across a wheat-field, and saw a man going over a bank. I followed, and went in the direction I supposed him to have taken. I afterwards saw



Hancock; he came up to me from a ditch, out of a brake. Shortly after that, a man named Parkhouse came up, and I had some conversation with the prisoner. I said, "Oh! Robert, what have you done?" I did not hold out any threat to him. He said, "Oh! Philip, I have killed your sister." He then took hold of my hand, and said, "It is that rogue Punchard who has caused me to do it." [Here the prisoner, who had hitherto assumed an attitude of prayer, took a little book from his pocket, which appeared to be a Catechism, and commenced perusing it very devoutly.] I asked him what he had done it with, and he said he had done it with the hammer and the razor. I asked him where the razor was. He said, "I have it in my pocket; but I shall not give it to you, because it is bloody." I did not examine his pocket. This was said before I joined Parkhouse, and when the prisoner first came out from the brake. I asked him what time he had done it, and he said, "About half-past nine." I then saw Parkhouse and others assembling together in a field, and I and Hancock went up to them. I then repeated my question, before these persons, as to the time he committed the crime, and he told me half-past nine. We then all went on to Northam, where we met Braund, the constable, who took him into custody. Braund asked him why he had done it, and if he had a knife. Prisoner said he had no knife, and gave him up the razor. I saw the razor; there was some blood on it. I afterwards went to the lock-up, where Braund and the prisoner were. The latter was, I think, locking the door. I asked prisoner again what could possess him to do it. He said, "I can't tell you—I've a done it." I said, "What could have possessed you to do it, when you came from Appledore together in the presence of James Dymond, and appeared to be comfortable?" I added, "When you both ate supper together, which was raspberry pie." I said, "We found the pie and cream with it." Prisoner said, "Yes, there was some cream, for I fetched it myself. Then we ate supper together. I thought to go to bed comfortable, but she would not let me come into bed. I said to her, 'If you will not let me come into bed, I will go again.' I then went over to William Cleverdon's, and got a half an ounce of tobacco." Thomas Braund was then present, and said, "Cleverdon says it was on Thursday morning at nine o'clock that you had the tobacco." He said, "No; Thomas Cleverdon's mistaken; it was Wednesday night I had the tobacco. When I went in at the door, there was a little maid coming out with a loaf. William Cleverdon tended me with the tobacco himself. I filled my pipe in his own house. I went towards home, and lighted my pipe at Jane Saltern's. I smoked my pipe at the corner of the chapel, where I spoke to Thomas Harris. I smoked out my pipe, and went into my own house. I went up stairs to go to bed, and took the hammer and razor with me. I asked her then if I should come into bed, and her said, 'No, you shall not come into bed.'" I said to him I believed she was asleep. He said, "Her was not asleep." I believe he said, "I asked her the third time if I should come into bed: then I gave her a light knock on the head," but he did not say what with. Her cried out "Oh! Robert, don't hurt me." He said, "I fancied I saw a little blood there; I thought I might as well go through it as not. I rose my hand and struck her very lusty, and the blood gushed out. After that I threw the hammer directly down. Then I cut her throat—I thought I would put her out of misery as soon as I could. I remained in the house until about eleven," but he did not say whether he meant night or morning. He then said, "I left my house and went up Baek-lane. I met three men up at the corner of Burrough" (which is a farm-house near the Burroughs). I said, "Yes, Robert, if it's true, you were met there." "Then I went down towards Cleveland (which is a gentleman's house), and crossed over Thomas Bellem's field. I came out by Crosse's, and went down over Mr. Partridge's field, and came out again by Holywell. I crossed again over Mr. Partridge's field, and came towards Lewis' Hill. Then I intended to have come to see you, and tell you what I had done;



but my heart failed me, and I could not come to you. If I could have come to you, I should have cut my own throat. I went into Perkins' grass-field, and up over his turnip-field. Then I thought I could have come to you, but my heart failed me. Then I went into my own house, and lighted a candle. I went up stairs and looked at my wife, whom I had killed. [Here the prisoner laid down his book, put his handkerchief to his eyes, and wept bitterly.] Then I felt very sorry, but it was too late. I went down again, and blew out the candle. I closed the door, and left the house. I went into Mrs. Balsdon's house, and waited there for Mary Hele until her return from heaving limestone, for I wanted to tell her what I did want to tell you. I waited there to see her, to desire her to tell you to take care of the children. When Mary Hele came up, Thomas Wilkey was with her; and because he was with her, I couldn't tell her what I wanted to tell her. I left the court, and went down the road towards the barn, where Parkhouse saw me, and just as I came there I heard the clock strike two." Thomas Braund then said to prisoner, "You were at Appledore yesterday morning; John Tucker saw you there, with an umbrella in your hand." Prisoner said, "On Wednesday morning I was there; when John Tucker saw me there, I had an umbrella in my hand, and my wife was there with me. I went into a shop to buy a few things for my daughter, which is now at home in a paper in a box. It is not made up, but I hope my daughter will have it." I suppose he meant some dress. Prisoner said, "I love my daughter, and her loves me." [Here the prisoner sobbed aloud.] I said, "How can you say you love her, when you said the other day that when she came home again, she would come home to her mother's funeral?" He said, "Yes, Philip, I did say so, and now it is so." Prisoner's daughter had related the above at the house where she lived, and I heard of it. Prisoner begged me to take care of his children, as they were those of my own sister. That was all that took place in the lock-up on Friday, the 3rd of August, and I had no further conversation with him. I had for some time lived in the neighbourhood of Northam, and frequently saw prisoner and deceased. When first they were married, they lived very comfortably; but she was rather violent in her temper. The quarrels began about two years ago; I have been present and heard them quarrelling; it was about twelve months ago that I first heard of the cause of the quarrel. I heard him throw up to her about Punchard, saying that he had been with his wife. She said, "If I have been with Punchard, I will go with him again." I have heard these quarrels many times. I have never seen Punchard with her.

By the JUDGE—Punchard is a middle-aged man—about forty. My sister was about the same age.

*Examination continued*—When the prisoner lived neighbours with Punchard, deceased used to go to his house, but I never knew any harm of her. I never saw anything particular between her and Punchard. Prisoner wanted her to leave off frequenting Punchard's house, and I have heard her say—"I will go to Punchard's house when I like—for Punchard's a man, and that's more than you are." I should think this must have occurred more than eight months before. I have heard her say, "If I had sixpence, I would give Punchard threepence." I have heard these sort of quarrels going on twelve months before her death. When she said if she had got sixpence she would give Punchard threepence of it, prisoner asked deceased to leave the house and take one in another part of the village, or either go over to Wales, and he would never say anything more about Punchard. His wife said, "I will not leave the house; as long as I am spared I will live neighbours by Punchard." Just after this prisoner left his wife, intending to go to Cornwall. He bided away from the Tuesday until Sunday, and then returned. The neighbours joked him for coming back, and he said, "The reason of it was—the love he bore to his children." Then he lived with his wife till Saturday, 3rd of February, constantly quarrelling; and on that day he came to my house with several of his

working tools. He said he had left his wife, and couldn't live with her. On the same evening he returned to his house for a wheelbarrow, saying he would sell it, take the money, and go to Wales. He remained at my house seven weeks. During that time his wife lived neighbours with Punchard. When he went back for the wheelbarrow, he and his wife had a great quarrel, and several neighbours interfered. At the expiration of the seven weeks he went back with his wife again, as she had removed to the house where she died. In the quarrel about the wheelbarrow, prisoner threatened to kill Punchard; and I believe that was the reason for her removing. My sister was a strong, powerful woman, and used to work at heaving the limestones from the barges at Appledore. Prisoner used to do the same. I remember on one occasion returning from Appledore with the prisoner, Punchard, and Punchard's wife. The prisoner said to his wife he never would hurt Punchard; to which she replied, "No, Robert, you never had occasion to say what you have said"—but what that was I did not hear. Prisoner said, "Anne, it is true; what I have said he is guilty of." Punchard heard these observations, but made no reply.

*Cross-examined*—Punchard's wife was very good friends with my sister, and when she went into Punchard's house it was to see Mrs. Punchard. Mrs. Punchard was never jealous of my sister, that I heard of. I never heard the neighbours taunting the prisoner. I remember his being taken up, and brought before Mr. Gould. I think it about two years ago when prisoner began to get jealous of Punchard. He was the same man as before, except on this subject. I never teased him about it. Prisoner told me he had seen Punchard having intercourse with his wife, and he described where it took place. He told me he could have touched them. He said he had sat on a neighbour's house, and seen them at his own back door. No doubt if he had been at the top of the house he could have seen it. That was in February. When he said he could have touched them was just before this. He said if he had touched them he must have killed one or the other; but he thought if he let them alone, and told his wife all that had taken place, she might leave it off and be better.

By the JUDGE—On the occasion when he was so near that he could have touched them, he told his wife that he intended to go to Bideford, but he did not intend to go. He said at one time it was at his back door on a heap of dung. I had never seen anything between my sister and Punchard to lead me to believe that there was any improper connexion between them.

*Thomas Braund*—I am constable of Northam, and knew Philippa Hancock. At half-past two, having heard that Hancock had killed his wife, I went to his house and went up stairs, and found the body of Philippa Hancock on the bed. Dr. Pratt and his son were present. Dr. Pratt's son gave me a hammer. I saw a little blood on the handle of it. I kept the hammer for about two hours, and then laid it down beside the body. I went next morning in search of Hancock; I saw Hancock with Philip Dennis and John Parker. I then took him into custody. I said to him, "Oh, Robert!" He replied, "I have done it." I then asked, "Have you a knife about you?" and I asked him where the razor was, and he gave it me. I produce it. There was blood on the razor when I got it. I then took him to the lock-up house, and was present during part of the conversation which took place between Dennis and prisoner. [The razor was an old white-handled one, very rusty, and was handed round among the jury. At sight of it prisoner wept very much.] Last April I took the prisoner into custody, at the request of Mary Anne Punchard and Mary Anne Hele, on account of a quarrel with his wife. I took him into custody in his own house. He had his shirt-collar unbuttoned, and his jacket, waistcoat, and neckerchief were off. It was about ten o'clock at night. His wife and several other persons were present. I heard him say, "I will have murder in this house this night." I said, "No, Robert, I will take care of that." All this time he was walking about the house in an excited state. He said to his wife,



"You know you are guilty of what I accuse you." The wife made no answer, but sat crying. I then took him away to a beer-shop, and kept him there that night. In the morning his wife came and offered to give him some breakfast. He refused to take the breakfast, and said, "I'll have no more breakfast from you: you are going to send me away; send me to where I may never come back again." During the night he said to me, "People say I am mazed."

By the COURT—I never observed him out of his mind.

*Examination continued*—He said, "I am no more mazed than those who say so." I took him to Mr. Gould, the magistrate, but no one appeared against him, and he was discharged. Mr. Gould told him to live on better terms with his wife. That was all he said then.

*Cross-examined*—I did not see him search or call for a razor in this house. I did not see him tear his hair. The wife said nothing about sending him to an asylum. She said nothing to me at all.

COUNSEL—What was meant by his saying, "You are going to send me away?"

*Witness*—I don't know. Nothing was said about a lunatic asylum in my presence.

*John Mill*, constable of Northam—I heard on the 2nd of August of the death of Mrs. Hancock, and went immediately to the house. I saw Mr. Pridham and Dennis there. I saw the hammer lying at the head of the woman. I was present at the inquest, and, after the inquest, took possession of the hammer, which was given me by a woman who was present. I produce the hammer.

[The hammer was a little thick, clubbish instrument, but very heavy—such as is used by blacksmiths for making nails.]

*Thomas L. Pridham*, surgeon at Bideford—On Thursday, 2nd of August, I was at Northam visiting a patient. About the middle of the day, I heard of a woman having been found dead, and went directly to see the body. It was the body of Mrs. Hancock. It was a little before two. I found the body on the bed quite cold. The body was lying partly on the right side, the right hand stretched across the bed, the left hand across the chest; the left hand and arm much besmeared with blood. This gave me the idea that a struggle had taken place. The legs were lying in an easy position, as of a person asleep. I felt parts of the body and as far as I could ascertain there was no warmth. I should think the body must have been dead eight or ten hours. I observed the state of the head, and saw considerable injury had been inflicted on the left temple, and a transverse wound inflicted on the throat, about three inches below the chin. This wound was about three inches in length. A considerable quantity of blood saturated the pillow and adjacent clothes which appeared to have flowed from this wound. I could not say whether the wound was inflicted during life or afterwards; if after death, it must have been immediately, and before the circulation had ceased. I sent for Mr. Pratt, and to the coroner. Next day an inquest was held and I made, in company with young Mr. Pratt, a *post mortem* examination. After shaving off the hair we discovered a considerable injury on the left temple. We then dissected the scalp and found a great quantity of blood between the scalp and the pericranium. The temple muscles were also injured; and when these were dissected off it was found that two severe blows had been inflicted on the skull, one corresponding with one of the external wounds. I then compared the hammer with the wound and found it to correspond. The other blow had also fractured the skull and was such a blow as might have been caused by the hammer. The one blow appeared much heavier than the other. In order to ascertain the extent of injury done to the brain the upper part of the skull was removed, when it appeared that something had penetrated the brain to the depth of an inch-and-half or more. It did not appear to be produced by such a large



instrument as the hammer, but might have been by a splinter of a bone, though no bone was found. That blow would most decidedly have caused death. The wound in the throat measured three inches in a transverse direction, about three inches from the chin. The skin was divided and the carotid gland was divided. The windpipe was severed, and the instrument had gone so far that it entered the substance surrounding the spine at the neck. It had penetrated about half-an-inch into this substance. I should think the blows in the head were the cause of death. It is possible the woman might have lived had there been no wounds but those in the throat. I think the wound would have been produced by such an instrument as that razor.

*Wm. Pratt*, surgeon, of Northam. I assisted Mr. Pridham in making the *post mortem* examination, and having heard his evidence, I agree with it.

*John Parker*—I live at Northam, and work for Mr. Pratt, at Knap Farm. I was on the farm on the morning of the 5th of August, and went into the barn. I saw a man lying in the tallet, whom I found afterwards was the prisoner at the bar.

*Mary Ann Hele*—I live near Robert Hancock's, at Northam. On the afternoon of Wednesday, 1st of August, Hancock and his wife were in my house; they came about two o'clock. A quarrel took place between them. He kept throwing up about William Punchard. She did not make much reply, but he appeared to be in a great rage. He threatened he would kill her if she did not mend herself better about Punchard. She made no answer, but sat very solemn in the window. Afterwards she said to him he had threatened to kill her so many times, she would rather be dead than alive. She said to him, "You have threatened to kill me day and night so many times with a razor or a hammer, why don't you do it? and then I should be out of my fright." He got into such a rage that I desired him to go out of doors. He went to go out of doors, and as he went he looked over to where she was sitting, and said, "perhaps it might be quicker than she thought of." She said nothing, but looked to him and smiled, and that raised his passion more, for he thought she was laughing at him. He returned in two minutes, still in a great rage, and this quarrelling continued till about three o'clock. He thought when he came in that she was talking about him, but I said—"She is not." I remonstrated with him on what he had threatened to do, and said I was talking to her not to say anything about him to aggravate him. I said—"Consider the consequence to her soul, if this dreadful deed is done which you have been threatening." He said he intended to kill she, and to gulph her into the lowest pit of hell, when he would follow her. He intended to kill himself quickly after he had killed she. That is all that passed. I offered them to stay in the house, as I had to go out, and they at first agreed. I told them I would be back at four o'clock. Then he said the vessels were come to which we were accustomed to go stone heaving. Then she said she would go to her own house, and get the kettle boiled by the time I come back. She went to her own house, and he went with her. I returned in the afternoon about four o'clock, and between five and six in the evening went, with the prisoner and his wife, to Appledore, for the purpose of stone heaving. They appeared, in going, very comfortable, considering the quarrel they had. They could not get any employment, but I got some heaving, and did not see them afterwards. I know they had quarrels frequently, he ill-used his wife very much.

*Cross-examined*—I have known them married for seventeen years, and they appeared comfortable till within about six months before the murder. I heard of Punchard about fifteen months previously.

By the COURT—I thought the prisoner never had any cause to be jealous of Punchard. It was a delusion, and more when he had his drink than at other times. I never knew him to be out of his mind on other subjects, in any respect.

*Cross-examination continued*—The prisoner gave me particular cases, but I thought it was a delusion. He was so filled with this idea, that he neither knew or cared about what he did.

*Re-examined*—I have heard his wife talk about Punchard. She said—"Since you have said so much about Punchard, if I have been with him, I will go with him again." I have heard her tease him in that way. She did not deny it, but teased him.

*James Dymond*—I am a labourer, and live at Northam. I knew Hancock and his wife very well. I saw them on Wednesday evening, the 1st of August. I came from Appledore with them, which we left about half-past six, arriving at Northam at a quarter after seven o'clock. They appeared then to be on very good terms. Prisoner's wife carried a bundle, which he, in a kindly way, attempted to take from her. He appeared to be perfectly sober when I left him. I have known Hancock upwards of fifteen or sixteen years.

His LORDSHIP.—What was your opinion of the state of his mind?

*Witness*—I never saw anything out of the way in the man. I had some conversation with prisoner previous to this time. We were coming back from labour, and he began to tell about Punchard. He said he had every reason to believe that Punchard and his wife was great; and said he would kill her. I asked of him if he knew the consequences of it? You would be hanged; and her would be killed; and there would be an end of both of 'ee. He said he didn't care; he would have his revenge.

*Cross-examined*—Before this he always understood he was a very good fellow. He was not a violent man. He had not observed any change in him during the last two years. He was rather violent when speaking of Punchard.

By the JUDGE.—I never knew him irrational, or out of the way, on any other subject except Punchard.

*Thomas Taylor*—I am a tailor, living at Northam, and occasionally work at heaving lime stones from the vessels. I had been doing so on the evening of 1st of August. I returned to Northam with James Hearn and Lock. I arrived at Northam about ten or half-past ten at night. On my way home I passed down Bank-lane, and met Hancock, who was coming in the direction from his house. I wished him good night.

This was the case for the prosecution, and the court adjourned for a quarter of an hour. On resuming,

Mr. Cox rose, amid hushed attention, to address the jury for the defence. He said, if their anxiety at all approached his, it would be with something like a feeling amounting to awe that they would approach the decision of this case. The life of a fellow-creature was entrusted to their hands; for he was charged with a crime, the facts of which were undisputed. The question which they had to determine was, Is he a responsible being—was he acting under circumstances which made him answerable to his country for the crime which he had committed? That was really the question they would have to determine. That the unhappy man deprived his wretched wife of her life, there was no doubt; he (the learned counsel) had not attempted to throw any doubt or difficulty about the proofs in the case, for the man himself had confessed it almost immediately after it happened. He admitted candidly and frankly, almost to the first person he saw, that he had done it, and how he had done it; and now it remained for them, after they had heard the remarks from him, and with the assistance of his Lordship, to say whether the act was done with a full knowledge that he was committing a crime with a full mastery over himself, knowing what he was doing, knowing that he was responsible for what he was doing, and having the power of self-guidance, and being able to restrain the passion that was moving him to the act. He (the learned counsel) should submit to them that he had not, but that he was acting under a diseased mind, and that he was insane. He believed that after they had fully and carefully considered



all the circumstances surrounding this case, and the conduct of the man both before and after the act, that they would come to the conclusion that he was not responsible for this act. By such a verdict they would not release him—a dangerous man—upon the country, but they would transfer him to an asylum for the rest of his life; they would be placing him where it was most unfortunate he had not been placed long ago, when his friends and neighbours first saw symptoms of insanity working within his mind. It was most unfortunate that the authorities did not take up the matter, and did not place a man under restraint who went about day after day talking about murdering his wife, not in the language of a sane man, but in a way which impressed every one who heard it with the fact that he was insane. If that had been the case, the dreadful event which they had heard described to them would never have happened. He (the learned counsel) therefore asked them to consider, after having surveyed all the circumstances of this case, whether they would not come to the same conclusion that all his neighbours had arrived at before the event—that the prisoner was not in his right mind. He would submit to them, that if a number of the prisoner's neighbours, who knew him in his days of health, before disease had operated on his mind—who knew him as a quiet, inoffensive, honest and industrious man, a fond husband and a good father, previous to the mania which had taken possession of him, and who knew that his mind had become suddenly perverted, and that his conduct was that of an insane man—he would appeal to them whether the circumstance of the man having not only threatened to kill, but had actually killed his wife, was not strong evidence of his insanity. It was impossible for him to exaggerate the importance of this inquiry. It was not a question simply of mercy—it was a question of justice. It was of the utmost importance to every one of them; for who knew whether, on the morrow, the finger of Providence might not be laid upon them—that disease might not touch their minds, and that they might not be reduced to the condition of that man? There was not one of them in the court who was not liable to such a visitation of Providence, and not one who might not be afflicted like that unfortunate man, and under that suffering and affliction which he endured, do precisely what he did. Therefore, seeing this, it was, he contended, of the utmost importance to him, to the jury, and to all of them, that they carefully discriminated between a criminal act, done with the intention of its being a crime, and an act done under the influence of a diseased mind, leading the man to the commission of an offence. He was quite aware of the prejudices—the wholesome prejudices—that existed against defences of insanity: and he would be the last man to set it up, unless he was satisfied that it was really and truly an honest defence. It was not, however, because sometimes this defence was improperly made use of, that therefore they should close their ears when the defence came properly before them, and substantiated by facts which would lead them to the conclusion—let it be total or partial insanity—that this man was not in the clear possession of his reason. He would now endeavour to explain, in familiar terms, what insanity was; and what it was under which this man laboured, and which the doctors called monomania. He hoped to explain, in an intelligible way, that as the mind of man became partially diseased, he became, so far as that disease was concerned, incapable of exercising the functions of a human being, who was responsible for his actions, and was, therefore, entitled to the lenient conclusions of the jury in consequence thereof. He believed that they would be enabled to apply this description to the case in question, and come to the conclusion that the prisoner was insane in reference to the point he had raised. He knew that there were many persons who believed that a man's mind could not be partially affected; but he believed he should be able to show them that it was so, and that those so affected could not see the results of actions in the same way as they saw them through the medium of an undiseased mind. What were they?



They had souls enclosed in bodies, and it was only by the arms, the eyes, the nerves, and the brain, that the soul held communication with the world without. Did they believe for a moment that that spark of divinity—that soul which God had given to them to participate in the inheritance of angels; that that soul became diseased, and that when a man was insane, the soul itself was insane?—that the soul of the idiot was a soul deprived of all its distinctive features, either of humanity or divinity? What was insanity? It was not that the mind was diseased, but only those organs were diseased through which the soul communicated with the world without. It depended entirely upon the healthy or diseased state of that medium of the brain through which the soul communicated with the world, what impressions were conveyed to it. He would give them a comparison which would enable them to understand his meaning. Suppose they were placed in a room where a window was made of different coloured glass. They looked at the landscape through a pane of clear, transparent glass; they then saw that landscape as it was—they saw the sky blue, the fields green, and the distant waters sparkling in the sunshine. They saw nature in all its beauty. Let them go to the next pane—let it be one of red. What did they see? It was the same eye that looked through it, and the same mind—but yet, how changed the landscape! The sky, which was before blue, was to them a vault of fire, the trees became flames, and the whole country assumed the aspect of a hell—and yet it was the same eye, looking through the same mind, at the same landscape, which was before, and was still, green and beautiful. It was the same with a man looking through a diseased organ—which distorted everything to his mind. It was true that all the other panes in the window of his soul were clear, and that the man could reason on most subjects as well as he or they could; but when the mind looked through the diseased organ, then all things became changed, truth became untruth, reality became unreality, and beauty became deformity,—he did not know right from wrong, nor fact from a dream. He was looking through a coloured glass, and the world without him was a hell wherever he looked. That was what was termed monomania, and he appealed to them, therefore, whether the facts and circumstances in this case did not lead them to the irresistible conclusion that the prisoner was a monomaniac; that the man saw through the coloured medium of a diseased brain, and that whenever that diseased brain was excited, he ceased to be himself, he ceased not only to be able to discern truth from falsehood, but to mistake dreams for realities; to believe that which he did not see, and to lose entirely the control of those passions which were influenced by that diseased organ. Let them look at the facts. Here was a quiet and inoffensive man, who was respected by all his neighbours and beloved by all his friends. Within four years all that suddenly changed, and that which was good and excellent before, became suddenly violent,—he dreamed dreams, saw visions, and believed them to be true. Here was a man jealous of his wife. He had no reason to be so, and if that were so, then it was a delusion, and he was mad on that subject. If there had been the slightest ground for the suspicion, would not the whole place have rung with it? He appealed to the jury that if, with their knowledge of human nature, criminal intercourse had taken place between Punchard and the deceased, whether Mrs. Punchard would not have been the first to have found it out, and whether she would have remained the friend of her husband's paramour? The single circumstance that Mrs. Punchard never suspected the deceased, and had continued her friend, was sufficient to satisfy them that the whole thing was a delusion. What then was a delusion? They did not talk of a healthy, undiseased man having a delusion? They must give to things a right name, and in doing so they must call this delusion madness. If they had seen friends labouring under monomania, they would understand it. If they had not seen this, probably they had seen a friend ill in a fever, who became delirious. What did he do? Why, was he

not constantly harping upon one thing, perhaps for weeks, until a restoration of the diseased organs took place, and then it was that the delusion ceased. He asked them, therefore, to say that the prisoner was labouring under a delusion of the nature described, and to give him the benefit of it, and not doom him to the extreme penalty of death. The jury would recollect how the prisoner was teased and taunted—how the wife had encouraged the delusion by her conduct towards her husband. This was a man not merely suspecting, but believing that he saw his wife committing the actual thing which he stated. He believed that he had seen it—that he had been on the house-top, and saw improper intercourse between his wife and Punchard. What more convincing proof could they have than that of the prisoner's imagining that he had seen this criminal intercourse? But the prisoner was charged with wilful murder, and that was defined as malice aforethought. But if that were so, did they ever hear of any man's committing it in the way the prisoner had? It was not done in the way that dreadful crimes were usually committed. It was proved that the prisoner had gone about saying he would do it, and was not that, he asked, a convincing proof of his madness? How did he do it? He went deliberately and murdered his wife, leaving the evidence of his guilt behind him. There was no attempt at concealment; for he afterwards went and told all about it to the brother of his wife. He believed that the jury would say that the prisoner was mad. Undoubtedly he was right in every other part of his mind, but he did not believe that they would send him to the gallows for an act, which resulted from the action of one part of his mind being clearly diseased. He further contended that if the prisoner was mad, then the offence was not murder, and if he actually saw what he stated that he did, and committed the dreadful act under the passions evoked by it, then it would not be murder but manslaughter. They would recollect that the man evinced no desire to fly from justice; he told them that he went and looked upon his dead wife, and felt sorrow for the crime. When the mania took place, he was excited, and ceased to have possession of his reason, or his faculties. Here it was on evidence that the mania had become abated, the excitement had gone off, and on looking at the foul work he had done, he 'was sorry.' The learned gentleman concluded by saying that he should prove that up to the time that this malady took possession of him, he was a quiet and inoffensive man; but whenever under the influence of this delusion, he raved, swore, and tore his hair, and was not in fact, a responsible being. The form of the verdict would be, if they believed him insane, 'not guilty on the ground of insanity.' By such a verdict, they would not let him loose on the world, when perhaps that mania might return again, and he might do other violent acts. The practical effect would be, to confine him during the Queen's pleasure for the remainder of his life. They would thus be doing no harm to society, but giving the prisoner a chance of being medically treated, and of being recovered from this diseased state of mind. On the other hand, if they believed that the prisoner committed the crime under the violence of uncontrollable passion, and with the belief that his wife was really guilty of that which he suspected, then they ought to find him guilty of manslaughter only. He adjured them to lean to the side of mercy, for the diseases of the brain were, unfortunately, of such a character that they were difficult to be decided upon. They could not open a man's skull and see whether the brain was softened or diseased. They ought, therefore, to incline to the side of safety, and consign the prisoner for the rest of his life, where he would be taken care of, and prevented from again going into society. He hoped, therefore, that under all the circumstances of this case, they would come to a verdict in favour of sparing the life of this unfortunate man. The learned counsel then called:—

*Rev. Isaac Henry Gosset*—I resided at Northam. I was incumbent, and knew the prisoner and his wife since 1844. I knew nothing wrong of them.



I left Northam in May last. I saw the prisoner in April, about an allotment he held from me, and I thought his manner strange and confused. He came with Philip Dennis, to make an arrangement about this allotment. Hancock wished to give up the allotment, and Dennis wished him not to do so, but that he might hold it for him for a year, to see if he would get over the delusion, in reference to Punchard, under which he was labouring. I was very much impressed on that occasion that he was out of his mind. He did not say anything about Punchard, but I knew to what he alluded when he said there was no use keeping it; so long as things remained as they were, he could not stick to anything. I was led to notice his manner, because I had formed an opinion about August last year that he was labouring under a delusion about Punchard. I was sent for to see Hancock, he was reported as ill, in July or August, 1854. On that occasion he was not at home, and I heard from his wife a long story about his delusion about Punchard. She said she considered herself in danger of her life. I directed, on that occasion, the constable to take him up, fearing that murder would be committed.

*Cross-examined*—Before May, when I left, I was continuously at Northam, since 1844. In 1854 I don't know if I had any conversation with the prisoner. I formed my impression that he was not of sound mind, from what I heard from his wife. In May, when I had the conversation with him about the allotment, I thought his manner changed. I heard, so far back as July and August previously, from more than one quarter, that he entertained suspicions against Punchard. In 1854, when I saw the wife, I believed the suspicions were groundless. The prisoner's manner, in April, 1855, was very confused. He did not appear to speak with ordinary intelligence.

*COUNSEL*—What was peculiar in his manner at that time you witnessed?

*Witness*—I cannot describe it; but it deeply impressed me. I have frequently heard of his ill-using his wife. At the time he was taken up at my suggestion, it was under an apprehension that murder might be committed. I thought he should be bound over to keep the peace, or sent to an asylum.

*Charles Edward Pratt*, physician at Appledore, said—I have charge of the Northam district of the Union, and knew the prisoner as long as he has been in the parish. I have been his professional attendant. In the earlier part of my acquaintance with him he was a quiet, civil, inoffensive man. I noticed a change in him about fourteen or sixteen months ago; I found him sullen. He used to pass me without speaking, and I remarked it to my son. I heard some complaints made of him, and I desired the parties to apply to Mr. Gould, the magistrate. Mr. Gould applied to me, and I went to see Hancock. I went on a Sunday morning, about Nov. 1854, about eleven or twelve in the morning. He was in bed, and unwilling to see me. He was low in spirits, and short in his answers. I ordered him some stimulant. Next morning he called upon me as I desired, my object being to ascertain the state of his mind. I brought up the subject of his wife's conduct, as I was aware that was a weak point with him; he told me what his eyes had seen he could believe, and mentioned some circumstances and occasions connected with the intercourse of his wife with Punchard. He said he had seen them in a donkey-house, and he could put his hand upon them, they were so close. I went and examined the donkey-house. He said he was in a pigsty at the time, and the tumble roof went into a donkey-house. When in the pigsty, he could not have reached to the donkey-house. The prisoner also said on another occasion that he had seen them in the same donkey-house from the roof of another house. On the roof he certainly could not have seen inside the donkey-house. Another time he said he had seen them in the passage at the back of his house. I made my report to Mr. Gould that he was labouring under a delusion from jealousy, but I saw no occasion to put him under restraint. His manner altogether was changed, but I could detect nothing wrong in his conversation.



By the JUDGE—I have no doubt in monomania; that a man may be perfectly sound except on one point.

*Examination continued*—After making my report to Mr. Gould, I thought I had taken too much responsibility upon myself, and I watched the case until he separated from his wife. My general impression as to the state of his mind was that he was mazed, that is not exactly mad, but tending to it.

By the JUDGE—Do you consider he could not distinguish between right and wrong?

*Witness*—I believe that when he was in a paroxysm he could not.

*Cross-examined*—I cannot say that ever I saw him in a paroxysm. The first time I saw him excited was when he came to my house. It was the day after I told his wife to give him some beer as a stimulant. When I called on the Sunday he was in bed, and I thought he was unwell. He had been suffering from diarrhoea, but I did not call on that account, but at the request of Mr. Gould to inquire into the state of his mind. When he came next day he entered as an ordinary person would. He was out of spirits—in the state a man would be in if something was preying on his mind. I had conversed with the wife before, and brought the subject of Punchard before the prisoner, to test the state of his mind. He stated to me quite distinctly where he had seen his wife and Punchard. The language he used implied that he had seen them in the act: but the precise words I cannot remember. He was with me on that occasion about fifteen or twenty minutes. He named places, and I afterwards proved their position, and his accuracy. I had noticed the change in his manner about the time the rumours originated. When I met him, and observed the change in his manner, it was about June or July last year, and that manner continued very generally down till this occurrence. I saw him several times afterwards, and generally inquired as to how he was getting on with his wife. I inquired among the neighbours also, and I found he had been threatening his wife; but believing he was quiet and inoffensive, I thought he might be safely left. I considered all the time that he had no cause for jealousy. I did not know at the time that his wife had said she preferred Punchard to him. On the same morning I saw the prisoner in bed, I saw Dennis, and said, "What do you say to Robert Hancock?" He said, "That is just what I was going to ask you." I said to him, "I can detect nothing, but I will look after him." I had not then discerned his delusion. After I had discerned the delusion, I did not say to Dennis, "He is no more mad than you, Philip, except that he is a jealous husband." I met Dennis frequently afterwards, but never, except on this occasion, had any conversation with him on that subject. I was at the inquest on the 3rd August. Was in the room the whole time. I gave no evidence on that occasion.

*Elizabeth Brown*—I live at Northam, and have been neighbour to the prisoner for fourteen years; in the house adjoining for the last six or seven. He was a steady and quiet man till within the last two years. He then became jealous, and quarrelled with his wife about William Punchard. There was no cause for that jealousy. The first time he said anything to me about it, it was twelve months before August last year. His wife called me in, and in the prisoner's presence said she wished me to hear what Robert was upbraiding her with. "Robert," I said, "what do you mean?" He said—"My wife and Punchard is greater than they ought to be; she is a bad woman." I thought he was out of his mind, because the accusation he made I believed to be false. I saw nothing more to make me believe that he was not right in his mind.

By the COURT—I said to the prisoner—"Why do you take this into your head?—it is false." He said he had seen them together. He said he had seen his wife with Punchard in Mr. William's linnay at five o'clock in the morning. This is between Appledore and Northam. He said also that he had seen them in the donkey-house, and in the dung-pit. I said—"Robert, that's

impossible; because the water thrown in to make the dung, comes up close to the back door." He said he had seen them many a time. I spoke to Dr. Pratt frequently, because I was afraid he would commit murder. I did not think him in his right mind, but I did not perceive it on any other subject but that of jealousy of his wife.

*Cross-examined*—The prisoner and his wife left in February last, and I never was present at any quarrel after. I still often heard of quarrels. This jealousy arose between two and three years ago. He appeared to get more jealous latterly. In February, the wife and Hancock quarrelled and separated. I had seen a violent quarrel a few days before the 3rd of February, when he left. I have seen him the worse for liquor, but not often, and I think he was then more violent. I heard him say he had seen his wife and Punchard together on the 21st of January, but more than twelve months before that he told me that he had seen them together.

*Maria Mules*—I live at Northam, and know the prisoner. I have known him thirteen years. In April last I heard a noise in his house, and went in. He was standing between the fireplace and the stairs, and his wife beside him. He was like a wild man—like a mad person. I saw him take up a hatchet, and said he would destroy the wheelbarrow. He had been speaking about the wheelbarrow, and said that his wife had been down with it at Punchard's. I did not see the wheelbarrow chopped, but he went out, and I heard chopping afterwards. He asked me to go to bed with his wife, because he thought she was afraid to sleep in the house alone. He said he would sit up by the fire, and not go to bed, because Punchard would be in with his wife again. He was very violent, and asked his wife to give him poison. She declined to give him any. I don't know if any was in the house. He was pulling his hair very much, and pulled it out in handfuls and threw it on the floor. He took off his handkerchief and unbuttoned his shirt, for the purpose of cutting his throat. He had no knife, but one was on the table, which I took up and kept till he had gone. He asked for a razor. His wife said she had concealed it; and she called to me to get assistance. I called for assistance, and Richard More came, who is not here, and Mr. Braund, the constable, who took him into custody. His wife said it was her wish he should go away, because Mr. Pratt said he was not right. I reckoned she meant he should go to the asylum. She said that when he came back she would live with him again. When I first knew the prisoner he was very quiet, and would not injure anybody.

*Cross-examined*—I did not know what had led to the quarrel that night. When I went in he had up the pocket of his wife's dress, and wanted to get her money. When I came in he left his wife, and went and sat in a chair, apparently in a great state of sorrow and grief. I don't know, but I think the grief was about Punchard. He said he would destroy the wheelbarrow, and the wife said—"There is the hatchet," which he took up and went out with. He sat down and smoked, and got better after I came in; but his wife was aggravating him very much, and said that Punchard was a better man than him.

*William Punchard*—I am a mason, and live at Northam. I knew the prisoner for seven years, and his wife also; but never had any unlawful intercourse with the deceased; I never was in the prisoner's house since he lived there. I never was with her on the dung-pit, in the pigsty, donkey-house, or any other place on the day of the murder. I was then confined to the house from an accident.

*Cross-examined*—I knew of this report of an intimacy between me and deceased, but I never heard the prisoner say anything about it in my presence. He told my wife, and she told me. He said in Mr. Gould's house that he was not going to hurt a hair of my head.

*Dr. Bucknill*, medical superintendent of the County Lunatic Asylum, said— I have heard the witnesses at this trial, and have had conversation with the



prisoner. In personal conversation with the prisoner, which was only once, yesterday, I found him under a strong conviction that Punchard had committed adultery with his wife. His story, in support of that opinion, was altogether inconsistent with itself and almost incoherent. There were absurdities in it, and distinct and glaring inconsistencies. My opinion was that it was probable this was a delusion. He told me he had seen this adultery committed in several instances, and he expressed himself in very strong and excited language. He said it had occurred as often as he had hairs on his head,—thousands of times. He said he had actually seen it three times, but when questioned, he appeared to have seen it only once. He said that he had placed himself on the roof of a house and had actually seen it in the court at the back of his house, against the wall outside. He said, also, he had seen his wife meet Punchard and go with him into the passage, when they bolted the door. On the night of the murder, he looked out of his house, and saw Punchard come out of his door, and look up and down the street to see if any of them were about; and then seeing the coast clear, his wife slipped by Punchard. He then discovered himself, and said, "So here you are again." I ought to add that I was impressed by the strange state of feeling he evinced with respect to his present position. He repudiated the idea of being insane very strongly, and he said that when he was angry with his wife about her conduct, people said, "Oh! here you are with your old mazed tricks again." He spoke of the day of judgment; not of this judgment—this was a trifle—but of the day when he would meet Punchard, and he seemed to be under strong feelings of revenge, which would be gratified by Punchard's punishment. He said it was the last word he should say on the gallows, that Punchard was the ruin of his wife. Having heard the evidence, and assuming it to be true, my opinion is that he was labouring under monomania, but not under general insanity. Delusion is a fixed form of insanity, and monomania means that a person is entirely mad upon one point. On that subject he would be unable to distinguish between right and wrong. He might think in killing, when under such an influence, that he was doing a meritorious act. On the point of his delusion all the faculties, will, judgment, reasoning powers, &c., are affected. The prisoner seems to be under hallucination—to see and hear things which have no existence in fact.

*Cross-examined*—I first saw the prisoner yesterday evening, and was with him about an hour. I went to the jail with a very slight knowledge of the case. I was aware the proposed defence was insanity, and knew the point he was thought to be insane upon was with reference to Punchard. There remained on the prisoner's mind during the whole time a strong belief that Punchard and his wife had been guilty. A belief stronger than a sane man would entertain, except upon the most undoubted proof. A change may have taken place in the man's mind since August. His malady may have increased or decreased. His conversation with me was consistent with the supposition that he had seen what he stated, and it was consistent with the idea that it was all a delusion. But the story was inconsistent with itself.

Mr. KARSLAKE, for the prosecution, summed up the evidence.

The Jury retired, and after being absent about an hour and a quarter, brought in a verdict of WILFUL MURDER, but acquitted the prisoner on the ground of insanity.

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NEW COMMISSIONER IN LUNACY.—We are happy to announce that R. W. Skeffington Lutwidge, Esq., Barrister-at-law, is appointed one of her Majesty's Commissioners in Lunacy.



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ART. I.—MEDICAL JURISPRUDENCE OF INSANITY.

BY FORBES WINSLOW, M.D., D.C.L.

PART I.—ON LUCID INTERVALS.

IN the vast field of research connected with Judicial Psychology, there is no question of more importance in a metaphysical as well as in a medico-legal point of view than that which forms the subject of the present inquiry. Human life is often contingent upon a satisfactory solution of this subtle point, and the transmission of property to a great amount occasionally depends upon the answer given by the medical jurist to the question—Was there not associated with certain admitted conditions of mental disorder, lucid intervals,—a clear and distinct freedom of the mind from all delusions; such a repose and clearing up of the intellect as to enable the person to discriminate accurately between right and wrong, thus constituting him morally and legally responsible for his conduct, or rendering him competent to the exercise of a sound and rational judgment in the disposition of his property? In criminal as well as civil cases, the medical witness is often called upon to aid in the administration of justice by elucidating these abstruse points, and it therefore behoves him to be well acquainted, before entering the witness-box, with certain elementary or first principles, legal as well as psychological, in connexion with this subject, in order to be prepared to reply satisfactorily to interrogatories that may be addressed by counsel in the course of any judicial proceedings in

which he may be professionally engaged, involving in their issue the existence or non-existence of lucid intervals.

It will be necessary for me, in the course of this exposition, to quote at length from some of the principal legal text-books and established medical authorities, and to cite the particulars of a few of the prominent and important cases in which this question has arisen in our courts of law. I propose, with a view to a full analysis of the literature of the subject, to consider—

- I. LUNAR INFLUENCE.
- II. ON THE ALLEGED EFFECT OF THE MOON ON THE BODY AND MIND.
- III. ON THE INFLUENCE OF LIGHT ON VITAL PHENOMENA.
- IV. THE ORIGIN OF THE TERM LUNATIC AND LUCID INTERVAL.
- V. THE MEDICAL ACCEPTATION OF THESE TERMS.
- VI. THE LEGAL SIGNIFICATION OF THESE PHRASES.
- VII. AN EXAMINATION OF SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASES INVOLVING IN THEIR ISSUE THE EXISTENCE OF LUCID INTERVALS.

### I.—LUNAR INFLUENCE.

As the term *luna-tic* and lucid intervals are commonly supposed to be based on the hypothesis that the moon exercises a decided influence on the insane as well as upon various morbid phases of the intellect not amounting to derangement, it will be well primarily to discuss the much-vexed but interesting question, what is the effect of *lunar light*, not only upon the mind in health and disease, but upon the vital manifestations, vegetable as well as animal?

Let me, in the first place, refer briefly to the ancient opinions respecting the influence of the moon. From the earliest periods of antiquity, the idea generally prevailed, not only that the moon exercised a specific effect in the production and modification of disease, mental and bodily, but played a prominent and important part in the development of the character of nations, and in determining the destinies of the human race. Amongst the ancients, the moon was viewed as an object of superstitious regard. They held her in great religious and superstitious veneration, considering her influence superior even to that of the sun; in fact, they worshipped her as a deity. The new moons, or the first days of the month, were kept with great pomp and ceremony as national festivals. The people were obliged to rest on those days. The feast of new moons was a miniature of the feasts of the prophets. Eclipses, whether of the sun or moon, were looked

upon as evidences of Divine displeasure. The Greeks consulted the different phases of the moon before contracting marriage; and the full moon, or the times of conjunction of sun and moon, was considered the most favourable periods for celebrating the ceremony, in consequence of the impression that the reproductive functions were under lunar influence.

"This connexion of the moon," says Dr. Laycock, "with the measure of time seems to have brought that planet into relation with the religious rites of ancient nations, as the Egyptians and Jews; and, also, to have given origin (in part) to the *mythological* idea so extensively prevalent of a lunar influence on marriage and child-bearing. Even the barbarous Greenlanders, as Egede informs us, believe in this superstitious notion. They imagine that the moon visits their wives now and then; that staring long at the full moon will make a maid pregnant, &c. Amongst the ancient nations the general idea was, that the lunar influence varied according to the age of the moon. Bubastis, the Egyptian Diana, was not equally favourable to parturient females and their offspring in her different phases. Amongst the Jews the full moon was believed to be lucky, and the two other disastrous."

"The full moon," says the Rabbi Abravanel, "is propitious to new-born children: but if the child be born in the increase or wane, the horns of that planet cause death; or, if it survive, it is generally guilty of some enormous crime.

"The Greeks and Romans entertained a similar idea respecting the lunar phases. The general opinion seems to have been, that the moon was propitious in proportion as its luminous face was on the increase. The ancient Greeks considered the day of the full moon to be the best day for marriage. Euripides makes Agamemnon answer, when asked on what day he intends to be married,

"Οταν Σελήνης εὐτυχὴς ἔλθῃ κύκλος." \*

Hesiod asserted that the fourth day of the moon was propitious, but the eighteenth was bad, especially to females. Aristotle maintained that the bodies of animals were cold in the decrease of the moon, and that the blood and humours are then put in motion, and to those revolutions he ascribes the various derangements peculiar to women.

Lucilius, the Roman satirist, says that oysters and echini fatten during lunar augmentation, which also, according to Gellius, enlarges the eyes of cats; but that onions throw out their buds in the decrease of the moon, and wither in her increase, which induced the people of Pelusium to avoid their use. Horace also notices the superiority of shell-fish during the moon's increase.

Pliny takes notice of the same fact. He also adds that the streaks on the livers of rats answer to the days of the moon's

\* "Iphigenia," act v. 717.



age; and that ants never work at the time of the lunar changes. He also informs us that the fourth day of the moon determines the prevalent wind of the month, and confirms the opinion of Aristotle that earthquakes generally occur about the new moon. Pliny asserts that the moon corrupts all dead carcases exposed to its rays, and produces drowsiness and stupor in those who sleep under her beams. He further contends that the moon is nourished by rivers, as the sun is fed by the sea. Galen asserts that all animals who are born when the moon is falciform, or at the half quarter, are weak, feeble, and short-lived; whereas those who come into the world during the full moon are healthy, vigorous, and long-lived.

Lord Bacon adopted the notion of the ancients. He maintains that the moon develops heat, induces putrefaction, increases moisture, and excites the motion of the spirits.\* Van Helmont affirms that a wound inflicted during the period of moonlight is most difficult to heal; and he further says, that if a frog be washed clean and tied to a stake under the rays of the moon in a cold winter's night, on the following morning the body will be found dissolved into a gelatinous substance bearing the shape of the reptile, and that coldness alone, *without the lunar action*, will never produce the same effect.

The Spartans also considered the moon to have great influence, and no motive could induce them to enter upon an expedition, or march against the enemy, until the full of the moon. The Greeks and Romans believed that the moon presided over childbirth. The patricians of Rome wore the figure of a crescent upon their shoes, to distinguish them from the inferior order of men. The crescent was called *lulula*. Herodotus records that when the Lacedæmonians visited Athens, after the battle of Marathon, they waited until the moon had passed its full before they continued their march. (Erato. lxx.) The ancient alchemists attempted to localize planetary influences, maintaining that the *heart*, which represented, according to their physiological notions, the vital principle, was under the special protection of the *sun*; that the *brain* was regulated and controlled by the *moon*; that *Jupiter* presided over the *lungs*, *Mars* over the *liver*, *Saturn* over the *spleen*; that *Venus* took the *kidneys* under her kind control, and that *Mercury* sat in judgment upon the *reproductive functions*.

It will appear by the previously recorded data, that from the earliest periods in the history of the world the idea of the phenomena of organic life being subject to planetary control, was popular amongst enlightened and philosophic men. The following

\* It is recorded that this great philosopher always had a severe attack of syncope at the time of a lunar eclipse.

passage proves that the great Roman satirist was bitten by this tradition :—

“Ut mala quem scabies aut morbus regius urget,  
Aut fanaticus error, et iracunda Diana  
Vesanum tetigisse timent fugiuntque poetam,  
Qui sapiunt.”\*

I should be giving but an imperfect sketch of the literature of this subject if I were not to refer to the fact, that the poets, as well as philosophers and medical writers of ancient and modern time, had not failed to countenance by the authority of their genius the popular belief in the influence of the moon. Most of the great dramatists and epic poets have embodied in their immortal creations this idea.† The works of Shakspeare, Spenser, Beaumont and Fletcher, Ben Jonson, Milton, Byron, and Shelley, are replete with passages of exquisite beauty in relation to this subject. Our own imperishable bard, whose god-like apprehension and profound knowledge of the mind of man—whose intuitive insight into the subtle workings of the human heart and passions—whose intimate acquaintance with nearly every branch of knowledge and department of science, art, and philosophy, placed him like a bright and brilliant constellation on a giddy eminence far apart from the rest of mankind, has pointedly alluded to the moral influence of the moon on the human heart and intellect. In the “Twelfth Night,” Viola apostrophizes Olivia as a

“Most radiant, exquisite, and unmatchable beauty,”

“I heard you were saucy at my gates,” replies Olivia, “and allowed your approach rather to wonder at than to hear you. If you be not mad, be gone ; if you have reason, be brief : *'tis not that*

\* Hor., “Ars Poetica.”

† The moon appears to have called forth the fire and sublimity of poetic genius in all ages and in all climes. Some of the most beautiful and touching sonnets that adorn the English language are addressed to the moon. I cannot forbear (although it may not be considered quite *à propos*) to quote an illustration from the pen of Charlotte Smith, one of our most exquisite writers of sonnets, the immortal Milton alone excepted :

“Queen of the silver bow !—by thy pale beam,  
Alone and pensive, I delight to stray,  
And watch thy shadow trembling in the stream,  
Or mark the floating clouds that cross thy way ;  
And while I gaze, thy mild and placid light  
Sheds a soft calm upon my troubled breast :  
And oft I think—fair planet of the night—  
That in thy orb the wretched may have rest ;  
The sufferers of the earth, perhaps, may go—  
Released by death—to thy benignant sphere ;  
And the sad children of despair and woe  
Forget in thee their cup of sorrow here.  
Oh, that I soon may reach thy world serene !  
Poor wearied pilgrim in this toiling scene !”

*time of moon with me, to make one in so skipping a dialogue."*

Again, in the play of "Antony and Cleopatra," Enobarbus, after entering Cæsar's camp, thus appeals to the moon:—

"Be witness to me, O thou blessed moon!  
When men revolted shall upon record  
Bear hateful memory, poor Enobarbus did  
Before thy face repent."

After which, he adds, previously to expressing his deep contrition for his revolt against Antony—

"O sovereign mistress of true melancholy,  
The poisonous damp of night disponge upon me:  
That life, a very rebel to my will,  
May hang no longer on me."

In "Othello," after the death of Desdemona, when Emilia enters the chamber to announce the foul murder of Roderigo by the hand of Cassio, the Moor, crushed to the earth by an accumulation of horrible misfortunes, exclaims in the agony of his soul, and in the bitterness of wild despair,

"'Tis the very error of the moon,  
She comes more near the earth than she was wont,  
And makes men mad."

In "King Richard the Third," the Queen, after rushing, whilst in a state of profound distraction, into the presence of the Duchess of York to announce the death of the King, passionately exclaims,

"Give me no help in lamentation;  
I am not barren to bring forth laments;  
All springs reduce their currents to mine eyes,  
That I, being govern'd by the watery moon,  
May send forth plenteous tears to drown the world!"

Milton frequently alludes, in "Paradise Lost," to the pernicious effect of the moon. He speaks of

"Demoniac frenzy, moping melancholy,  
And moonstruck madness."

In Ben Jonson's "Alchemist," Tribulation says—

"But how long time,  
Sir, must the saints expect?"

To which Subtle responds—

"Let me see,  
How's the moon now? Eight, nine, ten days hence  
She will be silver potato; then three days  
Before to citronize,—some fifteen days."—Act iii. scene 1.



The notion of planetary influence has not been confined to classical regions, to classical authorities, or to the fanciful creations of the poet. It has existed amongst barbarous, uncivilized, and unlearned nations, who were profoundly ignorant of the views propounded by the ancient astrologers, or by the medical writers, who had somewhat engrafted the study of medicine upon that of astrology and astronomy. In referring to the alliance which formerly obtained between the two sciences, it has been well observed by an able writer and close observer of Nature, that no judicious person can doubt that the application of astrology to medicine, though it was soon perverted and debased till it became a mere craft, originated in *actual observations of the connexion between certain bodily affections and certain times and seasons*. Many, if not most, of the mischievous systems in physics and divinity have arisen from dim perception or erroneous apprehensions of some important truth ; and not a few have originated in the common error of drawing bold and hasty inferences from weak premises.\*

That the theory of planetary influence should have been advocated in early times, and have found zealous supporters, not only amongst the illiterate, but amongst learned and scholastic men, need excite no surprise when we consider how easily susceptible of demonstration is the fact of the moon's powerful effect in producing that regular flux and reflux of the sea which we call tides. Astronomers having admitted that the moon was capable of producing this physical effect upon the waters of the ocean, it was not altogether unnatural that the notion should become not only a generally received, but a popular one, that the ebb and flow of the tides had a material influence over the bodily functions. The Spaniards imagine that all who die of chronic diseases breathe their last during the ebb. Southey says, that amongst the wonders of the isles and city of Cadiz, which the historian of that city, Suares de Salazar, enumerates, one is, according to P. Labat, that the sick never die there while the tide is rising or at its height, but always during the ebb. He restricts the notion to the isle of Leon, but implies that the effect was there believed to take place in diseases of any kind, acute as well as chronic. "Him fever," says the Negro in the West Indies, "shall go when the water come low ; him always come not when the tide high." The popular notion amongst the Negroes appears to be that the ebb and flow of the tides are caused by a *fever of the sea*, which rages for six hours, and then intermits for as many more.

\* Southey.

## II.—ON LUNAR INFLUENCE IN THE PRODUCTION OF BODILY DISEASE.

I should be travelling out of my record, and be introducing much extraneous matter into this inquiry, if I were to discuss, at any considerable length, the alleged influence of the moon in the production of disease in general, independently of the supposed specific effect of lunar light upon the insane. The subject is one of *medical* as well as meteorological and philosophical interest, and cannot altogether be passed over in an inquiry like that under consideration. There exists extant in the writings of many able, truthful, and conscientious men a vast, body of valuable and indisputable evidence in support of the theory of planetary influence. We subjoin the names of the principal authorities on the subject:—Ballonius, Ramazzini,<sup>1</sup> Joubertus,<sup>2</sup> Joannes Morellus,<sup>3</sup> Mead,<sup>4</sup> Gemma,<sup>5</sup> Paræus,<sup>6</sup> Dr. Nicolas Fontana,<sup>7</sup> Dr. Cullen,<sup>8</sup> Dr. Balfour,<sup>9</sup> Dr. James Lind,<sup>10</sup> Dr. Jackson,<sup>11</sup> Dr. James M'Grigor,<sup>12</sup> Dr. James Gilchrist,<sup>13</sup> Dr. James Johnson,<sup>14</sup> Dr. Liddell,<sup>15</sup> Dr. Diemerbroeck;<sup>16</sup> and, in our own immediate epoch, Drs. Laycock<sup>17</sup> and Orton<sup>18</sup>—Dr. Laycock's *Essays on the "Periodicity in the Phenomena of Life"* and on the "*Causes which determine Vital Phenomena,*" are able and ingenious, and will repay being read and studied by those disposed to investigate more fully this interesting topic—Dr. Milligan,<sup>19</sup> William Ramsay,<sup>20</sup> Dr. Prichard,<sup>21</sup> Arago,<sup>22</sup> and Dr. Lardner.<sup>23</sup>

Many of the great medical authorities of antiquity were clearly of opinion that the celestial bodies exercised a marked influence upon the bodily and mental functions. Dr. Haslam asserts that Hippocrates, whom he designates as a "philosopher and correct

<sup>1</sup> De Constitutionibus trium sequentium annorum, 1692, 1693, 1694, in mutinense civitate et illius Ditione, Dissertatio; which essay will be found in the first volume of his *Opera Omnia Medica et Physiologica*.

<sup>2</sup> On Epidemics.

<sup>3</sup> On Putrid Fever.

<sup>4</sup> De Imperio Solis et Lunæ in corpora Humana et Morbis inde oriundis.

<sup>5</sup> On the Plague of 1575.

<sup>6</sup> On the Plague.

<sup>7</sup> Osservazione Sopra le Melattic che attaccano li Europei nei climi Caldi, &c. Livorno, 1781.

<sup>8</sup> First Lines.

<sup>9</sup> Effects of Sol-Lunar Influence in Fevers. London, 1815.

<sup>10</sup> On Putrid Fevers.

<sup>11</sup> Treatise on the Connexion of the New and Full Moon with the Invasion and Relapse of Fevers.—*London Medical Journal* for 1787. Also, his Treatise on the Fever of Jamaica.

<sup>12</sup> Medical Sketches of an Expedition to Egypt.

<sup>13</sup> On the Diseases of India.

<sup>14</sup> On the Diseases of Tropical Climates.

<sup>15</sup> On the Diseases of Tropical Climates.

<sup>16</sup> On the Plague.

<sup>17</sup> Vols. ii. and iii., *Lancet*, 1842-3.

<sup>18</sup> On Cholera.

<sup>19</sup> Curiosities of Medical Experience.

<sup>20</sup> *Astrologia Restaurata*.

<sup>21</sup> Analysis of the Egyptian Mythology.

<sup>22</sup> Meteorological Essays.

<sup>23</sup> On Lunar Influence.

observer of natural phenomena," did not place any faith in the generally received notion respecting the influence of the moon. This is clearly an error. Hippocrates imbibed so strong a belief regarding the effects of the celestial bodies upon the vital manifestations, that he expressly recommends no physician to be entrusted with the treatment of disease who was ignorant of astronomical science; and he expressly advises his son, Thesalus, to study the science of numbers and geometry, affirming that the "rising and setting of the stars have great effect upon the distempers."\*

The critical days, or *crises*, as they were termed, were said to correspond with the interval between the moon's principal phases.†

Galen adopted the Hippocratic notion. Hence the lunar periods were said by him to be connected with the exacerbation of particular diseases.

The doctrine of lunar influence has descended to modern times; and notwithstanding a section of the scientific world has altogether repudiated the idea, it has nevertheless found zealous advocates amongst the learned of all ages. Men of admitted judgment and sagacity have been found in the ranks of those who support this theory. At the threshold of this important and interesting inquiry it will be well to pause and consider, why any number of men of science should exhibit a disposition to discountenance this notion of planetary influence? I will let Dr. Orton, in the first place, answer this question.

"The difficulty of explaining lunar influence appears to be the great obstacle which in modern times has stood in the way of the belief of its existence and general prevalence. The ancients, who less minutely scrutinized the chain which connects effects with remote causes, implicitly believed in the existence of this power, simply because they saw the coincidence of its effects and certain states of the heavenly bodies, although they knew not that these bodies in other respects exert a physical influence on the earth. But since the progress of science has enabled men to trace more distinctly the manner in which changes arise from and produce other changes, this empirical mode of reasoning has ceased to be satisfactory; and the improvement of philosophy seems, in some instances, to have actually operated as a barrier to its further progress, by furnishing negative arguments against the existence of causes which we are unable to connect by any satisfactory theory with their effects. Every occurrence in Nature has been attempted to be accounted for on rational and general principles, and

\* Epist. ad Thessalum de aëre, aquis, et locis.

† The crises which Hippocrates describes by the words *imperfecte judicabantur*, were, according to Dr. Balfour, nothing more than *intermediate inter-lunar crises*; and those to which he applies the terms *perfecte judicabantur*, were *final inter-lunar crises*.



it has been found much easier to deny than to explain the operation of the sol-lunar power. If, however, these principles were to be applied in all their extent to the other branches of medicine, they would strike at the very root of that imperfect science; for we know little more of the *modus operandi* by which ipecacuanha produces vomiting, or jalap produces purging, than we do of that by which the new or full moon produces attacks of intermittent fever, of mania, or epilepsy. We have the same kind of evidence of the agency of both these classes of causes; and after the proofs which have been adduced of sol-lunar influence, it would be nearly as preposterous to deny its existence—because we cannot account for it, because it does not produce its effects on all persons, or because the same occurrences frequently arise without its agency, as it would be to assert that a common dose of ipecacuanha or jalap will not produce vomiting or purging for precisely the same reasons. It does not, nevertheless, appear to be impossible to make some approach to the explanation of the nature of sol-lunar influence on known principles. It is proved, on the known laws of gravitation, that the various situations of the moon necessarily must have determinate effects on the atmosphere. Observations have shown that such is the case, and on these data considerable progress has already been made in the elucidation of this interesting subject.

“It appears to be very evident that sol-lunar influence is much more powerful within the tropics than in other parts of the world; and this may in some degree account for the little credit which it has met with; for little information, in comparison to the opportunities which are presented, has been conveyed from these countries to the native regions of philosophy. Dr. Balfour has indeed been impressed with all the importance of his subject, and even more than all; his situation and experience were such as to entitle his opinions to the highest attention, and he has given them to the world in the fullest manner; but he has failed in gaining a complete credit, probably from the dogmatical style which he has adopted, and from his having fallen into the error which is usually fatal to theorists—that of aiming at too much.”\*

Dr. Balfour's treatise will form the basis of some remarks when I come particularly to analyse the facts recorded by the different authorities relative to lunar influence in the production of disease. There has, I think, been a disposition to discourage of late years any minute, special, and scientific investigation of the facts recorded by men of veracity, on the presumption that the subject is altogether fanciful, visionary, and Utopian. If the question has been seriously considered with a view to elicit truth, has the inquiry been calmly and dispassionately pursued, and pursued, too, by competent observers, possessed of that preliminary amount of mathematical, astronomical, and meteorological science indispensably necessary in order to arrive at anything like a satisfactory result or scientific conclusion? I much doubt the fact.

\* Dr. Reginald Orton. “Essay on the Epidemic Cholera of India,” p. 202. 1831.

In general conversation on the subject, the observation is often made, "Oh, I have not overlooked the study of the subject; I have been careful to observe whether the moon does really exercise any influence in modifying the type of disease, and have arrived at the conclusion that the notion is a puerile and fallacious one." But when the question is asked as to the *mode of investigation* which has been adopted, it will generally be found to have been loose and unscientific. With undoubtedly a sincere disposition to arrive at the truth, the method adopted by the inquirer has not been sufficiently philosophic, logical, and exact as to entitle it to the respect of learned men. To establish the inconsistency displayed by writers on the subject, Dr. Orton cites passages from two standard works of scientific reference, relating to the subject of lunar light, in which the authors deny *in toto* its effects on the human organism. "The hypothesis of planetary influence," says one of the authorities, "has originated and passed by with the age of astrology."\* Another writer remarks that, "as the most accurate and sensible barometer is not affected by the various positions of the moon, it is not thought likely that the human body should be affected by them." "But in the following page," says Dr. Orton, "*the writer furnishes a body of evidence to establish that the barometer has been found to be very remarkably affected by the various positions of the moon.*" It is not easy to reconcile such statements.

Before proceeding to analyse the facts cited by the authorities previously referred to, as illustrative of the influence of lunar light in the production of bodily disease, I would briefly direct attention to some of the well-known data regarding periodicity, as associated with the progress and type of disease. The theory of lunar influence is in a great measure based upon this well-established law. The doctrine of periodicity, as exhibited in the phenomena of life, is not of modern origin. The ancients were too close and accurate students and observers of Nature to have overlooked the fact. The phenomena of menstruation were the subject of particular observation in all ages, and its singular and well-marked periodical character was attributed to the operation of causes acting independently of those organic laws supposed to regulate the special functions of life. This periodicity is observed in a large class of febrile affections, particularly in the intermittent, remittent, and bilious fevers of tropical climates, in the class of disease termed *neuroses*, in all spasmodic and convulsive disorders, particularly in epilepsy and its allied affections, in many forms of insanity, and in the diseases classed under the term *exanthemata*. Dr. Laycock has entered so fully into the philosophy, physiology, and pathology of this subject that I

\* Rees' "Encyclopædia." "Encyclopædia Britannica."



shall leave him in undisputed possession of the field. He has not, however, confined his remarks to the phenomena of periodicity as exhibited in disease, but has, with the hand of a master, traced the operation of the same law in the animal and vegetable creation, as well as in man in his normal and abnormal state. Dr. Radcliffe, in an unassuming but valuable work, has also touched upon this subject in an earnest, cautious, and philosophic spirit.\* His chapter on Periodicity, natural as well as morbid, suggests to the physiologist and pathologist an important question—viz., whether its phenomena result from the operation of causes exterior to the body, or should be considered as the effect of certain laws of organic life yet undefined and unexplained by modern physiologists? Dr. Radcliffe agrees with the ancients, and with Dr. Mead and many of the moderns, in seeking for the causes of periodicity in sol-lunar influence, and he sees days, months, and years reflected in the lives of plants and animals; but he also considers this evidence in a new point of view, and elicits a new conclusion. In his opinion, this evidence shows that this sol-lunar influence is *necessary* to the life of animals as well as of plants, and most necessary, just in proportion as the vital principle loses that independency which is characteristic of the higher animal, and approximates to the dependency of the plant; and because it shows this, he concludes that all the changes which are found to take place in the sol-lunar influence *must* be accompanied by corresponding changes in vital manifestations. In other words, there must be signs of periodicity, and these signs must be most marked where the vital principle is least independent—in the plant more than in the animal, in woman more than man. For the same reason, he supposes there must be more marked signs of periodicity in cases where the vital energy is impaired by disease, and it is in this impairment, and in this only, that he thinks the true explanation of these signs is to be sought for. This is the lesson which Dr. Radcliffe deduces from this evidence. The question of lunar influence, indeed, is not specially gone into, but the whole tenour of the argument is to show that the moon *must* exercise a great influence upon the body.

“It would appear (says Dr. Radcliffe) that there are certain periodical changes in vital phenomena which reflect more or less distinctly the movements of the sun and moon, some of them corresponding to the day, others to the month, and others to the year; and that these changes are more and more conspicuous the lower the grade of organization in which they are displayed—more so in woman than in man—more in animals at the foot of the scale of being than in those at the summit—

\* “On Epilepsy and other Affections of the Nervous System.” By C. B. Radcliffe, M.D. 1854.



and most of all in the plant. Such is the conclusion which arises out of the physiological investigation of the question of periodicity. There can be no doubt as to the obscurity of the evidences of periodicity, even where that obscurity is least, as in epilepsy, and in affections allied to epilepsy; but there can also be no doubt as to the existence of these evidences. Thus on looking at a number of cases it is found that convulsions and spasm occur more frequently at night than in the day, more frequently about the time of new moon than about the time of full moon, and more frequently in the winter months than in the summer months. Of these evidences of diurnal, monthly, and annual periodicity, the diurnal are the most frequent and the best established; but all are sufficiently frequent and obvious to any one who will take the trouble to seek after them for himself."

There is much in the recorded facts and observations of Drs. Radcliffe and Laycock, as well as in the valuable treatises of Mead and Balfour, to strengthen the presumption that the periodicity referred to arises directly or indirectly from sol-lunar influences. Medical meteorology has not yet assumed the character and position of an exact and demonstrative science; and although I would concede much to those who have patiently considered this interesting branch of philosophic inquiry, I am in duty bound to pause before attributing too much power to those external agents (active I admit them to be) that are considered to regulate and control the great principle of life, either in its healthy or morbid manifestations. Can it be demonstrated that the vital law regulating the phenomena of menstruation acts independently of certain external stimuli? I repeat, is this fact susceptible of proof? Until we are satisfied that this important uterine function is not dependent upon a special law inherent in or acting specifically upon the uterus itself, shall we not be travelling beyond the limits of a safe and logical induction, by assuming as an indisputable and demonstrable fact, that the phenomena to which I refer are the effect of lunar conditions, or dependent upon certain meteorological states of the atmosphere induced by the physical aspects of the moon? I proceed with the historical analysis of the subject.

Dr. Mead's treatise, "*De Imperio Solis et Lunæ in corpora Humana et Morbis inde oriundis*," appeared soon after Sir Isaac Newton's immortal discoveries burst like a flood of dazzling light upon the world. Dr. Mead occupied a high position amongst the *litterati* of Europe. His reputation as a scholar, as a physician, as a man of letters, and as a lover and cultivator of science, was universally established. He was the intimate friend of Pope, of Newton, and of Halley. He stood high in the estimation of foreign princes and kings, and the learned and scientific men of all countries eagerly sought his acquaintance, and felt honoured

by his friendship. It is recorded in his biography that the King of Naples forwarded to Dr. Mead the two first volumes of Signor Bajardi's erudite work on the antiquities found in Herculaneum, paying him the compliment of asking in return a complete collection of his own works, and at the same time inviting him to his palace, for the purpose of showing him his valuable collection of Herculaneum antiquities. Considering the position of Dr. Mead, everything that fell from his pen was read with avidity, and his observations on all subjects were considered to be based upon a patient and accurate study of the great book of Nature. His work "De Imperio" was read with universal interest; and although it gave rise to much controversy, it nevertheless commanded the respect of his learned contemporaries. It was the first modern treatise on the subject, and proceeding from a physician of Mead's reputation, it at once formed the topic of general conversation and criticism. Such being the character of the work, I proceed briefly to analyse its contents.

I proceed to the analysis of Dr. Mead's essay. He, in the prefatory part of his treatise, dwells much upon the importance of a previous acquaintance with the mathematical principles of natural philosophy, in order fully to comprehend the subject of lunar influences.

He then attempts to demonstrate, in the first place, that the sun and moon, in proportion as they approach near the earth, independently of their influence upon heat and moisture, must, at certain times, materially modify vital phenomena. The author, in the second place, cites some facts illustrative of his theory, and then makes some suggestions in reference to the practical division of the subject.

Dr. Mead enters fully into the consideration of the effect of the moon on the winds, observing that the most boisterous seasons of the year occur about the vernal and autumnal equinox. It is a matter, he remarks, of common observation, that in the calmest weather there is some breeze at mid-day, at midnight, and also at full sea—that is, about the time the sun and moon arrives at the meridian, either over or under our hemisphere. Without entering more minutely into an analysis of Dr. Mead's able and ingenious essay, his theory of sol-lunar influence may be thus briefly epitomized:—According to Dr. Mead, the attraction of the sun and moon being increased at the *syzygies* (new and full moon), and the *perigees* (those situations in the moon's orbit in which she approaches nearest to the earth), and the passages over the equator, the weight of the atmosphere is consequently diminished, and it is rendered *mechanically unfit for respiration, and for supporting the due degree of pressure on the surface of the body*. Dr. Mead endeavours to establish, on



Newtonian principles, that in all the situations in which the sun and moon have been found to produce their greatest effects in raising the tides, rarefying and disturbing the atmosphere, and in producing disease, their joint attraction for the earth, or certain parts of it, is greatest; and, on the contrary, where these effects are least evident, that these attractions are least. Dr. Mead maintains that the atmosphere is much more under lunar attraction than the ocean, owing to its greater height, which removes it further from the earth and nearer to the moon. Dr. Mead supposes that the influence of the moon is most visible in low conditions of vitality, and in certain states of disease, and its effects are more manifest on the nervous fluid than on the blood, or any other of the animal fluids. I consider it, however, fair that Dr. Mead should, to a certain extent, be the exponent of his own views; and I therefore make no apology for quoting, *in extenso*, two important passages from his treatise, having special reference to his theory of lunar influence:—

“It has been now a considerable time since sufficiently made out that our atmosphere is a thin elastic fluid, one part of which gravitates upon another, and whose pressure is communicated every way in a sphere to any given part thereof. From hence it follows that if by any external cause the gravity of any one part should be diminished, the more heavy air would rush in from all sides around this part to restore the equilibrium which must of necessity be preserved in all fluids. Now this violent running in of the heavier air would certainly produce a wind, which is no more than a strong motion of the air in some determined direction. If therefore we can find any general cause that would at these stated seasons which we have mentioned, diminish the weight or pressure of the atmosphere, we shall have the genuine reason of these periodical winds, and the necessary consequences thereof. The flux and reflux of the sea was a phenomenon too visible, too regular, and too much conducing to the subsistence of mankind, and all other animals, to be neglected by those who applied themselves to the study of Nature. However, all their attempts to explain this admirable contrivance of infinite wisdom were unsuccessful till Sir Isaac Newton revealed to the world juster principles, and, by a truer philosophy than was formerly known, showed us how, by the united or divided forces of the sun and moon, which are increased and lessened by several circumstances, all the varieties of the tides are accounted for. And since all the changes we have enumerated in the atmosphere do fall out at the same times when those happen in the ocean, and likewise whereas both the waters of the sea, and the air of our earth, are fluids subject in a great measure to the same laws of motion, it is plain that the rule of our great philosopher takes place here—viz., that natural effects of the same kind are to be attributed as much as possible to the same causes.\* What difference that known property of the air, which is not in water, makes in the case, I shall show anon.

\* Newton, “Principia,” p. 387.



Setting aside the consideration of that for the present, it is certain that, as the sea is, so must our air, twice every twenty-five hours, be raised upwards to a considerable height, by the attraction of the moon coming to the meridian; so that, instead of a spherical, it must form itself into a spheroidal figure, whose longest diameter, being produced, would pass through the moon. That the like raising must follow, as soon as the sun is in the meridian of any place either above or below the horizon; and that the moon's power of producing this effect exceeds that of the sun in the proportion of four and a half to one nearly. Moreover, that this elevation is greatest upon the new and full moons, because both sun and moon do then conspire in their attraction; least on the quarters, in that they then are drawing different ways, it is only the difference of their actions that produces this effect; lastly, that this intumescence will be of a middle degree at the time between the quarters and new and full moon. The different distances of the moon in her perigæum and apogæum likewise increase or diminish this power. Besides, the sun's lesser distance from the earth in winter is the reason that the greatest and least attraction of the air upwards more frequently happens a little before the vernal and the autumnal equinox. And in places where the moon declines from the equator, the attraction is greater and lesser alternately, on account of the diurnal rotation of the earth on its axis.

"Whatever has been said on this head is no more than applying what Sir Isaac Newton has demonstrated of the sea to our atmosphere; and it is needless to show how necessarily those appearances just now mentioned of winds, at the stated times, must happen hereupon. It will be of more use to consider the proportion of the forces of the two luminaries upon the air to that which they have upon the waters of our globe, that it may the more plainly appear what influence the alterations hereby made must have upon the animal body."

Dr. Mead then proceeds to demonstrate how much more powerfully the moon influences the atmosphere than the sea, and that the tides in the air, from lunar attraction, are much greater than on those of the ocean; and, after considering the effect of certain unnatural states of the atmosphere upon the barometer, and then the connexion between certain states of the barometer and special as well as epidemic diseases, he, in the subjoined passage, further develops his views as to the mechanical influence of certain conditions of the atmosphere on the respiratory organs:—

"It will not be difficult to show that these changes in our atmosphere at high water, new and full moon, the equinoxes, &c., must occasion some alterations in all animal bodies, and that from the following considerations:—

"First.—All living creatures require air of a determined gravity, to perform respiration easily and with advantage, for it is by its weight chiefly that this fluid insinuates itself into the lungs. Now, the gravity, as we have proved, being lessened by these seasons, a smaller quantity than usual will insinuate itself; and this must be of smaller

force to comminute the blood and forward its passage into the left ventricle of the heart, whence a slower circulation ensues, and the secretion of the nervous fluid is diminished.

"Secondly.—This effect will be the more sure in that the elasticity of the atmosphere is likewise diminished. Air proper for respiration must be, not only heavy, but also elastic to a certain degree; for as this is by its weight forced into the cavity of the thorax in inspiration, so the muscles of the thorax and abdomen press it into the most minute ramifications of the bronchia in expiration; where, the bending force being somewhat taken off, and springy bodies, when unbended, exerting their power every way in proportion to their pressures, the parts of the air push against all the sides of the vesiculæ and promote the passage of the blood. Therefore the same things which cause any alterations in the property of the air will more or less disturb the animal motions. We have a convincing instance of all this in those who go to the top of high mountains; for the air is there so pure (as they call it)—that is, thin—and wants so much of its gravity and elasticity, that they cannot take in a sufficient quantity of it to inflate the lungs, and therefore breathe with great difficulty.

"Lastly.—All the fluids in animals have in them a mixture of elastic aura, which, when set at liberty, shews its energy, and causes those intestine motions we observe in the blood and spirits, the excess of which is checked by the external ambient air, while these juices are contained in their proper vessels. Now, when the pressure of the atmosphere upon the surface of our body is diminished, the inward air in the vessels must necessarily be enabled to exert its force in proportion to the lessening of the gravity and elasticity of the outward; hereupon the juices begin to ferment, change the union and cohesion of their parts, and stretch the vessels to such a degree as sometimes to burst the smallest of them. This is very plain in living creatures put into the receiver exhausted by the air-pump, which always first pant for breath, and then swell, as the air is more and more drawn out; their lungs at the same time contracting themselves, and falling so together as to be hardly discernible, especially in the lesser animals." \*

Making due allowance for the obsolete terms used by Dr. Mead, as well as for the state of pathological and physiological science of his epoch, the reader will be able to detect, in the language which he adopts to enunciate the theory of lunar influence, the germs of some great truths, which have subsequently been confirmed, in all quarters of the globe, by appeals to the great book of Nature. Dr. Mead has undoubtedly laid himself open to the charge of attempting to prove too much; but are not all ardent and zealous cultivators of science exposed to the same imputation?

In the concluding part of the essay, Dr. Mead details a number of facts that have come under his own as well as the observation

\* "*Esperienze dell' Accademia del Cimento*," p. 118.

of his contemporaries, demonstrative of lunar influence. Some of the cases cited appear to have a somewhat fabulous origin; but making every allowance for some trifling and natural exaggerations into which the author has fallen, in his zealous endeavours to substantiate his pet theory, all who read his essay must admit that it is, to a great extent, based on a clear and accurate observation of facts, however loosely and inaccurately they may have, in a few instances, been recorded. It will be interesting, whilst glancing at the literary history of this subject, to refer to some of Dr. Mead's illustrations. Dr. Mead was physician to St. Thomas's Hospital during the time of Queen Anne's wars with France, and whilst occupying this honourable position, great numbers of wounded sailors were brought into the hospital. He observed that the moon's influence was visible on most of the cases then under his care. He then cites a case, communicated to him by Dr. Pitcairne, of a patient, thirty years of age, who was subject to epistaxis, whose affection returned every year in March and September—that is, of the new moon—near the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. Dr. Pitcairne's own case is referred to as a remarkable fact corroborative of lunar influence. In the month of February, 1687, whilst at a country seat near Edinburgh, he was seized, at nine in the morning, the very hour of the new moon, with a violent hæmorrhage from the nose, accompanied with severe syncope. On the following day, on his return to town, he found that the barometer was lower at that very hour than either he or his friend Dr. Gregory, who kept the journal of the weather, had ever observed it; and that another friend of his, Mr. Cockburn, professor of philosophy, had died suddenly, at the same hour, from hæmorrhage from the lungs; and also that six of his patients were seized, *at the same time, with various kinds of hæmorrhages*, all arising, it was supposed, from the effect of lunar influence on the condition of the barometer. Dr. Mead's essay is replete with cases illustrative of lunar influence analogous to those already cited. The practical part of the work I purposely leave untouched.

Having given the preceding sketch of Dr. Mead's essay, I now proceed to analyse Dr. Balfour's treatise, the second work of any importance specially devoted to this subject.

Dr. Francis Balfour's first dissertation was published in Calcutta, in 1784.\* In 1790, in a "Treatise on Putrid Intestinal Remitting Fevers," published at Edinburgh, the periodical return of febrile paroxysms and their coincidence with the periodical intentions and remissions of sol-lunar power, which constitutes

\* "Treatise on the Influence of the Moon in Fevers." This was subsequently reprinted in England, and also inserted in Dr. Duncan's "Medical Commentaries."



the foundation and proof of this theory, was investigated, described, and illustrated by two different plates, exhibiting a synoptical view of the whole system. The first part of that treatise is a regular logical synthesis, arising from facts observed and collected by himself to the discovery of certain prevailing tendencies in Nature, and thence to axioms or general laws. The second part is an analysis, in which these axioms or laws are employed to explain some of the most remarkable phenomena of fevers. The third part is an application of the principles of this theory to form general rules for practice.

This physician appears to have devoted great attention to the consideration of this subtle and disputed point in science; and, with a view to its satisfactory elucidation, placed himself in communication with all the medical men of note resident in our Indian presidencies, and elicited from them the result of their observations on the subject. Dr. Balfour maintains, that every type of fever prevalent in India is, in a remarkable manner, affected by the revolutions of the moon. Whatever may be the form of fever, he says that he has invariably observed that its first attack is on one of the three days which immediately precede or follow the full of the moon, or which precede or follow the change of the moon, so that the connexion which prevailed between the attack of the disease and the moon at or during the time referred to, was most remarkable; relapses in cases of fever are also said frequently to occur at such times. Dr. Balfour has observed, for a period of fourteen years, this tendency to relapse at the full and change; and, in particular cases, he was able to prognosticate the return of the fever at these periods with almost as much confidence as he could foretell the revolution itself. Putrid, nervous, and rheumatic fevers of India are, according to Balfour, equally under the influence of the moon. In attempting to explain these phenomena, Dr. Balfour says, that along with the full and change of the moon, there is constantly recurring some uncommon or adventitious state or quality in the air, which increases fever and disposes to an unfavourable termination or crisis; and that along with the intervals, there is constantly recurring a state or quality in the air opposite to the former, which does not excite but diminishes fever, and disposes to a favourable crisis.\* Dr. Balfour has collected a vast body of valuable

\* It will be well to state what Dr. Balfour means by a crisis. He defines a crisis to be "favourable changes which never fail to take place, in some degree or other, at the time of their *transition* from the lunar period in the inter-lunar interval, and generally on the first morning inter-meridional interval after it; at which juncture the maturity of the critical disposition concurs with the periodical decline of sol-lunar influence in bringing them about; and they are distinguished by one or more of the following symptoms—viz., a sediment, or particular turbid appearance, in the urine; a more free and natural perspiration; spontaneous

evidence in support of his lunar theory, establishing beyond all dispute that in tropical climates the regular diurnal and septenary changes observed in the character of the fevers of India, are coincident and correspondent with periodical sol-lunar conditions.

In the year 1783-4, Dr. Balfour had for many months the charge of a regiment of sepoys, of Cooch Behar, immediately under the vast range of mountains which separate the northern part of Bengal from Bootan. The prevalent diseases were fevers, or "fluxes" attended with fevers. During the first month four hundred men were invalided. The greater part, however, of these cases were convalescent in the course of the eight days that intervened between the full and change of the moon; but during the remaining months of his stay in that district, the diseases previously mentioned increased to almost double their extent at every full and change of the moon, falling down again to their former standard during the eight days which intervened between these two periods. With regard to small-pox occurring in India, Dr. Balfour expresses himself as perfectly satisfied that the full and change of the moon interfered with the eruption, and increased the accompanying fever to a dangerous degree.

The influence of the moon on the functions of life has been made the subject of observation and speculation in every part of India. The physiological and pathological effects of lunar light have been universally acknowledged by all medical men practising in tropical climates. The natives of India are taught to believe in lunar influence from early infancy. In the northern latitudes the effect of the moon's rays are said to be less sensibly felt than in India. In the latter country, those suffering from attacks of intermittent fever are often able to predict, by watching the phases of the moon, the accession of the disease. Balfour maintains, that the fact of diseases appearing during every day of the month is no legitimate argument against lunar influence.

"The human body," he says, "is subject to alterations from a thousand external physical circumstances as well as from many internal moral affections. These lay the foundation of disease at every period of life, but they do not overthrow the evidence of lunar influence, although they are apt to mislead with regard to effects that depend on that alone. The human body is affected in a remarkable manner by the changes of the moon. I am perfectly convinced, although I cannot constantly pretend to see the operation of the general law, nor to account at all times for its perturbation, and

stools; and cleaner, moister, and softer tongue, with a more free and natural discharge of saliva, a more loose and copious expectoration, and a free discharge of bile, which seems to disappear and be suppressed in the course of the fever," &c.

agree in thinking that an attention to the power of the moon is highly necessary to the medical practitioner in India."

"It is a fact," says Dr. Orton, "which has been universally observed, particularly in tropical climates, that the moon has a great influence on the weather; the full and change tending to produce rain and storms, and the quarters being more frequently attended by fine weather." This is so well ascertained, and so thoroughly believed, at least in India, that it is nearly superfluous to adduce arguments or instances in support of it. On every side, then, we perceive the intimate connexion which exists between the three series of phenomena which have been noticed—the great lunar periods, disturbed states of the atmosphere, and the attacks of the epidemic. It will also be proved that the other principal circumstance which has been supposed to attend the prevalence of cholera, the depression of the barometer is likewise produced by the new and full moon. Dr. Orton says, "Sol-lunar influence is, doubtless, but one of the causes producing the state of the atmosphere which gives rise to cholera; and I have no doubt that the disease will often be found to make its appearance when the disturbing power of the sun and moon is least, and to subside when that power is at its height. General exacerbations of other epidemics, as well as of cholera, will usually be found to correspond to the moon's syzygies, and the remissions of the quarters."

Dr. Kennedy bears testimony, in his work on Epidemic Cholera, to the influence of the moon. He observes, "that the constitution here (India), both native and denizen, is assuredly under lunar influence, or, what is the same thing, under the influence of the changes of weather which invariably accompany the changes of the planet."

Diemerbroeck, in his well-known treatise on the Plague,\* when speaking of the epidemic of 1636, says: "Two or three days before and after the new and full moon the disease was more violent; more persons were seized at these times than at others, and those who were then seized almost all died in a very few hours. *Nescioquà virium labefactione oppressi.*" In the dedication prefixed to this treatise, which is addressed to the prætor and consuls, and the whole senate at Utrecht, he thus describes the nature of his own situation, the opportunities he had of acquiring a knowledge of the disease, and his object in publishing the work:—

"As in all well-constituted states it is the duty of every one to contribute his advice and assistance for the public safety, that by

\* "Isabrandi Diemerbroeck Montferto Trajectini, antehac Noviomagi, nunc Ultrajecti Medici de Peste." *Libri Quatuor Dissertatio*, &c. Arenaci, 1646.



their unanimous concurrence the present as well as impending evils of the state may be averted and repelled, I conceive that I should not act improperly if, concerning this plague, of all diseases the most cruel, and more destructful than an enemy, I, too, should offer some salutary advice toward the discovery of its hidden nature, together with some more certain method of curing it. For, as in warfare, none can so well elude the designs of the enemy, or repel his attacks, as one who has had experience in the art of war, so none can more effectually resist this cruel disease than one who has intrepidly opposed himself to its fury. This I did a long time ago, not only in the year 1633, when a most violent pestilential fever, the forerunner of this plague, afflicted most grievously the whole province of Gelderland, and principally the city of Nimeguen, where I was ordinary physician, and threw upon me so great a load of practice as hardly allowed me to take sustenance, but likewise, in 1636 and 1637, when the true plague raged so violently amongst the people of Nimeguen, and so great a number of sick was thrown upon my hands as to give me no rest or repose. Having at that time, with great danger, and at the risk of my life, investigated most inquisitively the nature of this most dreadful enemy, I now make public his *portrait*, delineated in this book, for the safety of all."

The same authority asserts, that during the epidemic fever which raged in Italy in 1693, patients died in great numbers on the 21st of January, at the period of the lunar eclipse. But as Dr. Lardner observes, when recording the fact, it may be objected that the patients who then died in such numbers at the moment of the eclipse might have had their imaginations highly excited, and their fears wrought upon, by the approach of that event, if popular opinion invested it with danger. That such an impression was likely to prevail is evident from the facts which have been recorded. In 1654, at the time of a solar eclipse, such was the strong opinion entertained on this subject, that patients in considerable numbers were ordered by their physician to be shut up in chambers well closed, warmed, and perfumed, with the view of escaping the injurious influence of the eclipse. The consternation that prevailed amongst all classes was very great, and such crowds rushed to the confessional, that the ecclesiastics found it impossible to exercise their spiritual vocations.

The authorities previously cited conclusively establish that lunar influence is not to be viewed as a mere myth, or as an Utopian speculation. A host of writers and observers confirm the fact beyond all disputation. It will remain for me to consider, not only the evidence in favour of the lunar theory, but the arguments advanced against the hypothesis. It is only by closely investigating both sides of the question that the philosopher in search of truth will be enabled to arrive at a safe deduction.

Before considering the main point under review—viz., the alleged effect of the moon upon the mind in a state of aberration—it will be necessary to revert to the supposed *modus operandi* of lunar light. In the first place, I will refer to the

### MORBID PHENOMENA OF LUNAR LIGHT.

The morbid effect of the moon's rays upon the vegetable kingdom has long been the subject of observation and speculation. Many curious and apparently inexplicable facts are upon record illustrative of the phenomena. It will be well to refer to some of the more reliable data in connexion with this division of my subject. It is stated as a fact that if peas are sown in the increase of the moon they never cease blooming; that if fruits and herbs are set during the wane of the moon, they are not so rich in flavour, nor so strong and healthy, as when planted during the increase. M. Auguste de Saint-Hilaire states, that in Brazil, cultivators plant during the decline of the moon all vegetables whose roots are used as food; and, on the contrary, they plant during the increasing moon the sugar-cane, maize, rice, beans, &c., and in general those which bear the food upon their stocks and branches. Experiments, however, were made and reported by M. de Chanvalon, at Martinique, on vegetables planted at different times in the lunar month, and no appreciable difference in their qualities was discovered. There are some traces of a principle in the rule adopted by the South American agronomes, according to which they treat the two classes of plants distinguished by the production of fruit on their roots or on their branches differently; but there are none in the European aphorisms. The directions of Pliny are still more specific: he prescribes the time of the full moon for sowing beans, and that of the new moon for lentils. "Truly," says M. Arago, "we have need of a robust faith to admit, without proof, that the moon, at the distance of 240,000 miles, shall, in one position, act advantageously upon the vegetation of beans, and that, on the opposite position, and at the same distance, she shall be propitious to lentils." The wise husbandman is said to prune his vines in obedience to certain phases of the planet. It is a maxim amongst gardeners that cabbages and lettuces which are desired to shoot forth early, flowers which are to be double, trees which it is desired should produce early ripe fruit, should severally be sown, planted, and pruned during the decrease of the moon; and that, on the contrary, trees which are expected to grow with vigour should be sown, planted, grafted, and pruned during the increase of the moon. These opinions Dr. Lardner considers to be altogether erroneous. The increase or decrease of the moon, he maintains, has no appreciable influence on the phenomena of

vegetation; and the experiments and observations of several French agriculturists, and especially of M. Duhamel du Monceau, have, he observes, clearly established this fact.

Mantanari has referred to physical causes for an explanation of the alleged lunar influence upon plants. During the day, he says, the solar heat augments the quantity of sap which circulates in plants, by increasing the magnitude of the tubes through which the sap moves, while the cold of the night produces the opposite effect by contracting these tubes. Now, at the moment of sunset, if the moon be increasing, it will be above the horizon, and the warmth of its light would prolong the circulation of the sap; but, during its decline, it will not rise for a considerable time after sunset, and the plants will be suddenly exposed to the unmitigated cold of the night, by which a sudden contraction of leaves and tubes will be produced, and the circulation of the sap as suddenly obstructed. This explanation does not satisfy Dr. Lardner, who remarks, that if it be admitted that the lunar rays possess any sensible calorific power, this reasoning might hold good, but it will have very little force when it is considered that the extreme change of temperature which can be produced by the lunar light does not amount to the thousandth part of a degree of the thermometer! Upon this point, however, philosophers are at variance. The lunar rays have, according to the experience of practical men, a decided calorific agency. The gardeners of Paris assured Arago that in the months of April and May they found the leaves and buds of their plants, when exposed to the full moon in a clear night, *actually frozen, when the thermometer in the atmosphere was many degrees above freezing-point*. He mentions these facts as proving that the moon's rays have a frigorific power, but that the largest speculums directed to the moon produced no such indications on a thermometer placed in their focus.\* Dr. Howard, of Baltimore, has affirmed that, on placing a blackened upper ball of his differential thermometer in the focus of a thirteen-inch reflecting mirror, opposed to the light of the full moon, the liquor sunk, in half a minute, eight degrees!

Cases of sudden death and coma are recorded as resulting from improper and prolonged exposure to the intense light of the full moon. Sailors have been found dead on deck after sleeping under the moon's rays. It is also said that convulsions, apoplexy, epilepsy, and insanity have arisen from the same cause. Plutarch observes:—"Everybody knows that those who sleep abroad under the influence of the moon are not easily waked, but seem stupid and senseless."† Mr. Madden mentions that the Arabs attribute a morbid influence to the moon, and thinks

\* Fergus. "Bull. Univ." 1827, p. 383.

† Plut. "Symp." B. 3.



it causes ophthalmia and catarrh. He thought there was some influence from it in the desert beyond the common dampness of the night.\*

The questions that naturally occur to the mind in reference to the interesting inquiry under consideration are, whether the morbid phenomena alleged to result from the moon's rays are dependent upon the *mere intensity of lunar light*, or are to be considered as the effect of *some specific influence in the nature of the light itself*? Let me consider the first question. It is an admitted fact that the light of the full moon is at least 300,000 times more feeble than that of the sun. According to Cosmos, the mean distance of the earth from the sun is 120.32 times greater than the earth's diameter, therefore 20,682,000 German or 82,728,000 English geographical miles. The mean distance of the moon from the earth is 51,800 German or 207,200 English geographical miles.

It is said that the solar light reflected from the surface of the moon is in every zone fainter than the solar light reflected in the daytime from a white cloud.

Humboldt says, when speaking of this subject—"When taking lunar distances from the sun for determinations of geographical longitude, it is not unfrequently found difficult to distinguish the moon's disk amongst the more intensely illuminated cumuli. On mountains between 13,000 and 17,000 feet high, where in the clearer mountain air only light, feathery, cirrous clouds are to be seen, I found it much easier to distinguish the moon's disk; both being cirrous, from its slighter texture, reflects less of the sun's light, and the moon loses less in passing through the thin atmospheric strata." The ratio of the intensity of the sun's light to that of the full moon deserves further investigation, as Bouguer's generally received determination,  $\frac{1}{300000}$ , differs so strikingly from the indeed more improbable one of Wollaston,  $\frac{1}{800000}$ . Wollaston's comparison of the light of sun and moon, made in 1799, was based on the shadows cast by wax-light, while in the experiments with sirrus, in 1826-27, images reflected from a glass globe were employed. The earlier assigned ratios of the intensity of solar light as compared to that of the moon differs very much from the results here given. Michell and Enler, proceeding from theoretical grounds, have respectively concluded 450,000 and 374,000 to 1. Bouguer, from measurements of the shadows of wax-lights, had even made it only 300,000 to 1.

I think, after duly weighing the above facts, we must dismiss from the mind the impression that the intensity of the light of the moon, as compared to that of the sun, has anything to do with the supposed morbid effect of lunar light.

\* "Travels in Turkey."

I proceed, in the next place, to the consideration of the questions, whether the alleged morbid effect of lunar rays is attributable to something specific in the composition of the light itself; and secondly, whether the supposed abnormal influence of the moon is not altogether owing to certain barometrical variations and meteorological phenomena consequent upon the phases or position of the planet? Is there anything specific in the composition of lunar light?

According to numerous observations which Arago made with his polariscope, the moon's rays contain *polarized* light. Polarized light *carbonizes*, and is therefore antagonistic to the sun's rays, which *oxygenate*. The light in the pent-up dwellings of large towns, inhabited by the poor, is polarized light, it being almost always only a reflected light; and the light and atmosphere contained in such dwellings, on the *mind* as well as the *body* of the inmates, is admitted to be destructive to vitality. The health of those exposed to such influences shows the want of oxygen; they suffer from venous torpidity, muscular debility, a circulation of carbonized blood, feebleness of the mind, a tendency to hallucination, delirium, sleeplessness, loss of muscular force, and inaptitude to work or engage in inactive employments.

What is polarized light? Sir David Brewster thus lucidly explains the phenomenon: When the ray of light falls on a transparent body, so as to be reflected from it, it is modified or affected in such a manner by this reflection, that upon meeting a second transparent body, it will either be reflected or not, according to the side which it presents to it. It will be reflected if it fall upon that body on either of the opposite sides, but will not be reflected if it fall upon either of the other two, at right angles to the former. Thus, suppose the ray, after being modified by the first transparent reflector, presents itself to the second, so as to be reflected, and call the side of the ray, on which it meets the second reflector, on the *north* side; if the second reflector is turned round, so that the *east* side of the ray meets it, there will be no reflection, and in like manner it will be reflected on the south and not on the west sides respectively. The same modification, whatever it may be, prevents the ray from being *doubly* refracted, by passing through Iceland crystal, which it meets on two of its opposite sides, but permits it to be doubly refracted by meeting the crystal on the two other sides. And this modification, with respect to double refraction, may be impressed upon the ray by a first double refraction, as well as by reflection from a transparent body. But where the modification is produced by reflection, it is most complete at one particular angle of incidence, which varies in different transparent substances.

Now, the existence of this phenomenon is certain; it is a fact



that a change takes place in the ray by the operation of the first transparent body ; it is a fact that this change has some kind of reference to the four sides of the ray, and affects those sides at right angles to each other differently. The observers of these appearances have explained them, by supposing that each particle of light has its adjacent sides endowed with opposite properties, and that the first reflecting, or double refracting body, turns or arranges all the particles of light in a ray, in such a manner that their similar sides are presented in the same direction to the second body. Now this arranging or turning of the particles, or this change operated by the first body upon the ray, whatever it may be, is termed, from analogy to the phenomena of magnetism—polarization.\*

Having cursorily referred to two modes of explaining the phenomena of morbid lunar light, I have yet to consider the most rational and philosophic theory of lunar influence propounded—viz., the effect of the moon's position upon the *wind, temperature, and rain*, three meteorological conditions universally admitted to play an important part in the origin, spread, and modification of disease. It has been a vexed question with natural philosophers, whether the barometer is decidedly influenced by the phases of the moon. The facts illustrative of this point are too significant to justify a doubt upon the question.

A remarkable correspondence between the phases of the moon and certain states of the barometer has been observed by Luke Howard. This coincidence, he maintains, consists of a depression of the barometrical line on the approach of the new and full moon, and its elevation on that of the quarters. In above thirty out of fifty lunar weeks in 1790, the barometer was found to have changed its general direction once in each week, in such a manner as to be either rising or at its maximum for the week preceding, and following about the time of each quarter, and to be either falling, or at its minimum, for the two weeks about the new and full. It is remarkable that the point of greatest depression during the year—viz., 28·67, was about twelve hours after the new moon on the 8th of November, and that of the greatest and extraordinary elevation of 30·89, on the 7th of February, at the time of the last quarter. The variation from this coincidence seemed to be owing to an evident perturbation of the atmosphere. These observations were confirmed by observations made for ten years in the Royal Society's apartments. Mr. Howard supposes, therefore, that the joint attractions of the sun and moon at the new moon, and the attraction of the moon predominating over the sun's weaker attraction at the full, tend to depress the barometer by taking off the gravity of the atmosphere, as they

\* "On Optics," by Sir David Brewster.



produce a high tide in the waters by taking off from their gravity ; and again, that the attraction of the moon being diminished by that of the sun at her quarters, this diminution tends to make a high barometer, together with a low tide, by permitting each fluid to press with additional gravity on the earth. It is demonstrated *à priori* on the principles of the Newtonian philosophy, that the air ought to have its tides as well as the ocean, though in a degree as much less perceptible as is its gravity.\* If this observation were strictly true, and the tides of the atmosphere were to those of the sea as the specific gravity of air is to that of water, the aerial tides must be extremely small, for the weight of air is very trifling compared to that of water. But it is known that the height of the tides of the sea bears some proportion to the extent of the sea, uninterrupted by land and to its depth. On both these accounts we should expect that the atmosphere would be more influenced by the moon's attraction than the sea, for it is vastly deeper and more extensive than the sea, and entirely unconfined.

Signor Tolado found that a greater elevation of the barometer takes place at the quarters than at the syzygies ; it is less when the moon is in the northern signs than when in the southern. The mean diurnal height, which corresponds to the Tropic of Cancer, is less by a quarter of a line than that which corresponds to the Tropic of Capricorn. It is one-sixth of a line less at the moon's perigee than at her apogee, and one-tenth of a line less at the syzygies than at the quarters ; and there are vacillations in the mercury when the new or full moon corresponds to the apogean or perigean points. He found, also, that the perigee, the new and full moon, and the northern lunistice are favourable to bad weather ; whilst the apogee, the quadratures, and the southern lunistice are more favourable to good weather.

Père Cotte, from observations of thirty-five years, found that the barometer had a tendency to descend at every new and full moon, and to ascend at the quarterly periods. He likewise found that the perigee and northern declination depressed the barometer, whilst the apogee and southern declination had the opposite effect.† Mr. L. Howard has satisfactorily established, that the moon's position, operating by the common effects of the attraction of gravitation, influences alike the course of the variable winds, the daily variations of the temperature, and the rain of any year ; but not in every year alike, there being a constant periodical variation of the variation itself. The subjoined passage will illustrate Mr. L. Howard's views upon the point :—

\* "Encyclopædia Britannica."

† Orton, on "Epidemic Cholera," p. 222 ; and "Lectures on Meteorology," by G. Luke Howard.

1. In 1807, the first year examined, the days on which a *northerly* wind appeared under a full moon (the spaces taken being weeks with the phase on the middle day) were double the number of those that occurred under the new moon; and the days on which a *south-west* wind blew under the new moon are to those under the full as thirty-three to seventeen. The *south-east* again, are six under new to four under full moon; while the *east* are eleven under full to five under new moon.

2. The rain of the year is found distributed accordingly—viz.

For the weeks under last quarter	. . .	6·92 in.
For those under new moon	. . .	5·09 „
„ „ first quarter	. . .	6·17 „
„ „ full moon	. . .	0·84 „

The total for the solar year being 19·02 in., we find that *not a twentieth part of the rain of the year fell in that quarter of the whole space which occurred under the influence of the moon at full.*

3. Contrary to the state of the *barometrical variation* in 1798, almost all the principal elevations of the column appear in this year under the full moon, along with the northerly winds.

4. Lastly, the *mean temperature* of the weeks preceding new and full moon is lower in this year by two degrees than that of the weeks preceding the quarter.

(*To be continued.*)

## ART. II.—ETHNOLOGICAL PSYCHOLOGY.

ANCIENT tradition has proceeded from the East, and travelled from the rising to the setting sun. Asia was the cradle of prophecy, the nursery of wisdom, and the garden of fable, parable, and supernatural inspiration. From thence issued the most venerable writings extant, whether they be the Bible on the one hand, or Homer on the other,—the Hindoo Vedas, the Persian Zendavest, or the maxims of Confucius. Learning and fiction, divine revelation and human invention, appeared together, and flowed in a mingled, if not a turbid stream, from the Altaï and Himalaya mountains, the plains of Mesopotamia, the forests of Lebanon, the banks of the Jordan, the Lake of Gennesaret, and the coasts of Tyre and Sidon. The infancy of the world was the age of proverbs, and the spiritual apothegms of the post-diluvian epochs are now the handmaidens that wait upon the wonders of modern science. For the west and the east are two different worlds, in direct contrast to each other. Their respective voices echo and re-echo from their opposite shores, without ever blending into

harmony, or even so much as becoming confused. The intelligence of the West disturbs the apathy and stolid repose of the East. The Sphinx in the sands of Egypt, and the ponderous palaces of Sennacherib at Mosul, are emblems of the mind of the people that built and beheld them. Their silence, magnitude, and monotony, smile with an air of sublimity on the fleeting generations of man and the inexorable lapse of centuries. No accordance subsists between the Asiatic and the European, no sympathy unites the energy of the one with the lethargy of the other, neither skill nor artifice can ever combine the march of intellect with the perpetual stagnation of ideas.

The notion of the three races of mankind is met with in the traditions of every people, not even excepting that of the Negroes. The first family, they say, was composed of three brothers, one of whom was black, and the other two were white. The white brothers robbed the black one of all that he possessed, and left him nothing but a little gold-dust and a few elephants' tusks. Under the names of Shem, Ham, and Japhet, the Bible rehearses the more authentic account of the three primitive stocks, and ethnology confirms the succinct narrative of the scriptures.

The Hindoos and the Persians are the twin nations that first attract our notice. Like migratory birds, fresh fledged from the tree of life, they quit their nests and fly to fairer lands that offer them a more tempting and agreeable resting-place. Thus, the Hindoo wanders along the winding beds of the Indus and Ganges, leaves the lofty mountains that hide their sources, and seeks beneath the burning sun of India those local fastnesses where he may securely indulge his love of contemplation, alone and at his ease. Listening to the rushing waters of the Ganges, Brahma ruminated in the midst of the jungles through which that river flows. But, on the contrary, the Medes and Persians flung themselves headlong down the precipitous heights of the Taurus, seized the territories where they first alighted, and made them their own. The land grew beneath their martial footsteps, the horizon enlarged in proportion to their bold advances. It was against Ahriman, the eternal enemy of their god, that they drew their swords and conquered; and, as they marched along the highways, the women quenched their thirst with a quaff from the waters of immortality. From the Persian Gulf to Armenia, and thence to the Halys, they spread themselves in battle array. Bactriana, Susa, and Persepolis, are the milestones of their journeys. Arrived at the Caucasus, they pushed onwards, until at length, under new names, but with the same spirit, they descended upon Europe. Behold the race of Japhet, as various in sentiment as in affection; armed against its own children as



often as against those of others ; exploring each place and thing with the strictest scrutiny, and threatening to occupy the whole globe under the well-known titles of Celts and Germans, the two-fold genius of the West !

Close by the side of the Persians and Hindoos, but almost entirely unknown to either of them, dwelt Shem in the mountainous regions around the Tigris and Euphrates. No nation ever conjoined the spirit of religion with that of industry in so remarkable a degree as the Shemites. The Chaldees, the Phenicians, the Carthaginians, and the Arabians, are of this stock, as well as the Hebrews, the peculiar people of Jehovah ; and Babylon, "the Lady of Kingdoms," was the heart of the vast body of which all these several tribes were the members. The sandy desert and the ocean, the simple tent of Abraham and the ships of Tarshish, belong exclusively to this illustrious progeny, from whose sanctuary went forth in the fulness of time the gracious or appalling vocation of the Gospel.

More to the South, we perceive the race of Ham, with their black skin, curly hair, squab features, and filthy habits. They dwelt towards the centre of Africa, in those remote confines of earth where the men were said to have dogs' heads, monkeys' faces, and the ferocity of the wolf. Their spirit was as abject as their bodies. They worshipped the lion or the serpent for their god. Their social deformity shut them out from the great family of the world. Outcasts and aliens, they stretched their wigwam on the arid plains or the pestilential swamps, beneath the scorching rays of the tropics. It is supposed, that a sacerdotal mission of Hindoos brought to these wretched beings some proper notions of life and happiness ; that they emigrated from Ethiopia, descended from Meroë to Thebes, and from Thebes to Memphis ; that, reinforced from Arabia and Nubia, they proceeded forwards till they reached the Mediterranean Sea, and that there the superstitions, the laws, and the gods of Egypt arose and multiplied on the mud that formed the delta of the Nile.

These are the three actors that open the scene. The history of Asia is nothing more than the battle of races—Assyria, Persia, and Egypt contending for the prize. Their symbols are sculptured in relief upon the walls of Persepolis or those of Nineveh, in the forms of winged bulls with men's heads, or griffins crouching to pounce upon their prey. But the conquerors did not so much establish themselves among the vanquished, as they trod them down, till they in their turn were trodden down by the vanquished, who sooner or later rose up against them. A new feature was thus produced by these revolutions and counter-revolutions, namely, that of castes, which is the earliest sign of social inequality among men.

Another epoch of mental development occurred. Asia, teeming with her excess of population, sent forth the shepherd kings to seize upon Egypt and hold it under her sway. They modified the barbarity of the first Ethiopian colonists for awhile, but were soon expelled, and forced to seek their fortune anew elsewhere. They quitted the desert for the sea, and founded Tyre. Another emigration still more important ensued—the exodus of Israel from Egypt. Every one knows how Moses led them through stony Arabia into Palestine. The overthrow of the horse and his rider in the Red Sea was the song of triumph that still commemorates the emancipation of the soul from the thralldom of sin, and its glorious entrance into the Land of Promise. The Passover is the leading idea of the Jewish mind: it penetrates all their schemes, and peculiarizes their institutions, their habits of life, and their modes of thought. They are to this day engaged in celebrating this sublime feast, with their heads covered, their loins girded, and their staves in their hands, eating in haste, and ready to start on their mystical journey. This sentiment of transition or progression becomes a motive of action apart from the rest of mankind. They are sedate, though vagrant; a definite community, though without a settlement; merchants of wealth and credit, though destitute of a policy or emporium of their own. Of old, they were shepherds and agriculturists at one and the same time. They encamped in the wilderness; they dwelt in cities; they pitched their tabernacle in Mount Moriah, where Solomon afterwards raised the Temple, and thus rendered the worship of Jehovah no longer erratic, but fixed and concentrated in the heart of Jerusalem. In that centre were deposited the Tables of the Law, and close beside it was enacted the condign tragedy of Calvary, which sealed the fate of the Jews, and from thenceforth became the turning-point of the world. These singularities render them the most remarkable people on the face of the earth, and account for the perpetual identity of their features, their manners, and their minds.

At the same time with the exodus from Egypt took place the invasion of Greece, which was overrun by a powerful emigration from the east. It was the race of Japhet, to whom had been promised the isles of the Gentiles, as the tent and the desert had been given to Shem. The Phenicians landed in Attica, and some Egyptian adventurers crossed over to Argolis. The mysteries of Eleusis and the superstitions of Memphis lodged themselves in Parnassus. It reminds us of the Spaniards landing in Peru, or the Romans scaling the heights of Dover; only the Romans and the Spaniards were military oppressors, whereas the early Greeks were the professed friends of all they met with. They peace-



ably surrounded themselves with their Cyclopean walls, and marked out the site of the future city of Minerva. These marine settlers were quickly followed by others on land—a promiscuous troop that arrived at the threshold of Europe from the Taurus. But the Caucasus was the beaten path by which the main body advanced; and Prometheus is represented as being perched on the top of one of its highest peaks, and holding the east and west in either of his outstretched hands. The Danube was then, as in later times, their line of march; although, like the Goths, the greater number preferred the cheerful skies of Attica to the dreary wastes of the North. The gravest, the strongest, and the noblest of them all, were the Dorians, who debouched between Ceta and Olympus, forced the isthmus of Corinth, and possessed themselves of the Peloponnesus. They drove the aborigines for shelter to the adjoining archipelago, while they strenuously closed the entrance against any further inroads on themselves.

But there was this difference between the Greeks and the Jews—viz., that the Hebrews shut themselves up within the enclosure of the Holy Land, from which they were carried off by the terrible Assyrians; and that the Greeks, after affiliating themselves with everything around them, shouted aloud, like Achilles going to battle, and aspired to the conquest of the earth. They loved the world, and the things of the world; the beautiful and the sublime were the fruits of their own genius; and they claimed glory for their own share, without a partner or a peer. Opposite as the fortunes of Shem and Japhet have been in their posterity, it is difficult to decide which of the two has produced the more lasting effects on the temporal destiny of mankind. For a time the drunken festivals of the Olympic games carried the day in a rhapsody of success, while Judah, with his hands tied behind his back, stalked as a slave in front of Nebuchadnezzar on his return to Babylon. Nevertheless, at this moment, Greece with its idols lies level with the dust; its language alone remains to attest the perfection of its intellect; and its philosophy has retired from the sight of all except a learned few. But the wisdom of captive Israel survives the wreck of time, and lives in the spirit of one who has imparted his ineffable name and title to the greater portion of the living world.

It is worthy of notice, how little Egypt either advanced or retarded the progress of affairs. With a mind cast in a particular mould of its own, it began and ended in itself. Sesostris, the Pharaohs, and the Ptolemies or Lagidæ, reflected a passing ray of light on its immutable grandeur, and the victories of Cambyses ruffled for a moment its phlegmatic calm. But nothing disturbed its mental and physical stillness. Originating in Ham,



or Ammon, it ceased with Cleopatra, and was silently merged into a valuable proconsulate of the Roman Empire.

The affinities of nations may be traced in their traditions and languages, but the most striking instances are those presented by their religions. Each people alters its god to suit itself. The lusty Dorians invoked Hercules for theirs, and the Doric alliance with Etolia was the marriage of Hercules with Dejanira. If Thrace civilized Lesbos, it was to the sound of Orpheus' lyre. The colonization of Cyrene was typified by Apollo's leading a damsel in a car drawn by swans to the barren coasts of Libya. The adventures of the gods increased with the increase of popular incidents; and the Ammon, Osiris, Phtha, and Isis of Egypt became the Jupiter, Bacchus, Vulcan, and Ceres of the Greeks. The celestial staff was a small one; but its titles were numerous, and its offices unlimited. The Ionians adopted Neptune, the god of the sea, and the vagabond Pelasgi left nothing behind them but sacred blocks of unhewn stone to mark their itinerary. The Persian fire-worship was rekindled in the adoration of Apollo, the ruler of the sun; the sombre credulities of Egypt were resumed in the revels of the Dionysia; and the sensual mysteries of Phenicia were fostered anew in the more elegant and still more dissolute rites of Aphrodite. The genius of Asia revived in Greece; oriental dogmas, embellished and refined, sprung up in the west, and flourished in fashions as various as the dialects, the customs, and the districts they formed or found. The variations of Paganism were the tests of its falsity; but the uncompliant worship of Jehovah by the Jews was the stubborn demonstration of the truth of the Mosaic dispensation.

The Greek populations were complete. Let us pass over to Tuscany, whither the tide of emigration next rolled. That country was even then inhabited by the Umbrians, a Celtic people, who had descended from the north by the way of the Alps; and some Caucasians also had already arrived at the top of the Adriatic, from Illyria, and proceeded along the valley of the Eridanus or Po. The Etruscans, chisel in hand, took the same route. Half Asiatic, they sculptured the forms of birds, trees, vases, and utensils, till then unknown in Europe, and sat themselves down between the Arno, the Apennines, and the Tiber. The Sabines, the Ænотrians, and the Ochri, knew nothing of their own origin; the Dorians and Ionians never went further than the coasts; so that Italy preserved its purity of blood from the first. The East and the West met each other in the streets of Rome. The Pantheon contained the gods of every nation; and profane antiquity, which had entered within its precincts and closed its portals on itself, was transmuted into a petrification beneath its capacious dome.

On returning to the present state of the world, we behold three distinct races of men—the white, the tawny, and the black—as different from each other in the character of their minds as they are in the colour of their faces. Of these three, the black and the tawny are governed by the white; and of the white, the Saxons and Anglo-Normans reign supreme.

In their wild and primitive condition, the Negroes have always been an inferior order of mankind. When allowed to indulge their *natural* propensities, they are filthy and naked, painted or smeared with grease, dirty and lazy, treacherous and cruel. Some of them are cannibals, all of them heathens, and none of them trustworthy. The Papuans, tawny rather than black, are the highest in the moral scale among them, and yet the Papuans cannot but be classed with the savages. Nor is this lack of civilization owing to fortuitous circumstances, for it is their innate lot. They have always been savages in all ages; and the *wild* Negro of Africa and South America is the same now as he has always been. They hold no position whatever in universal history: the curse of Canaan has not yet been remitted—"the servant of servants thou shalt be unto thy brethren." The devoted nations of the promised land were descended from Canaan, and so were the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, who were so ruthlessly destroyed by the Greeks and Romans; and the Africans, who have been bought and sold like beasts, were also his posterity. The finger that wrote upon the wall at Belshazzar's feast points out the doom of Ham.

The blacks have, indeed, their redeeming qualities, in the possession of physical if not national virtues. Their sight, their senses of smell and hearing, their touch, their fleetness of foot, their dexterity in handling the bow and lance, their sagacity in hunting their prey, and their craftiness in catching it, are bodily endowments far more acute and perfect than are ever met with among the white or even the tawny races. They are gay and cheerful towards those who show them kindness,—gloomy and revengeful towards their real or supposed enemies; and their filial and parental instincts are both strong and exemplary. But, for all this, the negro, the NATIVE negro, is decidedly inferior to the European in body as well as in mind. The natives of Van Diemen's Land are absolutely unreclaimable; the Bosjesmans are dwarfish; the pigmies of Africa are as old as Homer. Pliny mentions their battles with the cranes for the sake of their eggs; and Strabo ironically says they built their cabins with the eggshells. At one time, 60,000 blacks were annually exported from the coast of Guinea, never more to return to their native land; and had they but had a spark of the spirit of the whites within their servile breasts, so vast a number might, in the



course of two centuries, have successfully revolted, and in their turn have overrun and disputed the whole of Europe, or at least a very large and valuable proportion of the European colonies.

But Time, which in most instances is but a sorry artist, "who makes whate'er he handles worse," has done much in ameliorating the forlorn fortunes of this despised and neglected portion of the human family. Christianity, also, that subtle principle that leavens the mass of human corruption, is slowly penetrating the mind and senses of the blacks. Instances are being quoted of their improved intelligence, manifest piety, and the increasing aptitude of their talents for the finer arts, such as music, painting, and poetry, as well as for the more exact sciences, such as arithmetic and mathematics. The social virtues of order, regularity, and cleanliness are reported of those who have been trained by the labours of the various missionaries to adopt the manners and customs of civilized life. And, although many of these instances are particularized as the special gifts of individuals rather than the privileges of the tribe to which they belong, yet, upon mature reflection, we are led to conclude that their moral and intellectual welfare have changed for the better, and that the prospect of their being still more greatly improved as they continue to be more intimately mixed with the white populations is as certain as it is encouraging. Their emancipation must to some extent have operated most favourably on their instincts and habits, in the common course of events; and their proximity to or affinity with those who were once their taskmasters or tyrants, must tend to transform the wild man of the woods, the prairies, or llanos, into a human being of some pretensions to propriety and decorum. But the process is a slow one. European vices retard the noble undertaking. Ardent spirits have destroyed their tens of thousands in soul and body; and so cruel has been, on many occasions, the conduct of the whites towards the blacks, that the Negro implicitly regards the white Christian as his bitterest enemy—a murderer and a robber. These moral difficulties which are of our own creation, embarrass the hand of charity and mar the countenance of truth. The liberation and recovery of the negro-slave is one of the most interesting questions of the present day. We cannot suppose that so intelligent a people as those of the United States of America should persist in the use of slavery in opposition to the voice of the world against its practice, except from some very serious necessity, social or political, which they cannot overrule; and we await with confidence the happy moment when they shall feel themselves capable of obeying the dictates of humanity, and of proclaiming the freedom of those whom it would, if possible, have been much more prudent never to have enslaved.



The tawny races which cover more than half the globe, and are characterized by their broad shoulders, large heads, high cheek-bones, flat noses, long arms, and thin hair, constitute the Mongolian variety, that has figured so largely in the history of nations. Zenghis Khan, Tamerlane, Attila, and the Tartars, belong to this division. The conquest of China by the Moguls took place at the same time with their expeditions to the opposite quarter of the globe, which spread terror and desolation over Russia and Poland. The fierce Zenghis, the so-called lord of the nations, had been predicted, and was sent upon his dreaded mission of destruction, by the tutelar genius of his race. He traversed the world with his countless hosts. China, Thibet, Japan, the Mussulman empire of Carizmé, fell beneath his exterminating sword, which was stretched as far as the Caspian Sea. For several centuries Russia was incorporated with the government of Zipzak, Hungary was conquered, Silesia ravaged. Each of these countries still betrays its Mongolian cross-breed; but Russia, in her rapacious policy, exhibits the strongest tinge of her tawny blood. After these barbarous hordes had spared the rest of Europe, they returned upon Asia, and put an end to the Arabian Caliphate at Bagdad. The Saracens, imbued with a tawny taint, alarmed Europe from the South, and the Western powers have always watched, with the most vigilant jealousy, the restless temper of their tawny neighbours.

Their psychological character is that of unrelenting and indiscriminate bloodshed—unmitigated by any political changes or popular institutions beneficial to the human race, unmingled with any acts of generosity or kindness to the vanquished, and destitute of the slightest feelings of regard for the rights and liberties of mankind. Inflexible cruelty, selfishness, a disposition to cheat, and an absence of the tender affections, have everywhere marked their progress, and left an indelible blot upon their name in all ages. The Malays, and the greater number of the natives of the Indian Archipelago, are instances in point at this very hour. Barbarity, brutality, and even cannibalism, are their well-known qualities—the infernal instincts of their untamed nature. Their intelligence is greater than that of the blacks; but their morals are worse, and their disposition equally savage. The empires, indeed, of China and Japan prove them to be susceptible of a high degree of civilization, and even of pre-eminence in the useful and elegant arts of life; but their political and social institutions, already between 2000 and 3000 years old, remain stationary, and incapable of exercising any act of internal improvement and growth, or of external progress and aggrandizement of their own. Such as they were originated, so they remain: history informs us that Japan and China are the

same now as they were at first. Their bloody commotions within, and their obtuse behaviour beyond, the limits of their empires, are proverbially unaltered and unalterable. They are obstinately opposed to the spirit and teaching of Christianity; and they are puzzled, as much as they are conquered, by the learning and science, the arts and arms of the whites.

The American Indians, however, show some qualities of much higher merit than their opprobrious colour might seem to claim for them; their industry, endurance, and fidelity are noble virtues; and the natives of Mexico and Peru appear to have been a people capable of fulfilling a higher destiny than that assigned to them in history. But it is incontestable, that neither the Peruvians nor the Red Indians equal the Europeans, under whose sway they invariably diminish or disappear. The Osmanli Turks, the mixture if not the source of whose blood is Circassian, possess far higher mental endowments than their inveterate foes the Russians; but the fatal creed of Mahomet chills their manners, congeals the noblest impulses of their souls, and is incompatible with freedom of thought and action.

The whites, with their oval faces and aquiline noses, ruddy complexions and fair hair, well-turned limbs and handsome demeanour, have hitherto governed the world. They are the descendants of those who entered Europe by the way of the Caucasus; the Circassians and the Georgians are esteemed their most beautiful specimens; and their attributes are typified in the statues of Apollo, Theseus, and Hercules. The colour of their skin discriminates them from the tawny or the black not more effectually than the pre-eminence of their moral feelings and intellectual capacity. The negroes and the Tartars may evince frankness, generosity, and hospitality, at times, in the highest degree; but in their general powers of knowledge, reflection, and understanding, they fall miserably below the whites. No European people has ever been in a condition similar to that of the present dark races, within the reach of any history or tradition. The whites may have degenerated, as in the cases of the Greeks and Romans; but they have always recovered themselves from their occasional failures or relapse, and their transcendent qualities have at no time been extinguished. Their natural prerogatives may be discerned in their least advanced states of civilization. The Germans of Tacitus and Caesar were in no wise like the modern Hottentot or Red Indian; neither were the ancient Spaniard or Caledonian ever the same as the aboriginal African, American, or Mongolian tribes. The whites possess in the names of Scipio, Brutus, Virgil, Cicero, Horace, Livy, and many other equally great and gifted individuals, a galaxy of talent, not only unrivalled by the black or tawny races at their



best estate, but also the representatives of their own lofty pretensions throughout all generations; and Theodosius or Charlemagne, Dante or Galileo, Torricelli or Raphael, Alfred the Great or Sir Isaac Newton, transmit the same intrinsic superiority of the race which they adorn, from one generation to another. To the Caucasians and their posterity alone belong nearly all the arts and sciences, or at least the most skilful application of them to the necessities of life. The treasures of literature and knowledge, civilization in its best and widest sense, politics and government, architecture and music, painting and sculpture, trade, manufactures, military tactics, diplomacy, steam navigation, the electric wire, the freedom of the press, the rights and liberties of man, and, above all, the Christian religion, are peculiarly and exclusively theirs. Europe has been their theatre of action from the first; and thence they have branched out and planted themselves all over the world. Wherever they have touched, there they have taken root. A new nation has grown up, endowed with the social and political virtues proper to its parent stock. They have never failed to live and flourish. Their ascendancy is acknowledged paramount and supreme. Their prospects are unlimited, their hopes magnificent, their final object grand and praiseworthy. The world is theirs, and their own life, as well as the lives of others, are made over to their safe keeping, as a prey within their grasp.

The Greenlander, Laplander, and Samoëde, prove by their habits and features that they do not belong to the great European family. They owe their origin to the Mongols, and retain in the north the marks of their extraction, which we find so strongly expressed in the Chinese and the widely-different latitudes of the south. At the same time, the parent tribes are living in Central Asia, equally removed from both their offspring. We have already alluded to the Russian mind, marked off, both historically and socially, from the rest of Europe by its strong Mongolian taint, acquired so far back as the age of Zenghis Khan.

It has been supposed that climate has modified, discoloured, or transformed, the original type of man. This theory is nowhere countenanced either by present facts or historical evidence. On the contrary, the tanned or sunburnt European is not the same as the African negro of the tropics; their natures are as distinct as their colours, with which climate has nothing to do; for blacks with blacks beget blacks, and whites from whites give birth to whites, under every climate and on every soil. The individual is modified for a time by the extremes of heat and cold, by intermarriage, social connexions, and local influences; but the race, and the germs of the race from which he sprang,



remain intact, and reappear, the same as ever, as soon as the disturbing force is withdrawn or the primitive condition restored. The acorn never produces a willow, nor the lion a colt. The breed may be crossed, or the stock grafted afresh, from stronger or weaker species of the same kind, and the offset or progeny may be disfigured or apparently changed; but nature returns to her original type; the modifications are limited to the species alone or to the individual itself; the admixture of different kinds is resented with inherent pertinacity; the mule is born sterile, and without the continual intervention of an unnatural artifice the hybrid ceases to exist.

The differences of language are at first sight not less perplexing than those of colour; for if the colours of the skin be only three, the varieties of language seem all but infinite. We are living in the midst of the ruins of the primitive tongue. There is no longer a pure and grammatical language spoken or written by any nation at present. When the Teutonic, in the eighth century, superseded the Latin, it rendered the reconstruction of a perfect language utterly hopeless; for it upset every rule of grammar then in vogue. First of all, it struck out the middle verbs and dual number, so characteristic of the Greek: it then introduced the constant use of auxiliary verbs and indeclinable moods and tenses, extracted the particle from the tenses and moods, and reduced the number of cases from five to three. The verb no longer selected its own place in the sentence, governing and governed by its noun, but was left to take care of itself by immediately following its nominative and going before its objective. The pronoun, participle, and adjective no longer agreed with the noun in number, case, and gender, known by their terminations, apposition, and agreement; and the pronoun, which had hitherto been expressed by the final syllable of the verb, escaped from its entanglement, and stood alone. The noun and the pronoun became the leading words of the sentence; and the Runic or Gothic mind gave vent to its barbarity by a grammatical solecism or egotism. The indicative mood was preferred to the potential; and it is difficult to write or speak continuously in the subjunctive or optative in any of the modern languages. It erased all those delicate inflections of the future and conditional tenses, so accurate in the Latin, so multiform in the Greek; and it abolished, at a breath, the numberless expletives with which the Greek abounds to the torment of the critic, but which rendered so rich, redundant, precise, and explicit the language that employed them so correctly and fluently. The stubborn nature of the modern, particularly of the English, idiom is almost unequal to the effort of giving utterance to rhetoric or poetry, declamation or prose, in the same lofty style as that

which once charmed or controlled the fierce democracies of Greece or Rome.

It would be carrying the object of this article too far, were we to follow up our analysis by showing that the original tongues are, like the original races, only three—the Indo-Germanic, the Malayan, and the Trans-gangetic. To these three belong all the languages now spoken by man. The European is the Indo-Germanic, the most comprehensive and complete of them all. It includes Noah and Abraham, the Pharaohs, the Chaldees, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Sanskrit. But we must come to a close; and our task will have been accomplished, and its end attained, if we have been able to show that the psychology of nations is as demonstrable and conclusive as the colour of their skins, the history of their progress, and the evidences of their relative excellence and ascendancy in literature, arts, arms, and religion.

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### ART. III.—NOTES OF A VISIT TO THE PUBLIC LUNATIC ASYLUMS OF SCOTLAND.

BY JOHN WEBSTER, M.D., F.R.S., AND F.R.C.P.,

*Physician to the Scottish Hospital, &c.*

*(Continued from page 66.)*

#### MURRAY'S ROYAL ASYLUM.

THIS institution for the insane, founded in 1827, is situated near Perth, upon the north-western declivity of the picturesque hill of Kinoull, having a magnificent prospect over the basin of the river Tay, with the Grampian Hills on one side, and those of Strathearn on the opposite. Being constructed on a kind of slope, the lower story windows of the building are nearly on a level with the adjacent ground in front, whereby, this part of the structure is rendered rather dark, somewhat damp, and consequently not so airy or salubrious as, the upper portion. In this respect, the asylum partly resembles that of Colney Hatch, where the same objectionable peculiarity prevails. Having been erected prior to the introduction of many modern improvements, which science and more extended experience have introduced into recently-built asylums, several defects might be fairly pointed out by hypercritical observers, but which need not be now mentioned; as altogether, this establishment deserves much approval in reference to its general management, and especially, with regard to the treatment of patients therein confined.

One great defect characterizes this asylum,—namely, its present scanty supply of water; and, what is still more regrettable, there



is very little prospect of this deficiency, in so necessary an element in every institution for the insane ever admitting an effectual remedy. Being placed so much above the neighbouring river Tay's level, and the city of Perth, any supply from that locality can never likely be conveyed to this high position. Farther, as adjoining landlords have objected to water being brought from sources on their property, the institution has to depend chiefly upon wells sunk within its own precincts, aided by rain reservoirs. The gardens attached are extensive, well arranged, highly cultivated, and appeared exceedingly productive. They produce plenty of fruit and vegetables for the establishment, besides being, along with the adjoining fields—belonging to the asylum—of great use to the patients, as such appendages supply ample means for giving inmates employment, as also affording amusement and healthy recreation.

Similar to every public institution for the insane throughout Scotland, the Perth asylum receives both pauper and private patients. Of the latter description, there were 50 inmates at the time of my inspection, who paid from 80*l.* to 250*l.* per annum, board and lodging included. The pauper, or lowest class of patients, pay eight shillings per week, which is certainly very moderate, considering the recent high price of provisions. Taken in the aggregate, the total lunatic inmates, on the day of my visit to this asylum, amounted to 141 individuals, of whom 77 were males and 64 females: hence giving, as at Glasgow, more of the former sex than the latter. Amongst the above, only 2 men laboured under general paralysis; 2 males and 6 females were dirty patients; and 1 male and 2 females suffered from epilepsy; the other cases being mostly of a chronic description. No patient was then under bodily restraint, excepting two males, who had strong leather gloves temporarily upon both hands, to prevent them destroying their clothes. However, one of these persons had been only recently brought to the institution, in a violent state of excitement, which seemed not yet abated. One female lunatic also was placed in an open court-yard, to avoid all annoyance to other patients through her violence, but none were actually in seclusion; and the strait-waistcoat appeared unknown, or had become a matter of history.

During last year, 36 new insane patients were admitted, of whom 23 were males and 13 females; 6 males and 11 females were discharged cured, whilst 7 male and 8 female lunatics died: 7 of the above deaths having been caused by cholera, which visited the establishment last season as an epidemic. Respecting the form of insanity in the cases admitted, it appears 8 were examples of mania, 8 melancholia, 9 monomania, 7 dementia, 2



general paralysis, and 2 dipsomania. In 8 of the above patients, a suicidal propensity exhibited itself more or less strongly; in 10, the insanity assumed a religious type; in 2 a homicidal and mischievous tendency existed, whilst in 2 examples dementia was complicated with epilepsy. Besides the 7 deaths by cholera, and 3 from choleraic diarrhoea, 1 case terminated fatally from organic disease of the heart, 1 by apoplexy, 1 in consequence of typhoid broncho-pneumonia, and 2 deaths occurred through senile exhaustion.

Occupying the patients constitutes a prominent feature at this asylum. Consequently, in the female work-room, millinery and needlework is an ordinary employment, whereby a large quantity of the clothing required for patients is both made and mended. The laundry likewise supplies regular occupation to various female patients, as also the kitchen and ordinary household duties. In this way a proportion of convalescents, or of those inmates labouring under milder forms of mental disease, materially promote the comfort of their less fortunate companions in affliction, whilst they also assist essentially in maintaining the establishment's efficiency. Shoemaking, carpentry, besides outdoor work in the garden or grounds, further, afford daily occupation to numerous male patients, the latter manual labour being both useful and healthy for the insane. Amongst persons of education, especially in the higher classes, it is not always so easy to engage such residents in any kind of physical employment. Still, on the male side, various inmates are employed as book-keepers, drawing ornamental designs, in making fishing-tackle, or by playing on musical instruments. Some amuse themselves at cards, bagatelle, chess, or billiards; whilst others again frequent the bowling-green, in order to enjoy the healthful exercise thus afforded. Amongst lady patients, playing on the piano supplies a constant source of pleasure to several, besides those who are occupied in needlework, reading, or in writing. Some spin, or manufacture wax-flowers and ornamental knick-knacks. Hence, but few remain idle, and so avoid feeding on their own morbid illusory sensations, which often prove injurious.

Irrespective of the zealous attention paid at this asylum to occupying the inmates, whether pauper or otherwise, in manual or bodily labour, recreating them in various ways, besides promoting their intellectual culture, wherever possible, now constitute prominent features in its general management. Upon both these important questions, a better exposition cannot be conveyed to readers, than extracts from the recent annual report, which states:—

“The introduction of recreations among the insane can no longer be

regarded as an experiment; their success has been fully established by the experience of the best asylums in this country, on the Continent, and in America. They are not to be looked upon as mere transient gratifications, or as frivolous, and tending to dissipate, degrade, or pervert the mental energies or moral feelings of the insane. Our own experience of their curative value has been most encouraging. We have frequently observed the first symptoms of improvement in the form of a smile, a laugh, a critique, or a mark of applause, at a ball or a concert; we have seen the most fatuous, apathetic, and indolent patient—the melancholic and suicidal, as well as the proud monomaniac—delighted with some lively or familiar music, or dancing with the greatest vivacity at the weekly balls. Five concerts were given during the winter, in presence of between 40 and 70 patients. The performances included every variety of vocal and instrumental music, and the performers—composed of a mixture of patients and officers—numbered from 10 to 20. No audience could have been more attentive, delighted, or grateful; none could have behaved with greater propriety.”

Pic-nic excursions to the neighbouring beautiful localities, *fêtes champêtres*, athletic games, such as cricket, bowls, quoits, or football, with promenades in the grounds, and pedestrian tours to various places of interest in the vicinity of Perth, are frequently made; whilst parties have likewise been sent into that city, to attend various public concerts and exhibitions, as also the annual races.

Respecting the education and intellectual culture of lunatic inmates at this establishment, besides conversaziones held occasionally, during the earlier months of winter, it is further stated in the document already quoted, that—

“During the later winter months, a course of lectures on Economic Botany, or the applications of botany to common life, was delivered on the Saturday evenings to an average audience of thirty persons, belonging chiefly to the higher classes of patients. By means of presenting objects of natural history and scientific information under an attractive guise, we have found the insane become accurate observers, apt students, and frequently acute reasoners. The remarks made at the conversaziones following each lecture, showed that the patients present had not been mere passive or quiet listeners, but that their minds had laid hold of many facts which not only served as nuclei for present reflection, but formed solid increments to their stock of knowledge. The gradual acquisition of scientific information by the insane not only tends to lead to habits of correct observation, stimulate to the study of the good and beautiful in nature, furnish the mind with the highest and purest subject-matter for contemplation, and attract attention from the gross and degrading pleasures of the world, but it may become of infinite service to them in after life, when they recover their mental equilibrium, and resume their places in society. As an immediate and gratifying result of these scientific meetings, four lectures were delivered by two patients to the same audience, the subjects being respectively ‘The Beauties of Nature,’



'Antiquities of Perth,' 'Comicalities,' and 'Superstitions of the Highlands.' These lectures were treated in such a way as to render them popular and attractive; and a cordial vote of thanks was awarded by the audience in approbation of the useful though unpretending labours of their authors. The preparation of such discourses is not only valuable, by diverting attention from morbid fancies and unpleasant associations; but the amount of reading necessarily involved cannot fail to leave a lasting and useful impression."

Statements like these are exceedingly gratifying; and as showing how the system pursued at this institution is proposed to be carried out, during the ensuing season, an account of the classes and lectures intended for inmates, throughout the winter of 1855-56, is now appended, viz. :—

I.—THEORY AND PRACTICE OF VOCAL MUSIC, under the direction of Herr Boos, Professor of Music, from Bonn-on-the-Rhine.

Thursdays, 5·30 P.M.

II.—SUB-CLASS FOR THE PRACTICE OF VOCAL MUSIC, under Mr. Williams.

Saturdays, 6·30 P.M.

III.—PRACTICE OF PSALMODY, under Miss Blake.

Wednesdays, 6.30 P.M.

IV.—DANCING AND DEPORTMENT, under Mr. Guthrie.

Mondays, 6·30 P.M.

V.—READING, WRITING, AND ARITHMETIC, under Miss Norman and Mr. Williams.

Fridays, 6·30 P.M.

VI.—RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION, under Miss Norman.

Sundays, 6·30 P.M.

VII.—LECTURES. The Course of Lectures on "Economic Botany" commenced last winter, will be continued.

Arrangements have also been made for the delivery of the following :—

1. GALVANISM; its phenomena and economical applications, illustrated by the electro-magnetic apparatus.

2. THE BLOOD; its composition and uses, illustrated by the microscope and by diagrams.

3. TIME; its proper occupation and uses, illustrated by anecdotes of the "pursuit of knowledge under difficulties."

4. JACOBITE MINSTRELSY, illustrated by Jacobite melody, vocal and instrumental.

The Rev. Mr. MURDOCH, of Kinnoull, Dr. STIRLING, of Perth, and other Gentlemen, have kindly promised their assistance in this department.

Besides these laudable exertions to occupy and cultivate the mental faculties of lunatics whilst under treatment at this asylum, their amusement likewise constitutes a prominent peculiarity; hence, balls and musical entertainments are of no unfrequent



occurrence. Thus, a grand concert was recently given, the following being a copy of the printed

### PROGRAMME.

#### PART I.

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|--|---|
| 1. OPENING ADDRESS . . . . .                       | MANAGER.  |
| 2. PIANO AND VIOLIN—"Bo-peep Quadrilles" . . . . . | { MISS BLAKE.<br>MR. GOWENLOCK.                 |
| 3. TRIO—"Canadian Boat Song" . . . . .             | { MAD. MONTI.<br>MADL. MARIE.<br>MR. GOWENLOCK. |
| 4. SONG—"Oh! Native Scenes" . . . . .              | MISS BLAKE.                                     |
| 5. RECITATION—"The Well of St. Keyne" . . . . .    | MISS NORMAN.                                    |
| 6. COMIC SONG—"The Whale" . . . . .                | M. GUILLAUME.                                   |
| 7. SONG—"My ain dear Nell" . . . . .               | MADL. MARIE.                                    |
| 8. TRIO—"Taste Life's Glad Moments" . . . . .      | MISSES & MR. GOWENLOCK.                         |
| 9. SONG—"The Soldier's Return" . . . . .           | MAD. ROTHE.                                     |
| 10. VIOLIN—Selection of Scotch Airs . . . . .      | MR. GOWENLOCK.                                  |

#### DURING THE INTERVAL A

PAS DE DEUX . . . . . MASTERS GOWENLOCK.

#### PART II.

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|--|-------------------------------------|
| 11. PIANO—Quadrille Music. . . . .   | MAD. CATHERINA.                     |
| 12. DUET—"All's Well" . . . . .  | { MISS BLAKE AND<br>MR. GOWENLOCK.  |
| 13. COMIC SONG—"The Charming Woman" . . . . .                                  | MISS NORMAN.                        |
| 14. RECITATION—"The Chestnut Horse" . . . . .                                  | MAD. JOSEPH.                        |
| 15. TRIO—"Bonnie Wood o' Craigie Lea" . . . . .                                | MISSES & MR. GOWENLOCK.             |
| 16. DUET—"The Araby Maid" . . . . .  | { MADL. MARIE.<br>M. DE ST. PIERRE. |
| 17. SONG—"Rowan Tree" . . . . .  | MADL. MARIE.                        |
| 18. ARIA from "La Sonnambula," "Still so gently o'er<br>me stealing" . . . . . | { MISS BLAKE.                       |
| 19. COMIC SONG—"Lilly Baker" . . . . .   | M. GUILLAUME.                       |
| 20. CHORUS—"Auld Langsyne" . . . . .   | CORPS MUSICAL.                      |

Doors open at half-past SIX, Performance to begin at SEVEN precisely.

- CONDUCTOR, HERR WISTOWSKI—PIANIST, MADAM ANGELICA.

Contrasting these exhibitions with the harsh system formerly pursued throughout many parts of Europe, even until very recent times, and which have not yet been altogether laid aside in some countries I might name, Scotland seems now to take the lead in this onward movement. Of course, the genius and natural bent of its people render such occupations as have now been portrayed more congenial than would perhaps be found, for instance, in England, where music and dancing possess, by no means, the same attractions as north of the Tweed. This opinion may be exemplified by the following quotation from a recent report of the

Wilts Asylum, written by the physician, Dr. Thurnam, which says: "Dancing, we believe, seldom forms a part of the ordinary amusements of the reputable poor of Wiltshire, and the medical superintendent entertains considerable doubt as to the propriety of its formal introduction into asylums for the poor, at least in this part of England." Such opinions, certainly, do not apply to Scotland, or even to Metropolitan asylums, and some institutions in Ireland, where the case becomes no doubt often different. At Bethlem Hospital, and the Colney Hatch Asylum, for instance, musical parties and evening entertainments have occasionally been given to the lunatic inmates; but no English insane establishment appears yet to have surpassed that of Perth, in the above peculiar features.

The authorities of Murray's Asylum being deeply impressed with the conviction that, no more powerful moral medicines, where-with to "minister to a mind diseased," can be advantageously employed than occupation, recreation, and education, they have consequently endeavoured to extend and vary the modes formerly in use, of employing, amusing, and instructing the patients committed to their charge, according to the capacities or acquirements of different inmates. In these praiseworthy endeavours, they have been most zealously and efficiently seconded by Dr. Lindsay, the present resident medical officer and superintendent, who was recently attached to the Royal Crichton Asylum, Dumfries: in which psychological school, so well known by the philanthropic labours of its eminent physician, Dr. Browne, already several able medical superintendents of public lunatic establishments have been educated, and afterwards translated to fill superior situations, in other similar institutions. To carry out these objects, besides a good library, this asylum possesses a considerable collection of curiosities, with various periodicals and newspapers; whilst the study of the beautiful, and a familiarity with Nature's works, is further fostered by introducing various flowering plants into the different galleries. These become not only pleasing to the eye, but otherwise prove useful, by encouraging the formation of bouquets among ladies: which taste is further aided by cultivating roses and annual flowers in the garden or ornamental *parterres*.

The professional attendants of this Asylum are Dr. Malcom, an eminent physician residing in Perth, and Dr. Lindsay, the resident medical superintendent: of whom I would here briefly say, they merit much commendation, both being zealous and efficient officers in their respective departments.

#### DUNDEE ROYAL ASYLUM.

This public establishment for lunatics, which has, since its foundation forty-three years ago, enjoyed a high reputation throughout

Scotland, is situated in the immediate vicinity of the town whose name it bears. The ground occupied slopes toward the river Tay, over and beyond which its inmates possess an extensive prospect, as also along the opposite coast of Fife, extending up even to Perthshire. In consequence, however, of the increasing size of the flourishing commercial sea-port—now a near neighbour—this formerly excellent, open, and unobstructed situation has, of late years, been greatly deteriorated: whereby, several fine views from the windows and court-yards are much spoiled by the roofs of not very distant houses or factories, and even by various tall smoking chimneys which intervene. Attached to the Asylum there is an excellent garden, which, with the adjoining fields, also under cultivation, comprise altogether about thirteen acres. Since 1812, when the Dundee Asylum was first founded, many extensive and important additions have been made at various times to the building and precincts. At its first opening, accommodation was provided only for forty patients; now, it could receive nearly six times that number. This enlargement has enabled the authorities to dispense with various antiquated and inconvenient appliances, so as thereby to satisfy many essential requirements for promoting the well-being, recreation, and recovery of lunatic inmates under treatment.

When I visited this institution last September, the total insane patients amounted to 212; 94 being males and 113 females. These were divided into two classes, pauper and private; the latter category then amounting to 36 persons, whose board varied from one to three guineas per week. Amongst the aggregate patients, 7 were epileptic males; but no female inmate laboured under that severe form of mental disease. Those classed as dirty patients comprised 15 cases, of whom 8 were males and 7 females. The physical health of all appeared so good, that only one female remained sick in bed; and not a single individual was then in confinement, seclusion, or subjected to restraint of any description whatever. In short, the discipline, general appearance of the establishment, quietude, and outward comfort of the patients seemed altogether satisfactory; and I have seldom been more gratified when perambulating any institution for the insane, than on the occasion now mentioned. Having been accompanied by my honourable friend Mr. Duncan, M.P. for the borough, during this inspection, that gentleman became also cognizant of the facts here detailed, and will doubtless verify the general statements I have promulgated.

During the past year 51 new patients, including readmissions, were received, 26 being males and 25 females; 12 males and 9 females were discharged convalescent, and 11 died, of whom 6 were male, and 5 female inmates. If the latter numbers be cal-



culated according to the admissions, the ratio of cures hence amounted to 41 per cent.; the deaths being 21·57 per hundred. The forms of disease manifested, by new cases, were chiefly mania and dementia: there being 18 examples of the former, and 19 of the latter; whilst 8 instances were classed as monomania, and 6 as melancholia. Respecting the causes assigned, drunkenness, like the fact noticed at Glasgow, appeared the chief influence—9 victims being ascribed to that calamitous propensity; 7 arose from disappointment, and 3 from grief. Further, 2 were puerperal cases; 2 seemed produced by fright; 1 female became mad through jealousy; another by religious excitement; but in several the cause was unknown: whereas in 10, hereditary predisposition was ascertained. Again, respecting the immediate causes of death reported in the 11 fatal cases: 4 arose from general paralysis, of whom 3 were male patients; 2 were occasioned by bronchitis; 2 by marasmus; 1 from pneumonia; 1 through cardiac disease; and the eleventh was ascertained to be gastro-interitis.

Occupations of different kinds, adapted to the previous employments, general character of inmates, and the nature of their mental condition—all requisites of essential importance—seemed assiduously promoted. Various patients, both male and female, appeared occupied at the weaving-loom, or in winding yarn—these being common employments in this district of Scotland. Some were engaged in shoe-making, mending or making clothes, and so forth; whilst others laboured in the garden. The kitchen, scullery, and laundry likewise afforded ample scope for beneficial occupation. One patient may be mentioned as an apt illustration, who believed herself pursued, at night, by the devil, and bands of warlocks, or witches. This poor girl offered her services to the matron, as kitchen-maid, and continued to work diligently; presenting herself at each succeeding hiring-term, to ascertain whether she would be re-engaged: but appearing all the while both happy and contented with the treatment received. Many other insane residents, whom it is superfluous to specify on this occasion, were supplied with varied but appropriate means of gratification, and opportunities for activity, if considered suited to their different conditions. Nor were inmates always debarred personal intercourse with the external world, or even from occasionally mixing in general society. The town and neighbouring country being occasionally visited by patients, for various purposes, both on foot or in carriages. Excursions were also sometimes made to a distance. For instance, during last autumn a lady patient, accompanied by the matron, with an attendant, travelled to Balmoral, and saw the queen in Crathie Church. Afterwards, she visited some fine Highland scenery, and then returned back

to the asylum ; her excursion having proved both beneficial and satisfactory.

Amusements likewise are judiciously provided to gratify and benefit the lunatic inmates. Frequent dancing parties take place ; and even a customary thrice-a-week ball is held in the large flower-garden, where spectators and musicians occupy an orchestra, raised upon a small mound, surmounted by a flag ; whilst ample opportunity is thus given to others, for indulging in merriment, and innocent social tendencies. On the occasion of our perambulating the various dormitories and court-yards of this establishment, a male patient, who was an excellent performer on the violin, accompanied us throughout. This amateur musician played exhilarating Scottish tunes, whilst we were visiting the wards, which apparently caused much delight to the numerous gratified auditors then encountered. The fiddler seemed a welcome visitor amongst both male and female inmates wherever he went ; and I could not but observe the pleasure thereby occasioned to many of these mentally-afflicted fellow-creatures. Having met, in one of the gardens, a party of female lunatics enjoying their customary promenade, they immediately formed themselves into a kind of squadron behind our "*fanatico per la musica*," who then marched at their head, several singing, and even some dancing in the rear. Altogether, the scene was a very pleasing spectacle ; their enthusiastic musical leader being an universal favourite, and caused quite a sensation when making his appearance.

Although lunatic asylums seem frequently the abodes of melancholy, and residents may sometimes have but few gratifications, certainly, on the occasion now described, hilarity and pleasure beamed in many countenances. Besides which, I may add, the general aspect of the asylum, and other outward marks, unequivocally manifested the physical comfort of the inmates. On these points there was no mistake ; and, I must say, much credit is due to Dr. Wingett, the resident medical superintendent, as also the matron, Mrs. Wingett, for the systematic mode they pursue in reference to the amusement, as also recreation of patients placed under their charge and professional treatment.

A new church is now being erected, in a pleasant part of the adjoining grounds. This building has much the appearance of an ordinary parish kirk, in the light Norman style ; and as there will be a continuous covered way connecting it with the asylum, patients can thus always arrive dry-shod during unfavourable weather : whilst, if fine, a walk through the garden-grounds must prove agreeable, besides being very like frequenting an ordinary country church for public worship. Within this precinct no prison-like separation of the sexes, it was said, will be made in the interior arrangements : which sometimes prevails elsewhere, so as



thereby to remind spectators very much of some model dungeon-chapels, wherein a large board jealously separates males from ever seeing the faces of any female worshippers, there also assembled : and *vice versâ*. Such minute distinctions may suit criminals, but amongst lunatics, the system becomes as absurd as it is injurious. Hence, in several modern and well-regulated asylums, this plan is generally abolished, the object being to render church attendance as near as possible similar to that pursued in ordinary places of worship, although the females are usually placed on one side, while male patients occupy the opposite.

Amongst individual cases recently under treatment, I would quote the following brief remarks from a late report of this institution, to illustrate its proceedings, particularly as the facts are also otherwise interesting :—

“ Thus, one man who recovered during the year, passed his time—which was all divided into portions devoted to occupations of his own choice—in painting in water-colours, in reading the German poets, conning the newspapers, and smoking cigars in the garden. He improved rapidly, and when questioned as to his wants and welfare, was accustomed to reply that he had everything he required or wished for ; that he felt no more restraint than if he were in an ordinary hotel ; and that he had worked himself in a state of good health by his laborious artistic exercises. Another devotes most of his time to the rearing of poultry ; he cannot be diverted from this to any more elevated employ ; and living like a Rosicrucian philosopher upon the golden delusion that he is above death or corruption, and that his body will continue to flourish through all eternity in its present vigour, he seems to experience the highest happiness. A third passes much of his time in acting as the amanuensis of the medical superintendent, and indulging the belief that he has the regulation of the weather under his control, is the tutelar divinity of farmers, and can make the sun to shine, or the rain to fall, at his bidding ; he passes a very industrious life, in the assurance that he is the most important and responsible man upon the face of the earth.”

It may be further mentioned that, among the individuals received into the institution during the past year, one imagined he had a Divine commission for fire-raising and assaulting individuals. Another believed himself tempted by two imaginary personages to kill his wife. A female made an attempt to strangle her husband, while he was asleep. A fourth, during her frenzy, was happily saved by friends from destroying her children. And lastly, a young female, in whom the incursion of insanity was marked by her plundering and embezzling the property of her friends. These facts indicate the fearful tendencies and tyrannous controlling power of some forms of mental alienation, which are not unfrequently met with in asylums for the insane.

However much many arrangements are worthy of commenda-



tion, nevertheless, one feature in the management of this public asylum is highly objectionable,—namely, the regulation requiring a fee for the physician, to be paid by the several classes of patients, excepting on account of paupers sent by parishes. The sum varies from *half-a-guinea* to four guineas, which is repeated on the dismissal or death of an inmate, after six and within twelve months. If, however, any patient remains longer than one year, such payments are only demanded at the end of every successive year of residence. In all public institutions, the salaries of medical officers ought to be liberal, but fixed; there should be no distinction of classes, in reference to professional remuneration; nor must any premium be even in appearance held out, to give more attention towards one inmate than another; nay, of all making it the interest of any person in such establishments, whether medical attendants or otherwise, to admit or retain longer than may be necessary, within an asylum, patients who prove, compared with others, in a higher ratio, remunerative. Physicians ought never to be subjected to similar regulations, as they thus become placed in an unprofessional position. Consequently, the above rules—copied from the “Rates of Board” appended to the last Report of the Dundee Royal Asylum—should be repealed, and expunged from similar future documents issued by its executive.

Like the Murray Institution near Perth, this establishment has only one resident medical officer,—viz., Dr. Wingett, who is superintendent. There is likewise a physician, but he resides in Dundee. During many years, this office was filled by Dr. Patrick Nimmo, long known as an eminent practitioner throughout the country. Death having recently deprived the institution of his valued services and great experience, Dr. Robert Cocks has been appointed as successor. Still, in this asylum, containing about 210 lunatic inmates, on an average, besides its numerous attendants, Dr. Wingett should have, if not a resident assistant, at least be allowed one or two house-pupils or “internes,” as in France, to aid in minor duties, and to be available should any emergency occur, during his temporary absence. The advantage of young members of the profession residing in similar establishments, seems so obvious as scarcely to require any argument. Not only do such officials prove of much assistance to the responsible medical attendant, but being so placed, “internes” have ample opportunities for studying mental diseases, their nature and treatment, so as thus to prepare them in the best school for afterwards undertaking similar duties themselves, when appointed to public asylums, or subsequently engaged in private practice. In every large institution for lunatics, the medical staff ought

invariably to comprise resident pupils. Such a system works admirably in France, and would prove equally beneficial in the lunatic establishments of Great Britain.

#### MONTROSE ROYAL ASYLUM.

The institution which now comes under review is the oldest public asylum for the insane throughout Scotland, having been founded seventy-three years ago, chiefly through the exertions of Mrs. Carnegie—a benevolent lady residing in the neighbourhood. When first opened, and during many years afterwards, it was the admiration of the surrounding country, the lunatic inmates being there taken care of and treated quite differently, compared with the system to which they had heretofore been subjected. Consequently, this asylum became almost a show-place, like Bethlem Hospital of the olden times. Whatever might be now thought of the treatment formerly pursued, great credit is certainly due to the humane individuals who patronized and supported its objects by subscriptions, as also official administration. However, like many things which have at last become antiquated, whilst science and civilization were advancing, even although in various respects this asylum has kept moving onward in the race of improvement—still, from original defective construction, and recent encroachments effected by commercial, money-making bodies in its immediate vicinity, the Montrose institution must now take an inferior position, compared with several insane establishments more recently constructed in Scotland.

At the period of its foundation, the asylum was situated in an open and airy portion of the “links” adjoining the town, then unencumbered by neighbouring houses. Now, the building is almost surrounded. On one side a new dock, often full of vessels, has been constructed. On another, a ship-building yard is established opposite, which nearly touches the dormitories occupied by female patients: and through the windows of which they can be easily seen by carpenters, workmen, or others; and *vice versá*. Again, on the third side a railway station completes the obstructions. The asylum garden being also of limited extent, and having no adjoining fields, wherein the inmates might be employed, or obtain recreation unobserved, or, at least, be not interfered with by the passing public, constitute very objectionable features. To remedy such great defects, two farms, at a little distance, have very properly been leased by the official authorities; but, although these adjuncts comprise thirteen acres, they are not sufficient for every purpose.

When perambulating the different departments of this institution, the thought struck my mind that an examination of the numerous



additions and improvements made since its foundation, would furnish a good history of the successive stages which have characterized the varied treatment of insanity in this country. Thus the old, dark, and badly-ventilated cells, considered so useful in 1780,—the confined sleeping apartments of a later period,—the alcoved dormitories constructed in the early part of the current century,—the more airy rooms built about 20 years ago,—and lastly, the cross-windowed, thoroughly-ventilated, as also exceedingly cheerful dormitory completed only very recently, which seemed really of a superior description, would each supply most instructive illustrations of the several epochs, as also of the modes of management pursued respectively.

An impartial observer need, therefore, only examine these several localities, in order to ascertain the prevailing opinions then entertained regarding lunatics, as well by medical men as philanthropists.

Although recently much has been accomplished to ameliorate defects, often inherent to all ancient constructions, the executive now deem it unseasonable to do more in this respect, than they reckon absolutely indispensable for the immediate health and comfort of patients: particularly, when suggestions for erecting a new asylum are under consideration. Several improvements of importance have nevertheless been completed. A large room has been divided into two apartments, to each of which a small gallery was also added for exercise, or the temporary seclusion of irritable inmates. Another spacious out-room has been also appropriated to female paupers. The alterations now specified have greatly contributed towards improving the classification, and considerably to diminish any over-crowding in the asylum, which was being the case recently, owing to an increased demand for admission. A new dwelling in the garden, intended for Dr. Gilchrist, the medical superintendent's, residence, having been liberally given up by that officer, to relieve the pressure of applicants, a large portion of it has now been fitted up temporarily for higher class females, whereby increased accommodation is afforded. The attendants upon patients have lately also been considerably augmented in number; so that at present, there is one attendant to about every fifteen lunatics. Still, in consequence of the imperfect structural arrangements belonging to an old building, and the absence of all mechanical appliances to lighten manual labour, these individuals are even yet unable to perform the same duties often accomplished in other institutions, where similar defects do not prevail. The ventilation of the older buildings, and especially the ground-floor cells, is very defective: whilst sufficient day and work rooms for inmates do not exist; the chief object, until of late, influencing the management having



appeared, rather to augment the number of beds for receiving new patients, irrespective almost of any other consideration.

The dormitories throughout seemed clean, although sometimes too crowded with beds. The patients generally appeared quiet and orderly; the resident officers having done everything they could to ameliorate their condition, in spite of irremediable deficient constructions and over-crowding. On the day of my visit, the total insane residents amounted to 229: of whom 96 were males, and 133 females. Amongst these, however, 42 were classed as private patients, each paying from 25*l.* to 100*l.* per annum. The epileptics comprised 9 males and 8 females: whilst, 13 of the former and 20 of the latter sex were reported dirty persons. Besides which, it should be mentioned, as many recent cases of insanity, especially insane females, had been of late admitted, the institution, consequently, had thus become less of an asylum, and more like an hospital, than previously. In the dark cells, 9 females and 2 males were then confined: most of these cases being exceedingly violent, particularly the female lunatics, some of whom had so torn their clothes as to be nearly naked, and laboured under a high state of excitement. One female also occupied a kind of box bed, but padded throughout, and having a kind of net-work on the top, to prevent her getting out of this enclosure. Such contrivance was employed, because the party would neither lie quietly, in an ordinary bed, nor allow the clothes to remain on her person. Two days afterwards, when I again visited this asylum, along with my learned friend, Mr. Logan, Sheriff of the County, and who on that day made an efficient inspection of the whole establishment, the female above alluded to was sitting among other patients as usual, being then much more composed. Besides this fact, it is also satisfactory to report that, several of the other female inmates, secluded in dark cells only two days before, were now at liberty: their fits of excitement having passed like a transient storm, and thereby leaving the sufferers perfectly tranquil.

Notwithstanding the statements just made, and although it is admitted, according to the last annual report, that—

“Restraint is occasionally not only necessary, but proper, we have not been called upon to apply it in any instance during the year. Only one case has presented any difficulty,—the case of a self-mutilator, a young female labouring under chronic mania, resulting from intense hereditary predisposition. In three or four places, on the hands and arms, she had made large and even dangerous wounds, tearing out the soft parts with all the ferocity of a tiger. The determination had existed for some days, and, as may be supposed, the strictest watching was useless. I had already made up my mind to the necessity of its application, but, while meditating on the best form, I was gratified by the diminution, ultimately by the entire cessation, of the morbid propensity.

"Several cases, as formerly, have been brought to the house under restraint, all of which have had their liberty granted at once, without difficulty or danger. One of them—a married female—deserves notice. A strong piece of wood was inserted bit-wise between the teeth, and firmly secured by a strong cord tied behind the neck. The reason assigned was that the patient had severely bitten her tongue. This instrument of torture was at once removed, with great relief to the sufferer. On its removal, both angles of the mouth were ascertained to be in a state of ulceration, from the pressure of the wood, and the tongue presented a fœtid and sloughing mass to the depth of an inch. The patient was in so anæmic and exhausted a condition as to render recovery almost hopeless. She has, however, done well, but still labours under a certain degree of mental depression, and some impediment of speech, from the loss of so large a portion of the 'unruly member.' It is sadly interesting to note that each of these patients has a brother in the house."

Similar examples of cruel physical coercion towards excited lunatics were formerly not uncommon. Now, these are much less frequent; thanks to recent discussions in reference to non-restraint, and the diffusion of more correct notions amongst the community at large, respecting mental alienation.

To show the remarks made, in previous paragraphs, regarding the irremediable defects of the present buildings, are not overdrawn or unfounded, I would here append the observations made by the present able medical superintendent, Dr. Gilchrist, who says—

"It will be readily admitted that, in all asylums, the basement stories are less perfect in their sanitary conditions than the upper, partly from their position and structure, more especially from the class of patients who inhabit them. When it is remembered that Montrose Asylum is the oldest in Scotland, and that the original cells (built in 1781) are still occupied by the patients, it will readily be granted, without farther proof, that the house is in a less satisfactory condition than most other establishments, as to these cells at least. Here, as everywhere, a number of patients have acquired dirty habits, due not to the disease under which they labour, but to neglect in its earlier stages, in most cases before they have been placed under appropriate treatment. Truth compels us to state that the proportion of such cases is much greater here than usual. This is due to several causes, some of which are happily now removed, but others of them are irremovable, depending partly on the imperfect structure of an old house, and partly on the very partial supply—in some cases entire absence,—of the means necessary to the improvement, removal, or prevention of such habits."

Such being the acknowledged defective condition of this now venerable establishment, the resolution very recently passed by its executive, to construct another institution in the vicinity, is highly commendable. A piece of ground, about thirty acres, has already been purchased for that purpose: the situation chosen



being an elevation, with a southern exposure. It is airy, salubrious, and lying a few miles north of Montrose, will not be obstructed by any neighbouring buildings. Altogether, the selection made of Sunnyside—the truly descriptive name this locality now bears—seems judicious; and doubtless the new asylum will justify the anticipations formed of its future capabilities.

Throughout last year, 91 new patients were admitted; of whom 39 were male, and 52 female lunatics. The cures amounted to 37, the sexes being nearly equal—seeing 18 male to 19 female patients were discharged convalescent; which makes the proportion upwards of 40 per cent. upon the admissions. On the other hand, the deaths were 21—composed of 11 males and 10 females; which, therefore, gives a ratio of 23 per hundred, if also calculated according to the numbers admitted. Amongst the deaths reported, 4 were cases of general paralysis, 4 arose from epileptic seizures, 3 from chronic bronchitis, 2 resulted from apoplexy, 2 were caused by maniacal exhaustion: 3 males, respectively, died of consumption, diarrhoea, and diabetes; whilst 3 females were also cut off by broncho-pneumonia, cardiac disease, and fatal syncope—the largest mortality being recorded in the month of December, when four patients died; whereas, the fewest occurred during mild weather. In reference to the type of mental alienation, with which the 21 cases terminating fatally were affected: it may be interesting to mention that, 4 laboured under general paralysis, 4 epileptic mania, 4 chronic mania, 2 monomania, 2 melancholia, 2 dementia, one acute mania, and another senile insanity; the last being an example of suicidal melancholia.

Occupying the inmates constitutes a prominent feature at this establishment, like most well-regulated asylums. Consequently, as the report states, usually there have been employed of males, two as tailors, as joiners two or three, as shoemakers one or two, as net-makers four to six, as gardeners six to eight, as field labourers ten to fifteen, as oakum-pickers fifteen to twenty, and others occupied in the galleries, laundry, at the pump, pig feeding, from five to ten—thus fifty to sixty were employed, exclusive of the higher class private patients. Thirty or forty remaining unemployed. The greater number of the pauper patients, especially from the immediate neighbourhood, being mill-workers, this diminished the proportion of those trained in handicrafts, and rendered them less ready to engage in such occupations. Out-door labourers appeared still fewer than could be wished: but the smallness of the garden, and the distance and exposure of the fields, made it almost impossible to employ a greater number. Again, regarding females, twenty to thirty were engaged in sewing, five to ten in knitting, some in crochet and other fancy work, with about twenty in the galleries, kitchen,



and laundry,—giving nearly fifty in a hundred. Attempts towards increasing the workers on the female side, have hitherto not been so successful as on the male. An arrangement, however, has just been completed, by the removal of the higher class females to the new building, which provides a work-room ; and, as an additional qualified attendant has been engaged to superintend, one of whose special duties will be to induce and encourage patients to engage in such occupations, better results are anticipated in future.

Recreating, as also instructing the insane patients, is justly not overlooked ; on the contrary, such appliances in their treatment seem liberally supplied. Thus, lectures, concerts, and other sources of amusement and instruction in the town are visited, whenever an opportunity occurs, and to which convalescent paupers, as also private patients, have access. Lecturers, vocalists, bands of music, and so forth, are likewise frequently secured, wherever possible. Besides the above, there is a weekly dance, which forms a great centre of attraction, in addition to other amusements, constituting often an important item of moral improvement. Skittles, quoits, bowls, and drilling, with other out-door games, being often arranged during summer. Pic-nics, excursions to the country, and visiting various scenes of interest in the neighbourhood—highly deserving notice, on account of their natural beauty and historical relations—have often been participated in by numerous pleasure-seeking parties of inmates, who could properly appreciate or benefit by such privileges.

Reading and intellectual culture, whenever applicable in such a community, are further far from being neglected. Newspapers and serials being supplied, to satisfy this appetite—natural even in lunatics. Besides the literary stores of this institution, which furnishes its quota of amusement and instruction, portions of the more fastidious reading inmates are supplied with books from the public library in town. Attendance on religious services also constitutes an important feature ; and recently, a large addition has been made to the number of patients attending chapel, many being even inmates who, formerly, would have been deemed unfit to engage in such duties. A considerable portion of the community, male and female, both of pauper and private patients, occasionally attend the public churches of Montrose, with evident advantage.

Recently, the physical health of most residents has been good, and, on the whole, satisfactory. Unlike the former season, cholera has not prevailed in this establishment since that period ; but it seems worth mentioning, on the other hand, that in the beginning of last February, erysipelas broke out, five cases having occurred in four weeks ; whilst lately, an epidemic of apoplexy

made its appearance: four instances of that disease having occurred during five weeks; three being females in advanced life, and whose insanity had been of long standing. Of the above, two died after a few days' illness: whilst the third, it was reported, has now nearly reached her former condition, viz., chronic mania, with periodical excitement. Very few patients were sick in bed, the day I visited the asylum: and, in this respect, there seemed nothing novel or worthy of remarking.

Notwithstanding the average insane patients, irrespective of attendants, varied last year from 215 to 220, and the number amounts now to 229, only one resident medical officer is attached to this institution—viz., Dr. Gilchrist, who is likewise superintendent. At the Glasgow Asylum, with 381 lunatics, there are three medical attendants, as already stated, which gives one to every 127 patients. Consequently at Montrose, there ought to be at least one resident assistant also, seeing the physician has by far too many duties now to perform. Not only has that officer to undertake occupations personally, which may be called manual, and of minor importance, but he must likewise attend to and supervise the entire establishment. Further, as many inmates are ladies and gentlemen, who become often more difficult to manage than pauper patients, they are in a higher degree exacting as to the attendance required; besides which, seeing such cases contribute greatly towards the profit of this institution, its present medical staff is certainly too limited. In fact, this defect is even more prominent than at Dundee, where, although the asylum contains fewer lunatics, there is also an attending physician, who shares the responsibility with Dr. Wingett. Here, moreover, irrespective of the patients being in greater number, the medical superintendent has no professional assistant. Hence, if absent for recreation or otherwise, only for short periods, which occasionally must occur, as that gentleman is not a prisoner, proper aid may not be readily procured, should any emergency supervene.

Some months ago, a second medical officer was voted by the Board of Management; but difficulties respecting the appointment having arisen, and as only a very paltry salary was proposed, hitherto no result has followed this proposition. Indeed, it is said, several parties did not think the measure absolutely necessary, since they considered four or five hours per day were quite as much as any person could possibly spend on the patients under treatment. If such opinions really existed, these authorities would almost seem to have an impression that, the medical superintendent of an asylum has really no other functions to undertake, beyond those of a mere prescriptionist. Moral management must then constitute no part of the conception entertained, regarding the great utility of possessing an adequate



professional staff, in extensive institutions for the insane. Notions of that description are most erroneous ; and wherever it should be still supposed an additional medical officer is merely wanted, for the purpose of preparing medicines, dressing sores, or to perform minor operations, and be engaged only in inferior employments, such an idea is altogether a mistake. Consequently, both at Dundee, but especially in the asylum now under review, there ought to be, at least, two resident medical attendants.

Before concluding these remarks, I must however add—indeed, my now doing so is only an act of simple justice—that Dr. Gilchrist performs his varied yet multifarious duties most zealously, even although these have been, of late, greatly augmented, as well from the introduction of many new attendants—at first but imperfectly acquainted with their several occupations—as also on account of the large accession of new patients. Besides the above important considerations, it should further be noticed, in consequence of frequent and sometimes important changes of internal arrangements, Dr. Gilchrist's labours have lately been materially increased ; whereby the onerous and other functions taxing the energies of that officer did not invariably prove so smooth in their course as could have been wished, or the marked assiduity displayed fairly entitled him to anticipate.

(To be continued.)

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#### ART. IV.—AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THE INSANE.

(Continued from page 82.)

I AM dead. Like Seneca, I have been bled to death by my persecutors, who each had a cupful of my blood. I well remember that I have suffered death with resignation, and praying to God that he would forgive me my manifold sins. My voice has been heard ; but I am not yet worthy of being numbered among the *Elus*. My good and bad actions during my lifetime are carelessly weighed by our Supreme Judge ; the latter are too numerous, but my repentance at the hour of death is taken into consideration. According to my belief, as a Roman Catholic, I am doomed to pass a certain lapse of time in Purgatory. My murderers have already been overtaken and struck by the justice of men. They did not repent ; they are damned for eternity.

In atonement for my sins on earth, and before I may obtain the kingdom of Heaven, I must be put to the test, and tempted by the Infernal Powers for several hours every night. I am, therefore, carried into the dominions of Satan, who endeavours, by a display of magic operations, to show me that his *puissance* is too great to be resisted successfully, and that sooner or later I



shall give way. He also tries to persuade me that he can make me more happy than I am in purgatory. He points to a number of his subjects, among whom I recognise my persecutors, who seem to enjoy their present position.

For the first time, I feel an invincible courage within myself. I firmly answer that I despise him, his threats, and his promises, and that, with my God's assistance, I fear nothing, and may defy all the monsters in his dark kingdom. The room then assumes a more gloomy appearance ; it is vaulted like a cellar ; a sulphuric smoke comes out of the fire-place, so thick as to conceal many objects from my sight, and to stifle me. The walls are covered over with grimacing, horrid monsters, at all of which I now laugh fearlessly, saying that this is nothing compared with what I saw many a time when I attended theatres. Now and then, if I perceive that the attacks made against me are too powerful, I am, as it were, inspired to have recourse to prayer. I therefore repeat uninterruptedly, aloud, and in any language I know, our Lord's Prayer, which I had nearly forgotten, together with *Glory be*, &c. ; or I sign myself. I remark that no one of the devil's attendants, or even himself, dare to touch me while I am praying. On the contrary, they seem to suffer a great deal inwardly, and slink away, in uttering curses ; but they return to the charge as soon as I leave off praying. After a long, a very long struggle, I grow weaker and weaker ; I can hardly speak for want of a drop of water, which I would not, however, accept from unholy hands. I am smothered ; perspiration flows down my cheeks ; my strength is exhausted ; the evil spirits profit by my prostration ; I feel crawling about me and on me repulsive reptiles or animals, such as serpents, toads, frogs, rats, mice, &c. There are myriads of them. Their size is so large that I must see them through a microscopic glass. Here my good angel comes to my deliverance. I am carried back to purgatory. Now I fall asleep.

I have slept until eight o'clock—three or four hours, I should think. My head is clearer ; I am not so restless ; the noise in my ears is lighter. The two other patients tell me that I had a very bad night. My eyes were rolling in their sockets, like those of a madman. I was very noisy. I seemed to fight for a long time. I spoke sometimes in Latin, sometimes in English, but mostly in an unknown language. The night-nurse wanted to make me drink, but I could not, even with the assistance of the cook (man). It was fortunate that I could not stir.

The doctor comes in, and finds that my pulse is less agitated. Notwithstanding the nurse's report about my excitement of last night, he orders that I should be free in my movements. The strait-waistcoat and other *courroies* are taken off. No visions

until night, when I fancy that Satan himself is lying by my side. I also imagine that my persecutors have resumed their places in the other beds. They say that it is a shame. I am sleeping with the devil. They see his long flat feet hanging out of the bed, and from which I try in vain to disentangle mine. In my opinion, Satan has taken the shape of a wolf. His head is remarkable by two short horns. The whole of the body, with the exception of the two feet, which are as cold as ice, is covered with long yellow hairs, emitting a most nauseous smell. He again speaks to me in a threatening manner. I do not listen to him. My only answer is, that I no longer fear his power, because God is my protector. Then I commence to pray, sometimes in a low voice, sometimes aloud, but always composedly, as if I felt quite safe. I still hear the once dreaded voices ; but reason seems to have returned—she tells me not to trust sounds.

This was, Monsieur le Docteur, the third night I had visions since my admission into the infirmary ; it was also the last one. From that time the visions completely vanished. It is true that I was still very far from being restored to health. My sight was greatly impaired for some more days. My appetite did not return all at once, but by degrees, and accompanied by a good sound sleep. I here must acknowledge that nothing was spared by the medical gentlemen which was likely to accelerate my complete *guérison*. They told me I had been very ill ; and indeed I think they entertained very little hope of my recovery. I left the infirmary, when I asked for my dismissal towards the 20th of February.

On my return to town, I felt much more inclined to live as a Christian. I could not help believing that all the events, either real or imaginary, had taken place through God's will for my conversion. My first care was to consult the priest, and to take his advice about marrying the girl, notwithstanding my gloomy recollections concerning herself and her family. The reverend gentleman owned that the connection was altogether unsuitable, that it was a great pity, &c. But I had a great sin to expiate. Marriage had become a necessity.

We were therefore married, although I had forgotten nothing. I first wanted to quiet my conscience, and was very much like a man who clings to any plank of safety, however rotten, to avoid drowning. In consequence of my new connection, now openly known, I lowered my usual charge, thus hoping that many pupils would avail themselves of it to learn French. My business was resumed without any loss of time. I abstained from any strong drink, and should have most likely been enabled to maintain my little family, had not my wife been badly advised by her



friends, who did not dare to come to my house, but whom she visited.

For reasons I cannot explain to myself, they, without any means of a livelihood, had taken up lodgings in Derry. I found her several times, when she returned from those visits, in a state bordering on intoxication. I then saw that the fruit of my labours was again going the wrong way. I got discouraged—disgusted with life. I drank again, lost my appetite, experienced new fits of faintness (no visions), accompanied by diarrhœa, and finally by want of sleep. My little money being gone, the pawn-office was resorted to; my watch and clothes were engaged, piece after piece, until there was nothing left. Then I saw that my only resource was to risk my return to France, after gathering up two or three pounds remaining due to me for tuition. My books, together with some furniture, were left to my wife, who, it was agreed, would try to live with her family until I should be able to get a situation, after my recovery, either in France or in England. She did not look much annoyed at my departure; but it is not the less my intention to discharge my duty as a husband as soon as Providence is pleased to give me the means. I would now work for her and the child much more than for myself. May this also be a lesson to her!

Having described to you, Monsieur le Docteur, what I call the first period of my disease, I will now give you an account of the second. When I left Derry, I had kept my room for two or three weeks, being unable to go on with my lessons, though the soundness of my mind was not once impaired again there, but from mere exhaustion. I resume my diary:—

Left Ireland on the 26th of June, with some cakes and a little bottle of whisky. For saving expenses, took the steerage: could not eat; drank the whisky; no sleep during the passage; very feverish; suffering much from diarrhœa. Arrived at Liverpool, 27th; no food, but one or two pints of porter. I feel very, very weak. For fear of being taken sick on my journey, and placed in the impossibility of proceeding, I take the mail-train, in order to get home sooner, there I have to pay 4s. 6d. more than I expected. In the carriage I endure great sufferings from vomitings. My stomach being empty, I expectorate nothing but bile. I can hardly sit up. No more sleep than on the preceding night. On the 28th, arrived in London, with about 10s. in my pocket. I am exceedingly depressed in mind, and wearied all over my limbs. I want to apply, Portman Square, at a relation's temporary residence. I inquire of many persons about my way. Their informations are very conflicting. At last I reach my destination, after a walk of more than three hours.



The people of the house answer me, that my cousin returned to Paris three weeks ago.

This sad announcement adds, if possible, to my despondency. There is my last hope gone, as to the possibility of getting home without a stoppage on my way. I can, however, through great economy in my expenses of the day, manage to save *eight* shillings for my passage to-morrow, on board the Boulogne steamboat. Once in Boulogne, I shall at least be in France, and, as I carry about me my passport, my degree of A.B., with a great number of excellent testimonials, I may hope to interest the authorities in my favour, and to obtain from them the means of proceeding on my journey.

I continue my walk for many hours, now and then stepping into a public-house to take a glass of ale, or ginger-beer, when I feel too thirsty ; but I do not taste any more substantial nourishment. It seems as if my stomach could not digest it. Though broken down with fatigue and hardly able to stand up, I very seldom stop for a few minutes' rest. I feel that stopping is still worse than walking ; because the absence of objects constantly renewing deprives my mind of diversion, and makes it a more easy prey to thoughts of despair. I therefore go on, unconscious and unmindful of the direction I may take. In a narrow and dark-looking passage through which I wander, a few French words fall on my ears ; I turn round and find that they come from a man, in a small stall, who sells cheap ices at one penny each. Being anxious to get a modest bed-room for the night, and in the hope that the man can give me some information about it, I enter the stall and ask for an ice ; then I beg the permission of sitting on a chair ; for, said I, I have been walking a great deal and feel very tired. The *ice-dealer* gives me a chair ; he then inquires of me if I am a foreigner ; on my affirmative answer, he says that he is a native of Switzerland, but knows France very well. He was there for several years. I perceive that he does not speak English, or at least pretends not to know it. I see in the stall two grown-up boys employed as assistants, and with whom the Swiss converses in bad Italian. A great many customers, mostly of the poor classes and of little prepossessing appearance, come in and ask for an ice. Some appear to be acquainted with the man, although he has just told me that he commenced business this very morning. No suspicions however strike my mind. I frankly confess my distressing state ; I should be very much obliged by his taking me to a lodging-house where I may obtain a bed for the night ; I want to take the Boulogne steamer to-morrow, and I have just enough for a bed, in a very modest lodging-house. The Swiss, after much musing, takes me to a place where, he said, I shall be well.

Despite his assertions, however, I have no sooner set my foot in the house than I wish I had never come. This is a most miserable-looking place, situated in a neighbourhood which can have no claim to respectability, from the number of rags and repulsive individuals I have met on my way. I am conducted, through a dark alley, up to a kitchen on the first story. The landlord and landlady to whom I am handed by the Swiss, in a few Italian words, are not likely to restore me to confidence. The former is a tall, lean fellow, about fifty years, wearing moustaches, and smoking a clay-pipe by the fire-place. Were I in France, I would take him for a *coupe-jarret*. His wife is an old woman whose face has been greatly injured by the small-pox and the loss of one eye. I find her very ugly. There are two young women in the kitchen engaged about I do not recollect what. They certainly have bold looks. Several *orgués de barbarie* and *grosses caisses* let me guess the kind of companions I shall have for the night, if I have nothing worse.

The old woman invites me to take a cup of tea. I decline accepting of anything, and express my desire of retiring to rest immediately, for I cannot sit up any longer, from weariness. She leads me through a very steep and dirty staircase to a room containing three beds. One of them I may have. Before leaving, she wants me to pay in advance the usual charge,—sixpence. When I find myself alone, I take a survey of the place. One table, the three beds, and a few common chairs, make up the whole furniture. I again observe a big drum on the floor, which affords me another proof that showmen as well as strolling singers are the customary lodgers of the house. No sinister suspicions, however, throw my mind into distrust and fear. I address a sincere prayer to God; I think, when in bed, of those I have left behind. I cannot help shedding tears; but I hope in better days. So far as I can judge, it may be six o'clock. I have therefore been walking many miles since six in the morning. Sleep soon overcomes me. I have no evil dreams; but a noise in the room puts an end to my rest. I awake abruptly, and look about to see what the matter is. The night has come. I see the old woman holding a candle. She is with a man and a woman, whom she leaves an instant after. My two companions take one of the vacant beds. The woman looks very much like one of the two females I saw; but the man is not at all the same as the tea-dealer, although the landlady told me, when I was conducted to this room, that he sleeps there every night. Both begin to talk in a low voice. From their conversation I perceive that they believe I am asleep. Imagination again arouses my terrors. I fancy that they speak sometimes in French, sometimes in English. I wonder how they



have come to a knowledge of my language, especially the woman, who expresses herself with great correctness and a truly good accent. Then I imagine that she may be one of those Frenchwomen, so numerous in London, whose existence is derived from debauchery or theft. I think that this one, after acting her part on the first stage, has now fallen into the second. In short, I firmly believe that she is connected with a gang of robbers. They, said I, intend to get rid of me, in order to obtain possession of my few shillings. I suppose there is a weapon, such as a dagger or a sword, concealed under their bolster. They seem to encourage each other in their murderous design. "*How much has he got?*" asks the man. "*Only eight or nine shillings,*" answers the woman. "*It is a poor job; but we must get it.*" Moreover, there are my clothes, with a small parcel in which they will perhaps find something better. After much arguing, they at last agree to wait for the arrival of other friends who are to sleep in the third bed.

Such is now the state of my mind, that I would swear my life is actually in danger. I pretend to awake suddenly; I don't appear to have overheard any part of their conversation. I cough, and often complain of weariness. I keep myself in constant fidgeting, as if it were quite impossible for me to sleep any more. I thus hope to deter them from their criminal intentions, and, indeed, I hear them uttering curses and imprecations because I do not sleep again.

At a late hour in the night, there is a great noise below. Many people, males and females, are uttering coarse jokes, or singing and disputing. Decidedly, this is not a respectable house. I feel more afraid than ever. Two men come upstairs with a girl. They talk such English that I cannot understand. I suppose it is *argot* (slang). The girl stops at the door of our room, and shows her two companions into it. Owing to darkness, the countenances of the new comers are not to be distinguished. What I can perceive is, that one of them is very tall, and the other of middle size. They enter into conversation with the man and woman, but they use a language unknown to me. This fact increases my fears. Should I be sleepy, I feel that I must not sleep, because I am not in a safe place for rest. After a long talk has been going on in a low whisper between them all, except myself, they bid one another good night; but I observe that they remain wide awake. I move about to show them that I am not asleep either. They appear to be much disappointed, and utter frightful oaths. At times, there is a noise from the story above, as if produced by the fall of a piece of furniture, or by the rolling of a bowl. Voices from outside the door address my companions, urging them to have done,



because the night is far advanced. I remark that these pretend to snore, but never all together. There is but one snoring at once, and each differently from the others. They alternate. I moreover remark that the noise from outside takes place when there is no snoring at all. Again, the said snoring ceases when they imagine, from my immobility, that I am asleep. I come to the conclusion that they have agreed to lay hands on me during my sleep. They will smother me with the bolster, and, in case of a noise on my part, will stab me in the bed. I hear that it will not require much time for them to dig up a grave in the yard.

I give myself up as lost. I pray that the day may come. But the night is still far from being at its end. A clock from a neighbouring church strikes every hour. It has just struck one. It seems as if it were a signal. The silence of the night is suddenly interrupted. People in the street—men and women—raise their voices to a stunning pitch. They swear, sing, laugh, and dance. They shout out that it is quite time that *the cat should be bled*. Then a mourning-tune (*un air de deuil*) is sent forth from an *orgue de barbarie*, and brings to my bewildered mind a most sinister recollection—the horrible *assassinat de Fualdès* which occurred in the South of France some thirty years ago, and during the perpetration of which, an accomplice to the murderess was engaged playing airs on an *orgue de barbarie*, in order to keep the attention of the passers-by from the *sanglant* theatre. Though many years have passed since I read of it, I can now remember the most insignificant particular. My memory serves me but too well, for such recollections make me the more uneasy and incapable of reasoning.

As if the boisterous scene in the street wanted any accompaniment, I hear, on all sides, howlings, barkings, whistlings. It seems that all places around contain a swarm of ferocious animals, who are well aware of what is to be done with me. Rude, angry voices often address the individuals in the room to make haste; but every time the latter, however, reluctantly give the same invariable answer,—*There's no go*. At intervals, too, the rattling of a cart, like a tumbrel, passing and re-passing at a furious speed over rough, hard stones, contributes its quota to that infernal concert, which, in my opinion, is made to drown any cries on my part. I am first surprised that there is no night-watch to put a stop to the disturbance. But I soon observe that whenever the approach of heavy footsteps is heard, the gang receive information of it, and the noise is immediately hushed, to be continued as soon as the sounds of the said footsteps have died away.

My mind is thus tortured until daybreak. A faint hope pene-

trates into my heart. I cast stealthy looks about me. My companions do not sleep, for they are very restless. I suppose they have not yet given up their bad designs. I then examine carefully if there is no means of escape. Unfortunately, my *examen* confirms the worst suspicions in reference to the house. On my right, the window is secured by iron bars, and overlooks a small, dirty yard, surrounded by nothing but walls. My eyes turn to the other window, which is opposite a red tile roof, and so close to it, that I imagine I might jump out on that roof, were not the window exactly situated between the two beds occupied by the other lodgers.

Being therefore convinced that all hope of escaping through the windows is to be abandoned as chimeric, I resolve to defend myself to the best of my power against the attack I expect every minute. There are in the small parcel I brought with me two razors and a penknife, in the pocket of my trousers. I take out one of the razors and the penknife, which I open in silence, and which I place beside me on the bed. My companions have perceived these preparations. They seem to laugh in disdain at my means of defence. I think they say that the struggle will not be a long one. The idea of a longer weapon being in their possession, such as a dagger or a sword, again recurs to my mind. I then venture to speak. In a most trembling and scarcely audible voice, I say that I know their intentions against me, &c. I am determined to sell my life dearly. Perceiving that my words do not appear to produce any effect on my audience, I appeal to their humanity. I entreat them not to steep their hands in my blood, especially for such a trifling sum as *eight* or *nine* shillings. I am to return to my country this very morning. If they allow me to go, I promise to leave London without making any disclosures about them and this house. Let them take my money, if they like; I shall not complain.

I go on for some time in the same strain; and at last, seeing that all my supplications seem to remain unsuccessful, and that the men will not alter their minds, I beg of them permission to grant me only a few minutes as a favour. No answer. I hastily slip out of my bed, fall on my knees by the bed-side, and say a short prayer in a low voice. I feel a great deal more composed. There is now so much resignation in me, that I no longer fear death. I tell my companions that I am ready; they this time say that they wish me no harm. Though I do not believe in their friendly protestations, my terrors are gone. Let them strike me while asleep. This reflection does not prevent my taking two or three hours' rest, until seven o'clock strike by the church clock. The other men are still in bed; one of them gets up at the same time as I do, because, says he, the doors



below are not open. He leads me down the steep and narrow staircase. I find myself in the kitchen I saw yesterday. My guide is the tall man I remarked last night; he says he is the landlord's son. He takes me to the street door, and accedes to my request, when I express a desire to be put in my right way to London-bridge. He therefore accompanies me for some minutes, and leaves me in a wide street, saying that I have only to go straight on. I forgot to mention that he handed me two cards, to recommend the house to my friends, should any of them come to London. Those cards I took, but without any intention of ever using them as I was directed. They have been taken from me at the house where I was before my being brought here. The landlord's name is Cassanello (an Italian).

I have been told by my guide that London-bridge is about a good mile off, and that the shortest way for me is to keep straight on. I therefore forget my state of exhaustion, and walk at a brisk pace in order to be in time for the steamboat which is to sail at nine o'clock. I have already proceeded for not less than one hour, taking great care to follow the same endless street. There is, however, no London-bridge within sight yet. I venture to ask a policeman about it. He informs me that I am *three miles* at least from my destination, and points to another direction as the right one.

On this day, Sunday, 29th of June, disappointments succeed disappointments. It seems as if London-bridge were moving and retiring before me as I advance towards it. Despite repeated inquiries, I think I should never have reached it, had I not at last and in despair given a little boy one sixpenny-piece to take me there. It was twelve o'clock when I arrived; the steamer was gone, and with her my last hope of leaving London on that day.

I see everywhere people going to their places of worship. An interior voice tells me that it would be right on my part to do the same; for I stand in extreme need of our Lord's assistance. But on casting a look on myself, I feel ashamed of my wretched appearance, and content myself with praying to God that He may deign not to abandon me. I go on at random until the divine service is over; then I enter a public-house for the purpose of writing to my family, and apprising them of my being detained in London by illness, and unable, for want of pecuniary means, to proceed on my journey. When I have done, I recommence my wandering *marche* without interruption, without food, until night. I have been all day exposed to a scorching sun: I feel quite worn-out; but I continue walking, like a machine, an automaton, without caring about any direction whatever. It is my intention to apply for lodgings to any police-



officer I may meet on my way, when the streets are getting desert. I thus hope to obtain a bed in a respectable house.

At about ten o'clock, I find myself in a wide thoroughfare, where I see thousands of promenaders moving along the foot-paths. From distance to distance, the landlords of several public-houses have placed rows of chairs and forms, with tables, in the street. There sit many, many people, drinking beer and eating cakes. I am very thirsty, but I would not take any beer, because I am sure it does no good. I buy a cake, and draw a little water out of a pump.

I then resume my walk for one hour perhaps; I perceive that the streets are not so thickly filled with people now, that it will soon be time for me to think of some accommodation for the night. Were it not that my step is more unsteady, my voice more trembling, my sight weaker, and my hearing subject to a constant humming, I feel nothing which may induce me to believe that I am worse than I was this morning.

Presently, and all of a sudden, the real scene changes, so far as people are concerned. This is the same street, indeed, with the same buildings; but the promenaders, the women especially, are no longer strangers to me: they have assumed forms with which I am acquainted; I shudder on recognising in two females the faces of my wife and her sister passing and repassing beside me; they are laughing a diabolical laughter; they cry out that I am *mad*—yes, *mad*, and *this time mad beyond recovery*. I shall die the death of a brute; I shall be damned for eternity.

There is just enough *présence d'esprit* left in me to think that I am again the sport of a delirious imagination, and that I am destined to suffer under new trials. Notwithstanding the unceasing threats I distinctly hear about me, I won't believe, but at the same time I cannot help being more and more excited, and in spite of myself I answer those menaces as if they were real. It is time to apply to a policeman. After some minutes' walk, during which I get no relief, I find one whom I beg to conduct me to a decent lodging-house, in which I may find a bed for the night. I am a foreigner, quite a stranger in London; arrived yesterday, but would not like to return to the same house I slept in last night, because I think it is a bad one. I am ill, very tired, &c. The officer kindly takes me to a place where he is known. The people of the house, perceiving that I am unwell, desire me to take something before retiring to rest. I decline, and only drink a glass of ginger-beer. As soon as I am in bed I feel very much oppressed. I can hardly breathe. My eyes and mouth send forth sparks of fire. A stormy, hissing wind rages about my ears. All my body is in such a state of perspiration that I put off my shirt. I fancy that a demon is on me, trying

to smother me by pressing on my throat. I struggle with all my might, and pray repeatedly. My prayers drive Satan from me ; but he is not far hence. I still see his hideous face in the room. The latter part of the night passes away in visions of a new kind. My memory has acquired a wonderful power of recollection. I see, in a succession of *tableaux*, as I should in a panorama, the faithful reproduction of what I have done wrong during my life. Many sinful deeds, never remembered before, and which I believed to be for ever buried in oblivion, now spring up one after the other, and defile before my eyes.

The day has long made its appearance, when I am able to snatch a little rest. At breakfast-time I am still in bed. The landlady has been informed, by two young men who slept in my room, that I was very restless, without, however, being noisy at all. She sends up to me a cup of tea and some toast. I take the tea, with very little bread. I cannot eat. I bought last night half a pound of meat, which remains untouched. When I have got up, I stop for some time in the parlour below-stairs with the landlady, to whom I sincerely confess my penury, and the reasons which compel me to tarry in London until I have received an answer from home. She happens to be a kind-hearted woman, and sympathizes with my sorrows. She accepts the money due for the bed, but refuses to receive anything for tea. I then tell her that, if she has no objection to it, I shall sleep in her house again, a proposal to which she readily consents. I take leave of her, with the intention of taking a short walk, and, in order to get rid of any incumbrance, I entrust her with the care of a small parcel, containing, among other things, my passport, my degree of A.B., and a number of testimonials. Although I have avoided strolling too far away from the place, I vainly endeavour to find it again. That the house is close to a railroad, and I was able to see the trains from my bed, is all I can say ; for I have forgotten to ask the landlady for her name and the name of the street. At last I discover a railway which is quite, in its appearance, like the one I am looking for. Indeed, the aspect of the adjoining streets, cut, as it were, into two halves, makes me almost sure that I have come to the end of my anxious rambles. Unfortunately, appearances were never more deceiving. I walk over and over again through some twenty streets in the vicinity of the railroad, all to no purpose. I give up, for fear of being looked upon by the people as a suspicious character. I have thus been on foot for at least five or six hours, being sustained by nothing but ginger-beer, the only sort of drink I made a vow last night that I should taste again.

In the hope that an application to the police may lead to the discovery of my papers, I hurry on to the nearest station, where



I state the case to the best of my abilities ; for I have very little strength even to speak. After hearing my statement, the chief officer tells me that it is very unfortunate, he can do nothing unless I let him know at least the name of the street where I met the policeman who took me to the lodging-house. I venture to express my opinion that it would be easy to find out the said policeman, by inquiring at all stations, which of the police conducted last night, about 11 o'clock, a Frenchman to a lodging-house ; but all my reasons are not listened to. I therefore submit to try if I can find the street again. The officer tells me that I must come back as soon as it has been found, and assures me that he will spare nothing to have my parcel restored to me. I leave the police station, not at all despairing, in my ignorance, to be able, by dint of turnings and windings about the streets, to find at last the one I am instructed to look for, and of which I suppose I have kept a vivid recollection.

I shall not weary you, Monsieur le Docteur, with a detailed narrative of my new perambulations ; I shall only beg to say that, on that day, I did not even so much as sit down for more than twelve hours. I had no kind of food whatever ; thirst alone compelled me to stand from time to time at a ginger beer shop, *en plein air*, where I had a glass of the refreshing drink, and then on I went. I could not stop ; it seemed to me as if somebody were again pricking me from behind, or whispering into my ears : *Walk on, walk on*. The objects grew confused. I heard imaginary conversations held in French. They related to me and my insanity. At times the prickings became so painful as to make me shed tears, and it was with the greatest effort that I could help uttering cries. Towards evening I was prompted, I cannot say by what invisible force, to go and give an answer at the police-station as to the issue of my errand. The difficulty was to get to it. It was very likely a good distance away. Frequent were my applications to policemen on duty in the streets, but either I gave them a wrong name, or they did not know the place. The fact is that I never obtained the information I wanted. In fine, and, *en désespoir de cause*, I called at the first station-house on my way, and asked to be taken, if possible, to Finchbury station, (so far as I can remember), where I desired to speak to the chief officer. They kept me waiting for a good while there, and it was dark when I was requested to follow a policeman who, they told me, was going to my destination.

Now, Monsieur le Docteur, I will relate at some length to you the strange events, partly real, partly imaginary, that took place on the night of the 30th of June, from the moment when I left the station-house to accompany the policeman. I resume.



This officer looks angry with me, as if I were a malefactor. I ask him if I have done anything wrong; he answers, *Nothing that I know of*. We have not proceeded many yards out when two ill-looking men come up and walk by my side. Their language is most abusive; they make threatening gestures at me. They say they are going to the station along with me, and there swear before the magistrate that I created a disturbance at their house. I call the policeman to witness that the accusation is quite false: I entreat him, with tears in my eyes, to disbelieve such a wicked report. The men I now take for two of those who slept in my room on Saturday night. They must be bad characters, said I, for they wanted to lay hands on me. The officer does not pay much attention to my supplications; on the contrary, he seems to be on very good terms with my accusers. He soon leaves me in a street, and, on going away, says that we shall meet again at the station, which is now within a few minutes' walk. I have, says he, only to go straight on. The two men are still by my side: they still abuse me; but, notwithstanding what they have just declared, about their intention of having me brought before the magistrate, they also leave me, and proceed on their way at a quicker pace. To my great dismay, I hear them crying aloud—*Here is the madman coming. . . . Here is the madman*. This appears to be *un mot d'ordre* for every one. The two men are certainly new enemies. They try to set up all London against me. Indeed, everybody is standing at his door, laughing at the madman; some speaking with compassion, others asserting that he ought to be locked up for the safety of all.

The unavoidable cry is repeated from distance to distance, as if to invite the people who are in doors to make haste and look out, for there is the madman. I cannot understand how people may be so easily imposed upon by a set of slanderers, and thus rise up against one who does not remember having done any harm. I feel that resistance on my part would be great folly: my only resource is to suffer with new resignation. I, therefore, thinking it useless, throw the walking-stick which I carry over a wall I pass by.

I now go on in a slow quiet pace, with my hands in my pockets. I am entirely composed. Though I would swear to the reality of whatever I hear about me, there is in me an invisible adviser who commands me to bear up in silence against any kind of abuse. Sometimes, however, I cannot help exclaiming: *Je vous reconnais bien là, M. Diavolo; encore un de vos tours contre moi; mais je ne vous crains pas; je vous défie; car je suis sûr que le bon Dieu est pour moi*,—and many like sentences. Once, thirst obliges me to enter a tavern for a glass

of ginger-beer. There are three men sitting on a bench in the bar-room; I imagine they speak of me, for I have caught the word *madman*. I complain of their behaviour towards a helpless foreigner, who is only guilty of being poor. They politely answer, that I am under mistake. I am not at all the subject of their conversation. I then apologize for my blunder, and walk away with the conviction that every one has been roused against me. A little further on, I feel inclined to buy a penny loaf; but it seems as if all the bakers' shops were now closing on purpose, and that no one will sell me the food I am in need of. This universal bad feeling I ascribe to Satan's power; but I have full confidence in God,—I pray on fervently, being assured that I shall not be abandoned. How long did my walk last, through hundreds of streets, it is difficult to say exactly. Most of the shops had already been shut for a long time; the thoroughfares are no longer crowded with promenaders. It is very late. How is it that I am neither weary, nor cold, nor hungry? To these questions I know of no other answer than that I am under the care of Divine Providence.

I meet many persons whom I take for acquaintances of mine. They have come to be present on what I call my *Passion*. There is a master whom I knew at Foyle College. He passes by without speaking. There is my brother-in-law, whom I have just passed. I know him well. He has a brown over-coat on, and smokes a cigar. There he is again. He wont leave me; he says he has come to have done with me at last. I presently hear his voice exciting every one to throw me into the river. I defy all in a loud tone; but at the same time, I wonder what interest my brother-in-law has in my death—what benefit he is likely to derive from it. I also feel much surprised at his uttering filthy words, mixed with oaths and blasphemies. This was not his habit. He is extremely excited. He says, that since Satan has got his soul, he must likewise get mine.

On my side, the excitement becomes greater; I speak aloud to the crowd. The meaning of my speech being, that I fear nobody; that God is with me; that I am proud of having returned to better sentiments. I feel quite able to fight against Satan himself, because I am assured that I shall have an all-powerful assistance, already made manifest by the total absence of fatigue, fear, and want of food.

Whilst I am talking in this strain, my eyes fall on a damp place in the street or lane. The said place is much darker than the rest. (Water had probably been spilt there.) I fancy that it has the shape of a large hide. It is the devil's skin. I am told that my prayers and my faith have triumphed over Satan. I repeatedly trample on his remains, and only leave off



to address the multitude around me. Fortunately my harangue is in French. They perhaps do not understand what I say; but they well enough perceive that I am not all right. A public-house is hard by, in which I hear music and songs. The airs are French. They are interrupted only by the voice of my brother-in-law, who exclaims that they must have my life, because he is sure I am not yet in a proper state for salvation. A young man comes out of the tavern (I perfectly recollect this incident), and offers me a glass of porter, which I decline to accept, because, said I, I have promised to my God henceforth to abstain from *fermented* drinks.

Some others among the crowd are not so kindly disposed in my favour. They would perhaps handle me somewhat rudely for my incomprehended discourse, were it not for the timely interference of a policeman, who has doubtless been enabled to perceive that if noisy I am not a dangerous character. In answer to his questions, I inform him that I am the sport of the infernal *puissance*, who want to get possession of my soul, and who have caused me to be hunted down in this city like a malefactor, a madman. The officer shows me much kindness. He endeavours to prove that I have nothing to fear; he sees that I am a stranger, and would the less on that account let me be insulted. I then say that I am homeless, without one single acquaintance in London, but with money enough to pay for a bed. The policeman asks me if I should have no objection to sleep in a poor-house. On my reply that I have none whatever to any place in which I may pass the night, he takes me to the station, to communicate with the chief officer about what is to be done with me. Here, too, I receive a good *accueil*; but the chief officer cannot take upon himself to send me to the poor-house; I must sleep in a lodging-house. I am, therefore, conducted by the policeman, who has brought me to a decent place, where I am recommended to the landlord. Before proceeding any further, I shall here state that several times in the streets, and especially whilst in the police-station, I most distinctly heard again a ringing of bells, as if coming down from above. The sound was sweet, harmonious, and seemed to be produced by silver bells. Another strange particular, the sky appeared to be illuminated by immense and innumerable round lamps, while there was now and then something like the noise created by the fall of hailstones.

I ask what o'clock it is. They inform me that it is nearly one. This is an eating-house, for many persons are at table, taking some food or a glass of beer. I should believe that they are carriers. I am told that the house keeps open all night, on account of the customers coming from the country. The room to



which I am conducted is very spacious, and of neat appearance. It contains five beds, three of which are already occupied. I am scarcely in mine when I hear again from outside the voice of my brother-in-law more threatening than ever. He will not let me sleep. With Satan's assistance, he will get into the room; he will torment me to death. Then I fancy that he is in the yard, creating the same rattling noise as I heard once, by furiously driving an empty tumbrel round a circus. He stops now and then; but it is to laugh a sarcastic laughter, to call me hypocrite, to defy God, or to indulge in an obscene discourse. This lasts until after daybreak. I am still wide-awake, though I have not been in the least afraid; for there are two other voices close to my ears. They whisper to me that I have defensors, before whom Satan himself trembles. On my left I am addressed by my guardian angel, who informs me that I have been left to his care by our Lord. He says that I know him; that we were great friends; for he is the son of a neighbour of ours, with whom I used to play in my infancy. He died before he was ten years of age, more than twenty-five years ago, and became an angel in heaven. From that time he has been directed to watch over my actions. Had he been allowed to speak to me before, he would certainly have given me good counsels. For a number of years he has seen that I was running to eternal ruin, and he could do nothing but weep over my disorders, and pray that my eyes should be open. I have many friends in heaven, many relations who also interceded for my salvation. But *what was written was written*. I was destined to rush headlong to the very brink of destruction.

I then ask my guardian angel if he was not with me already, when I lay on a sick bed in Derry. He says he was; but he did not speak to me. I was then addressed by my full cousin, a young man of about twenty-seven years when he died, and who was a priest. To my question whether I shall be saved, my guardian angel gives no answer; but I hear, on my right, another voice, which says that I shall.

This voice is clearer and more distinct than the first. It is the voice of God Almighty himself, who deigns to communicate with me. I listen in awe and silence to the revelations that are being made. They generally relate to the destiny of my family and friends in the world to come. Parents, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, &c., all have the secret of their respective fates unfolded before me. Every life is minutely reviewed one after the other; every action, good or bad, carefully weighed. It is incredible how there is nothing forgotten or overlooked; it seems as if an every moment account-book had been kept, not only concerning the deeds but the thoughts and intentions of each. Most of them are doomed

to suffer for ever ; some for a certain length of time, and *one*, only *one*, is to obtain the kingdom of heaven. Then do I recollect a passage of the scripture, which I thought I had forgotten : *Multi enim vocati, pauci vero electi.*

It is a long time since the men have got up, I am still listening. Sometimes I presume to venture a question as to my future line of conduct. Every time I receive kind instructions for my guidance. Lastly, my imagination carries me to a scene hitherto unknown. I behold a sea of fire, into which an invisible hand precipitates the sinners, who have all preserved their human forms. As they appear one by one before the Supreme tribunal, I hear these redoubtable words from the Almighty : *Allez, fils de Satan, allez brûler dans le feu de l'enfer.* Although free from fear, I cannot help exclaiming more than once : "*O mon Dieu ! que votre justice est terrible !*" I feel that I should like to sleep now ; but I do not dare, for fear of displeasing God. The voice lets me know that I can rest myself after a short prayer. I therefore pray until I fall asleep. It must be at least five o'clock.

My sleep has been quite refreshing, not at all troubled by bad, terrifying dreams. It is breakfast-time when I get up. The voice on my right is gone ; but my guardian angel is still here. He says he will not leave me. After dressing, I kneel down by the bed-side and say my morning prayers. My mind is much at ease. I have more confidence in myself ; but no arguments could persuade me that the many events of last night are not real ; everything must be true.

When I have done praying, I come down stairs. There are people engaged in breakfast. I ask for a cup of tea, with toast. They also bring me a little slice of ham, which I leave untouched, because I have no appetite to taste it. The rain has been falling a part of the night. It is not over yet. I wait in the room until it has abated. Then I resume my random strolls. I imagine that everybody knows what took place last night. Again the cries of *There is the madman* reach my ears. Whatever way I may go, they follow me ; I cannot get rid of them. After several hours passed in moving about, like a mere machine, I find myself out of town, in the open fields, with only a few scattered houses in sight. Here I hope that I shall be more quiet. Although I was very thirsty, I had not dared to step into any place for refreshment, because I feared to be recognised as the madman of yesterday. My guardian angel, whose advice I ask for, tells me that I may take ginger-beer, but nothing else. The sky has cleared up ; I sit down on the grass to rest myself a little. The place I have chosen is in the vicinity of a railroad. A train is coming, and, as it runs by, I distinctly and repeatedly



hear the same annoying cry, *There is the madman*, as if all the passengers were acquainted with my history. I am extremely tired; I should like much to stop a little longer; but an invisible force bids me leave the spot and move on. I thus continue on my feet for some more hours, listening to the voice within me, and at times answering half aloud. I bend my steps back to town again, whither I am accompanied by the unceasing cry, to which I now submit with less reluctance. It must be late in the afternoon. The sky is overcast. I begin to be anxious about a place of rest. At last I find a chapel, and sit down at the door. I remain there for some time. The sudden idea strikes me that I am about to die; indeed, I feel something like two lobsters creeping up inside my chest. They are sucking my blood; and a voice tells me that I have but a few minutes more to live. This frightens me. My conscience is not in a right state yet: I am afraid to die. I go on in search of a chemist's shop, where I hope to obtain some relief. When I have found one, I complain of exhaustion, and ask for any strengthening medicine. The chemist gives me a cordial composed of—I don't know what,—which I swallow in the utmost confidence. I feel a little better, but not so well as to drive all fears of an imminent death away. My wishes are now to get to a Catholic chapel, and there to apply to a priest for confession. I therefore inquire about the nearest place of Catholic worship; I am directed to one about two miles off. Thither I direct my tottering steps: I find the door open, but no priest in. An old woman, whom I ask for him, says that she cannot tell me where he is. I leave this chapel to look for another: new wearisome stroll of nearly one hour. There is the object of my search, at last; but the entrance-door is locked: no possibility for me to get in. What to do? It is growing dark. The rain falls in large drops; I have no shelter, and I would not step into any public-house for fear of being at once recognised as the madman, and, as such, exposed to the abuse, perhaps to the blows, of the people. I come to the conviction that there shall be no rest for me until I have found out the inn in which I slept last night. I imagine that I shall be able to find it, and it is only after much time has been spent in walking at random that I perceive my presumptuous mistake. During all the time, the harassing cry of *There is the madman* has not ceased to sound by my ears. I again see and hear my persecutors beside me; now and then, too, the voice of my guardian angel keeps me up, as well as the silvery chime from above: this especially takes place when I have been praying fervently. Meanwhile, the rain has not abated; I am wet through; it is a late hour in the night, for I see lights nowhere except in very few public-houses. I have



made repeated applications for a bed—all in vain. There was no accommodation. My resolution is now to pass the night out, and, as the rain prevents me from sitting down, to walk on until daylight. I reach a sheltered place, where, for want of a seat, I have been standing up for some time, when a policeman passes by. He asks me how it is that I am there at such a late hour. I tell him, that I could not find any lodgings, &c. . . . He can see by the gas-light that my clothes are very wet, and I appear to be extremely fatigued. He wishes to afford me a shelter for the remainder of the night at the police-station. I follow him; but the head officer cannot allow that I should stop in, because, says he, there is no charge against me. On the kind request of my guide, he, however, consents to send me to a workhouse, and writes a few words to that purpose, which he hands to the policeman. On our way to the poor-house, my imagination again works on my mind. I fancy that we are closely followed by an evil spirit, under the shape of a wolf, and with a human voice. I often complain to the officer that there is a demon behind us, who throws at me the same white-coloured liquid from which I formerly suffered so much. The dreaded shower burns all my body like boiling lead; it is accompanied with imprecations and fits of laughter from my pursuer. We arrive at the poor-house. They give me a bed, in which I soon fall asleep.

This first night has been quiet. When I awake in the morning, I expect that they are going to dismiss me; but I must wait for the doctor's visit. The medical gentleman easily perceives that I am not so well as I think. He cannot grant my discharge, unless I have a place where to go to. I feel quite surprised at the answer. I give way to despair, and reason leaves me altogether. The sight and hearing, so much impaired already, may now be termed mere organs of delusions. Besides mine, there are five beds in the room. In one of them I see a miserable victim, like myself. The four others are occupied by infernal spirits of the first order. They are the rebellious angels who presumed to revolt against God Almighty. Here, also, I shall meet with new attacks from my brother-in-law. I don't see him: I hear his voice and oaths as if he were in a room below. He said that it was himself who last night pursued me with the burning liquid, when on my way to the workhouse with the policeman. I shall not so easily escape now; for I am shut in, and he has powerful friends with him,—he means the evil spirits. He then discloses to me the secret and uncomprehended motives of his unceasing persecutions. I have done him no harm whatever; we ought, therefore, to be still on the same terms of good friendship as we were formerly. All this he cannot

deny. However, he hates, he abhors me, and will only be happy when he sees me a corpse. My death must be the sinner's death. There must not be any time left for repentance; because, non-content with selling his own soul to Satan, he has likewise disposed of mine. The condition imposed by the Prince of Darkness is, that I shall die in my present state of sin. It appears that Satan sets a great value upon my soul. My brother-in-law informs me that 15,000 francs are the terms of the agreement in which I am, unknown to myself, so seriously concerned. I wonder much how my soul may be so eagerly sought for by the *Evil One*. My brother-in-law's soul fetched only 80*l*. Is mine any better? I then learn that God has decreed, in his inscrutable wisdom, that I shall obtain a place in the kingdom of heaven. Satan is aware of it. He also knows that, after a life of sins, I am destined to endure great sufferings, and to show sincere repentance before departing this life. He therefore gives here another instance of his well-known presumption; though he is obliged to confess that his own power cannot prevent the accomplishment of my *destiny*, he wants once more to try if he will be able to surprise the divine vigilance.

During the first days my fears of a sudden death are extreme. Twice or three times I escape from my bed, because I fancy that one or two of the boards of the floor are lifted up to give passage to my brother-in-law, whose face I don't see, but whose threats I hear. He will shoot me with a pistol. He has received from Satan the power of changing his natural form into a small animal, and to resume it as soon as he has got into my room. I also imagine that the melted lead is poured over my body from above my bed, through a small tube worked by Satan himself. I see him. He has taken the form of a black rat with red flaming eyes; he laughs at me, and says, he must have my soul. At night I behold frightful scenes; the men, whom I suppose to be evil spirits, assume horrid shapes; they are in perpetual motion, and all throw at me the burning liquid. The other patient to whom I have alluded as a victim has, like myself, to struggle against the same tormentor. He is possessed of extraordinary patience; I remark that he never swears, and if he does not pray, his frequent exclamations, such as "Lord have mercy upon me," show that he is a true believer. I become interested in his favour; I cannot help taking his defence (in words) whenever the *Infirmier* and another who styles himself *the Doctor* beat him in order to reduce him to silence.

(I have since recognised that patient in Andrews, who is now in this establishment.)

I have no rest: a voice tells me that prayer alone shall bring relief. I therefore pray for hours, for days and nights without



interruption, except when I cannot go on from exhaustion. I wont take any food. Everything is loathsome to me, and besides, the food which is presented to me is the usual nourishment of the devils; it would be poison for me. Now and then I drink a drop of water, but every time after praying that it should be changed into a wholesome beverage. The conduct of my co-patients is not calculated either to alter my opinion in their respect. One of them especially has nothing but oaths or filthy words in his mouth. The *infirmier* himself is not better. Whenever I make a noise he abuses me in a low language, and even strikes me with his fist. Their imprecations and ill-treatments, far from compelling me to silence, only tend to redouble my excitement. Unlike to Andrews, I often upbraid them for their rudeness; I say that I don't fear them. They are demons, I know; they may kill me; they shall have my body; but my soul, never. I am resolved to suffer and to forgive. I exhort them to repentance by repeatedly saying, *Repentez-vous, repentez-vous; car le royaume des cieux est proche, &c.*

My prayers and exhortations, being expressed aloud and in French, produce on my hearers no other effect than that of irritating them the more; for sleep has become quite impossible. From the beginning, I have been tied up, head, hands, and feet, in my bed. One would think that all movements are impeded. I however keep in constant fidgeting; it is truly surprising how I may still have so much strength. Every morning I am untied that I may wash myself; but as soon as the process of washing is over, I am generally bound again, with the difference that my head and hands are left free. At times, myriads of white flies are sent into my bed; they stick to my skin like leeches; they suck up my blood, and their stings create considerable pains. Every night the room is changed into a kind of infernal laboratory. There is Satan writing cabalistic characters on the wall; there is one of his *suppôts* standing by my side, and keeping under my nose a sulphuric match which he forces me to inhale. This unearthly being's stature is gigantic. There are other demons in various shapes moving or crawling about. I see toads and frogs of enormous size. They torment the patient Andrews. There are black pigs intended for devouring my feet, as they were once by a dog. I expect new tortures, but in a spirit of resignation; the break of day generally causes my visions to disappear. I then fall into a kind of sleep of very short duration. As soon as I am awakened, I commence praying again, and only leaving off doing so when I am too much exhausted. For many days and nights I have thus prayed for—1st, my family and friends; 2nd, for mere acquaintances; 3rd, for even those whom I suppose to be my enemies. My mind is not only occupied in praying;



God again unfolds to me the destinies of the many persons with whom I am acquainted. I am very inquisitive; I wish to know the fate of the most celebrated personages about whom I have read in history, and especially of the Frenchman who acted the most prominent parts in our first revolution. I learn that all the kings of France have become the subjects of Satan, except a single one, Louis XVI. As to the Terrorists, they are in hell, along with our greatest writers, such as Voltaire, J. J. Rousseau, &c. Many, many persons whom I expect to be saved, are not; and a few are whom I have looked on as *Jesuits*. If in my prayers, any worldly thought crosses my mind, I immediately hear the voice say, *Encore des idées d'orgueil*, or else, *Encore de l'envie*; *encore l'amour des richesses*. All this must be made away with before I can enter the kingdom of heaven. Sometimes I am commanded to say a prayer which I have forgotten. Then my cousin prays for me. Almost every night I see a window where I know that there is none. There I behold Almighty God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, such as they are represented in Catholic pictures. Christ intercedes for me; I distinctly notice a tear falling down his cheek, as if he were weeping on my sins. There also come two children, whom I take for the Infant Jesus and John the Baptist. Their mothers are with them; they all want to implore God's forgiveness in my favour. The sky outside is now bright, now it assumes a lurid appearance, according as my prayers come from a contrite or a doubtful heart. Towards the latter end of my confinement in the house I am informed that I shall be admitted into heaven. My trials are over; I need not fear or doubt any longer. I am to be taken to the celestial palaces in God's own chariot. I feel very happy. Shortly after, the voice tells me that my soul is gone. My body is now only animated by a *souffle*. I cannot well understand, but I believe. Now, too, I fancy that God reveals to me the future destinies of the world. The kingdom of Heaven is at hand: mankind shall perish within a few days by a general conflagration. The plague is raging in London and many cities on the Continent. In France the demon of murder and suicide exercises his sway over the whole population. Last revolution in Paris; the soldiers are fighting against the people, then against each other, until there is but one man surviving, who shoots himself. Many times I imagine that I hear a sinister voice in London: it says, "*Visited such, such, and such streets; all dead*: may God forgive us!" &c.

Such were, Monsieur le Docteur, the strange thoughts by which my mind was engrossed when I was removed from the poor-house. The gentlemen who came for me did not surprise me in

the least on announcing that I must get up, for they were to take me away. I firmly believed that I was dead, and likely about to be admitted into Heaven. Nothing, in my imagination, could be expected. On our way hither, I saw houses, trees, carriages, passengers, all as it is on earth; but I would have been averse to the idea that they did not belong to another world, a kind of medium between earth and heaven.

When we alighted here, I came to think that I was to be shut in for a limited space of time. This was the last expiation for my sinful life. I kept in *sullen* silence, because it was my belief that *mutism* was the condition, *sine quâ non*, for my speedy ascent to heaven. The attendants and patients with whom I was placed, I considered as new temptators, whose attacks I should have to resist. Thus I fancied that my duty was to walk up and down the gallery with the least possible rest, and taking care always to tread on the same boards. I also considered it my duty to obey the attendants whenever they said, *I will*. In the yard the trial was of another kind. "I must not," said I, "let any one make his way on the same path as I do; I must drive him away by constantly walking around him, and surrounding him with invisible lines, as the spider weaves his nets around flies."

Once, I recollect, they retired to the shed. I took up my post right against them, and stood up for a long time there, moving three steps backward and forward. It seemed to me that I was ordered to do so some hundred times before allowing myself any rest. On the three or four first nights, you may remember, Monsieur le Docteur, that I was in an excited state. Indeed, you were so kind as to lend me a French book, which I did not dare to peruse, for fear it should be a snare set against my soul. In my room I used to pray and speak aloud, as I had done in the pauper-house, for I felt convinced this establishment (the purgatory) was swarming with invisible beings, some in need of my prayers, others of my exhortations. Any person coming at that time to invite me to be quiet, was sure to be taken for a temptator, at whom I threw the malediction, *Vade retrò, Satanas*. Fortunately, I soon was enabled to see things in their proper light. But to what causes shall I ascribe my quick recovery, if not to God's mercy first, and then to you, Monsieur le Docteur, to the Rev. Mr. Murray, and to the attendants of your choice. Had I been so roughly treated here as I was in the poor-house, my firm belief is that I should never have recovered. Your constant kind attentions to me, your willingness to grant me whatever I may desire, such as books, newspapers, extra diet,—these are titles to my gratitude, which I shall never forget. In my present helplessness, I can only say what many others



will repeat after me : May you, Monsieur le Docteur, and your family, enjoy the happiness which you deserve so well !

I forgot, Monsieur le Docteur, to mention to you the fact that, during my stay in the poor-house, the state of my bowels was always that of costiveness, and that my water was of a red colour. Now I feel as well as I can possibly be, were it not for the itchings which I still feel now and then, and which disturb my sleep to some degree. I suppose that they will disappear in time.

I have given you many tedious details ; you will find many inconsistencies, perhaps, in the course of my narrative ; but you know that I had only to write down the ideas of a delirious brain. There can be no *logique* expected from such a source. My only endeavour has been to relate the truth, and nothing but the truth, a condition which my vivid recollections made quite easy. I sincerely wish, Monsieur le Docteur, that it should meet your approval.

L. D.

## ART V.—PHYSIOLOGICAL PSYCHOLOGY.

BY ROBERT DUNN, F.R.C.S. ENG.

IT is no longer a subject of dispute, that the doctrines of mind rest essentially on the basis of our physiological composition—that they form a part of the physiology of man. For, however it may be attempted to separate intellectual and moral from animal and corporeal man, and however we may reason about our intellectual and moral nature apart from our bodily and animal constitution, it is never to be forgotten that they are united in this life, forming one and a composite system of mutual dependence and reciprocal action. From the first moment that *the primitive cell-germ* of an human organism comes into being, and is launched upon the ocean of time and space, it may literally be said, that the entire individual is present, that an organized entity exists, fitted for a human destiny ; and that, from the same moment, *matter* and *mind*, *body* and *soul*, are never for an instant separated. Their union constitutes the essential mode of our present existence, and they are alike subject to the laws of development and growth ; for the mind, like the body, passes through its phases of development. Not only is the framework and different organs of the human body evolved and perfected, one after the other, in accordance with all the subsequent wants of the future man ; but, among the rest, and from the same primitive cell-germ, are gradually developed, the



nervous apparatus and the encephalic ganglia, upon the vesicular matter of which the mind is dependent for the manifestation of all its activities. And thus we see, that in the primitive cell-germ of the human organism are potentially contained the *vital*, *nervous*, and *mental forces*; and, than the attempt to investigate and trace the genesis and gradual development of these forces, and their correlations with each other, what subject, to the psychological inquirer, can be more interesting or more important?\*

The phenomena of the vital force are first displayed. For in the cell-germ, duly supplied with the nutrient pabulum, inherent are the powers of self-development and life under which the human fabric is evolved and built up. But after birth, to the organic processes, the animal functions and their allied appetites and instincts are superadded; and with these, sensations, as subjective conditions, are inseparably connected. Man then enters upon a new state of being and an individuality—an independent existence is established. For as soon as embryonic life is passed, the *nascent consciousness* becomes awakened,—roused into activity by stimuli from without, the senses coming into play from the moment of birth.

Now, consciousness is an *ultimate fact* in animal existence, beyond which we cannot go; it is the *distinguishing* attribute of animal life, the first of the phenomena of the *mental force*, and *self-consciousness* is the primary condition of intelligence: in a word, *it is mental existence*.

The great and fundamental mystery of life, indeed, consists in the relations of consciousness and of that dynamical agency which we designate *volition*, or the *will*, to the functions of the special senses, and those of the encephalic ganglia, which connect man as a sentient, percipient, and intelligent being, with his own bodily organization and with the world without. For, while it is no longer a matter of dispute that the encephalon is the material organ of the mind, where the ultimate molecular changes precede mental states, and from whence the mandates of the will issue, it has been well observed, by an acute metaphysician, that,—

“As to the nature of the relation which exists between the encephalon and the sentient and percipient mind, we never shall be able to understand more than is involved in the simple fact, that a certain

\* The subject has engaged the attention of one of the ablest physiologists and most profound thinkers amongst us—I mean Dr. Carpenter. See his valuable paper, in the “Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society,” On the Mutual Relations of the Physical and Vital Forces; and his chapters On the Correlations of Physiology and Psychology, in the last and fifth edition of his “Human Physiology.”

affection of the nervous system precedes immediately a certain affection of the mind. And that a peculiar state of the particles of the brain should be followed by a change of the state of the sentient mind is truly wonderful; but, if we consider it strictly, we shall find it by no means more wonderful than that the arrival of the moon at a certain point in the heavens should render the state of a body on the surface of the earth different from what it otherwise naturally would be. We believe, and, indeed, with as much confidence, that one event will uniformly have for its consequent another event, which we have observed to follow it, as we believe the simple fact that it has preceded it in the particular case observed. But the knowledge of the present sequence, as a mere fact to be remembered, and the expectation of similar future sequences, as the result of an *original law of our belief*, are precisely of the same kind, whether the sequence of changes be in the *mind* or in *matter*, singly or reciprocally in both.”\*

The essential nature of mind is a problem which belongs to the same category as the nature of life. We know nothing of life apart from organization; and we have no evidences of mind independent of a brain and nervous system. An organism is required for the display of vital phenomena, and an encephalon for the manifestations of mind. Life has accordingly been defined as “the collective expression for a series of phenomena which take place exclusively in bodies that are organized,” and mind as “the functional power of the living brain.”

But be it remembered, in affirming that sensation, perception, emotion, thought, and volition are functions of the nervous system, it is only maintained that the vesicular matter of the encephalic ganglia furnishes the material conditions, the substratum through which these mental phenomena are manifested, and that at the same time it is fully admitted the *essential phenomena of matter and mind* are so completely antagonistic, it is in vain that we attempt to establish any relationship of analogy or identity between them. But we have more satisfaction in the consideration of *mind*, in the light of *force*, and in the contemplation of the correlations of the forces of the physical, vital, nervous, and mental, for we see that the *nervous and mental forces* are constantly interchanged and interchangeable. We note the perpetually-recurring metamorphosis of *nerve-force* into *mind-force*, and of *mind-force* into *nerve-force*, and the important *physiological fact* that the nervous matter of the cerebrum is the material substratum through which the metamorphosis is effected. Nay, more, we have actual proof of an *increased disintegration* of the nervous tissue in the *redundant amount* of the *alkaline phosphates* in the urine, when the centre of intel-

\* Dr. Brown's "Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind." Lecture XIX.



lectual action has been over-taxed. And in all our voluntary movements and volitional acts we see the dynamical agency of *mind* producing *motion*, and that of the will, through the instrumentality of the *nerve-force*, acting upon the muscular system.

Dr. Carpenter has well observed :—

“ We have evidence in what we know of the physiological conditions under which *mind* produces *motion*, that certain forms of the *vital force* constitute the connecting link between the two ; and it is difficult to see that the dynamical agency which we term *will* is more removed from *nerve-force* on the one hand, than *nerve force* is removed from *motor force* on the other. Each, in giving origin to the next, is itself suspended, or ceases to exist *as such*, and each bears in its own intensity a precise relation to that of its antecedent and its consequent. But we have not only evidence of the excitement of *nerve force* by *mental agency* ; the converse is equally true, *mental activity* being excited by *nerve-force*. For this is the case in every act in which our consciousness is excited through the instrumentality of the sensorium, whether its conditions be affected by impressions made upon the organs of sense, or by changes in the cerebrum itself, a certain condition of the nervous matter of the sensorium being (we have every reason to believe) the immediate antecedent of *all consciousness, whether sensational or ideational*. And thus we are led to perceive, that as the power of the will can develop nervous activity, and as nerve force can develop mental activity, there must be a *correlation* between these two modes of dynamical agency, which is not less intimate and complete than that which exists between the nerve-force on the one hand, and electricity and heat on the other. This idea of *correlation* of force will be found completely to harmonize with those phenomena which indicate the influence of physical conditions as the determination of mental states, whilst, on the other hand, it explains *that relation* between emotional excitement and bodily change which is manifested in the subsidence of the former, when it has expended itself in the production of the latter.”\*

Now, of consciousness as an ultimate fact in animal life—the first of the phenomena of the mind-force—we can best conceive in relation to time, as an incalculably rapid succession of acts or states, and as passing through a series of successive developments from the moment of birth. Purely sensational at first, it emerges gradually, *step by step*, from self-consciousness, through the perceptive and emotional to the higher phases of intellectual consciousness, until the mind reaches its dominant development in the perfect freedom of volition or the will.

But these progressive phases of mental development are dependent for their very existence upon the evolution and material

\* “ Human Physiology,” pp. 553, 554. Fifth Edition.



condition of the vesicular matter of the encephalic ganglia through which they are manifested.

Comparative psychology, the study and strict interpretation of "the living experiments (to use the happy and expressive language of Cuvier) which nature has presented to us in an ascending series, in the varying forms of animal existence," from the lowest up to man, not only establishes the fact that sensation, perception, emotion, and intellectual action, are distinct states of consciousness, successively developed, but that these states are manifested through different portions or nervous centres of the encephalon, and that the human mind in its progress to maturity passes through these successive phases of development.

Man is at birth the mere creature of sensation and instinct, so that sensational consciousness and consensual and instinctive actions constitute the earliest stage of his psychological existence. The senses come into play from the moment of birth, and they soon acquire the utmost perfection of which they are capable, but their intentions are strictly consensual.

All our actions are automatic, reflex, consensual, and instinctive, until the perceptive consciousness has been developed. But with the perceptive consciousness we have its associate memory, and the genesis and development of the will. We attain to the free exercise of volitional power, and to the performance of purely voluntary actions. With the perceptive consciousness emotional sensibility is indissolubly connected; for we see the expression of joyous emotion in the infant's laughing eye, as the perceptive consciousness begins to dawn, and as the powers of recognition and volition are awakened; and though long before we can reason or reflect we manifest the emotional and social instincts, no one can take upon himself to say at what precise moment the infant eye ceases to convey a mere nervous impulse, and when it awakens in the mind the first glimpses of the sublime and beautiful.

The ratiocinative and reflective consciousness are the last developed and the latest to reach maturity. As sensation is the earliest and lowest, so is ratiocination the latest and the highest of our mental attributes.

*Sensational Consciousness.*—Sensation is the link in the chain of being between the vital and mental forces, connecting indissolubly together the conscious and the unconscious processes. As a complex act it lies partly within and partly without the consciousness, and as soon as embryonic life is passed, it traverses the line which separates the physical and vital from the nervous and mental processes, enters the light of consciousness, and thus becomes a fact, psychological as well as physiological.

As a subjective condition, sensation is identical with simple

consciousness, and the two great and distinguishing functions, typical of animal life, namely, sensation and locomotion, are seated in the sensory and motory ganglia of the nervous system.

Now, sensori-motor, consensual, and instinctive feelings and actions formularize the sensational consciousness; and in its simplest but essential type, the nervous apparatus of the sensori-motor, or sensational consciousness consists of a series of nervous centres or ganglia, and of internuncial conductors, or of commissures and nerves. The vesicular matter of the nervous centres or ganglia is the source of the nervous force, where impressions are received and impulses are generated; between these centres the commissures are the media of communication, and to and from them the nerves are internuncial conductors or cords.

In the invertebrate subkingdom is best seen the simplest form or apparatus of the sensational consciousness, namely, distinct ganglia, with commissural cords and nerves, administering to the functions of automatic life and to the operations of instinct. But in the nervous system of the invertebrata, we have the homologues of the sensational consciousness of the vertebrate series, for the sensory ganglia are the seat of the sensational consciousness of whatever kind, and the cranio-spinal axis the source of all the movements of the body, the two great centres of sensation and motion being brought into harmonious and associated action through the medium of the cerebro-spinal axis. In man, and throughout the whole of the vertebrate subkingdom, the sentient and sensori-motor apparatus, the system of automatic life, and instinctive action subservient to sensations, and to those consensual and instinctive actions which are indissolubly linked-on with sensations, consist of the spinal axis and nerves, the medulla oblongata, and the chain of sensory ganglia, including those of the special senses at its summit. For if we follow up the cranial prolongation of the spinal cord, the medulla oblongata, into the fibrous strands of which we see imbedded the *respiratory*, *auditory*, and *gustatory ganglia*, and carefully trace out its ramifying branches, we find it sending off distinct fasciculi of fibres to the ganglionic centres at its summit, to the cerebellum, the corpora quadrigemina, the thalami optici, the corpora striata, and to the peduncles of the olfactory ganglia. And thus we see, to the *sole exclusion of the cerebrum*, whose connexions are *strictly commissural*, that the whole series of the ganglia of the cerebro-spinal system, including those of the special senses, are in direct fibrous connexion with the cranio-spinal axis, and form with it, as an aggregate or whole, the *sensorium commune*, or *great circle of sensational consciousness and of consensual and instinctive action*.



Now, the sensori-motor, consensual, and instinctive phenomena, which formularize the sensational consciousness, though the lowest in the psychological scale, are independent of, and ought not to be confounded with, intelligent and volitional actions. For while we recognise in the nervous apparatus, through which these phenomena are manifested, the homologues of the sensational consciousness of the vertebrata, and even of man himself, we find that the motor centres of the articulata, and the sensory of the mollusca, are alike destitute of those crowning and special ganglia, the *cerebral hemispheres*, which are the seat of the perceptive consciousness, of intellectual action, and volitional power. It is admitted that there is no point in physiology more clearly made out than that the cerebrum, or great hemispherical ganglia, is the centre of intellectual action and volitional power, the seat of the understanding and the will.

But in myriads of animals, indeed in the whole of the invertebrate subkingdom, with the exception of the highest mollusca, the cuttlefish, *no cerebrum exists*; and, even in the lower vertebrata, the olfactory, optic, and auditory ganglia have no direct connexion with it, so that the totality of their life is made up of sensational consciousness, and of reflex, consensual, and instinctive actions. And such, too, is the primitive condition of man in the first stage of his existence, for at birth all his acts are reflex, consensual, and instinctive, and generally among the first roused into activity by the effects of the external stimuli of his environment, is that of crying very lustily; and next to this follows the untaught motions of the lips in the act of sucking, to satisfy an internal want and instinctive feeling. The instincts, the untaught activities and capacities of our animal nature are *innate*. As internal subjective feelings, they arise in obedience to certain laws of our nature, or are brought into play in direct response to stimuli acting upon the sensational consciousness from without. The infant mind responds solely at first to impressions from *without*, or from instinctive feelings from *within*. The sudden light, indeed, may dazzle, and a loud noise may startle; but until the perceptive consciousness has been awakened, the mind is in a state of isolation,—it takes no cognizance of an *outward world*. To it the inward world is everything, and the outward world is nothing. Its sensations are all subjective, and its actions reflex, consensual, and instinctive. But even in adult life the functions of the cerebrum may become suspended, and man reduced to his primitive condition of mere sensational and instinctive being. When the functions of the cerebrum are thus benumbed and paralysed, and when it is no longer capable of receiving and acting upon sensorial impressions, it is then that the sensory ganglia, as an independent



centre of action, becomes so strikingly manifest. An interesting and instructive instance of this kind was for some months under my observation about ten years ago. But having published the narrative, with a commentary on some of the most important of its psychological bearings, I need here merely observe, it was the case of a young woman, in whom the intellectual faculties were quite suspended, and whose only open avenues to the sensational consciousness were those of *sight* and *touch*, for she could neither hear nor speak, taste nor smell.\*

Among the functions of the sensational consciousness, common sensibility or feeling, and the capability of experiencing pleasure and pain from mere tactile impressions, are primordial, the most universal in nature, and the most essential to human existence. Some, indeed, have maintained that all the other special senses are but modifications of that of touch. This notion of Democritus, of which the fallacy is obvious, we can readily conceive had its origin in the observed fact of the *necessity of contact* in the operations of all the senses, between the physical impulse and the external organ of sense. Thus in sight, where the eye is the organ, and light the medium, the rays must impinge upon the retina; and in hearing, the vibrations of the air must strike upon the tympanum. So, too, in taste and smell, the sapid and odoriferous particles must be brought into actual contact with the papillæ of the tongue, and the pituitary membrane of the nose. But all this merely points to a community of action in their mode of operation, whilst the fallacy consists in overlooking the all-important fact, that each of the sensory ganglia of the external senses is the seat of a *special endowment*, and that each conveys to the sensational consciousness a different kind of intelligence. Thus, when electricity is brought to bear upon the eye, it excites a consciousness of light, upon the ear of sound, upon the nose of smell, upon the fingers of a prickly feel, and upon the tongue of an acid or alkaline taste. These functions are not interchangeable.

"The eye cannot detect the noxious atoms arising from a putrid animal; the ear is unaffected with the contents of its own ministering fluid, however heavily laden with scents; the hand cannot finger the fragrance of the rose, nor the tongue taste one of the hundred perfumes which may be served up in a parterre of flowers."†

We cannot see with our tactile organs, hear with our visual, nor smell with our auditory.

\* "Physiological Psychology. A Case of suspension of the mental faculties, of the powers of speech, and special senses, with the exception of sight and touch, continuing for many months; with a Commentary on some of the more important of its bearings, upon the Philosophy of the Human Mind and the Physiological Psychology of Man." By Robert Dunn, F.R.C.S. Eng. London: T. Richards, 37, Great Queen-street. 1855.

† "British Quarterly Review." April, 1855.

*Special Senses.*—The external senses have been emphatically styled the “Alphabet of Intelligence.” They are the inlets to the materials of knowledge, and constitute, with their allied, consensual feelings, appetites, and instincts, the inferior region of the true or conscious mind. They occupy a prominent, not to say predominant, part of the mental life, of the great mass of the inferior animals, and a very considerable portion of the far more complicated thread of human existence. Each of the sensory ganglia of the special senses, in the encephalon, conveys to the sensational consciousness a different kind of intelligence, and they are obviously the seat of the simple feelings of pleasure and pain, inseparably connected with the exercise of their functional endowments, as well as the centres and source of those motor impulses, which once evoked, react upon the muscular system, independently of volition or thought. But the intuitions of the senses are strictly consensual, and confined to the sensible phenomena of matter, without conveying to us any knowledge whatever of the bodily substance with which they may be connected. Thus we see light, we hear sound, we smell odour, we taste sapor, and we feel pain, heat, or cold. To these intuitions Oken has given characteristic designations. He calls touch or feeling the *earth sense*; sight, the *light sense*; hearing, the *motion sense*; smell, the *air sense*; and taste, the *water sense*.

Mr. Wedgwood has well observed :—

“It is hardly necessary to premise that we have no knowledge of *body* by any of the five senses. What I immediately perceive by sense is the *sensible phenomena* itself, and not the bodily substance with which it may be locally connected, either as the proximate cause of the sensation, or as the organ by or in which it is felt. When I suffer toothache, or when a pin is run into me unawares, the thing of which I have actual apprehension is the pain I suffer, not the bodily substance of the pin and the tooth. When a gun goes off before my window, what I hear or perceive by the ear is neither the bodily gun nor the vibrations of the air, by which the material action is conveyed to my ear, but the sound itself. When I gaze upon the stars, the visible image before my eyes affords a subject for contemplation, apart from all speculation as to the bodily nature of the object seen. Thus the exercise of the senses displays to us five elementary *modes of being*, logically unconnected with the bodily substance. Five kinds of being upon which we may think, independent of all intellectual reference to bodily support.”\*

The special senses have been classified and grouped in the order of their importance into the superior or *psychical*, and the inferior or *animal*, the former comprehending feeling, seeing, and hearing, and the latter taste and smell. This arrangement

\* “Cambridge Philosophical Transactions.” Tract by H. Wedgwood, Esq., quoted by Mr. Morell, “Elements of Psychology.”



is in perfect accordance with the varying character of the commissural relations of their sensory ganglia in the encephalon, and is strikingly exemplified in that of feeling or touch.

*Touch.*—Of all the special senses, touch is the most important, for it is the most essential to human existence. It is the most universal in its application, and forms the starting-point to all the rest, combining to a certain extent all their functions, and enabling us gradually to replace the loss of the other senses, by manifold comparisons, but being itself never replaced by any combination of them. Its mode of action is best illustrated by the simple notion of *resistance*, and it is through its agency that we acquire distinct conceptions of the physical qualities of bodies, such as their hardness, softness, roughness, smoothness, &c.

As the peripheral extremities of all the different spinal nerves, diffused and ramifying upon the entire superficies of the body, administer to the sense of touch, and as these impressions are transmitted from the posterior segmental ganglia of the spinal cord upwards along the sensory tracts to the thalami optici, it has been legitimately inferred that these bodies are the encephalic ganglia of tactile and common sensation. Still, as the sense of touch is both *subjective* and *objective* in its bearings—at one time the source of physical pleasure, and at another the awakener of intellectual ideas,—the subjective phenomena have been separated from the objective, or tactile sense, and designated, *par excellence*, *feeling*, or *common sensation*; and while this has been treated in the thalami optici as its encephalic centre, the tactile sense has been referred to the corpora dentata\* of the cerebellum, and which, it must be admitted, are in direct commissural connexion with the posterior segmental ganglia of the cord along which the tactile impressions are transmitted.

Pathological researches have produced the conviction in my own mind that the corpora dentata are the seat of the *muscular sense*, and the thalami optici, that of *common sensation* and *tactile feeling*. We cannot deny to the little lancelott (*the amphioxus*) which may be viewed in the light of a connecting

\* By Dr. Noble, of Manchester. Vide his "Elements of Psychological Medicine" As bearing upon this point, I would refer to a "Case of Tubercles in the Brain, with Remarks, Physiological and Psychological, on the functions of the Nervous Centres involved in the Disease," which I published in the *Association Medical Journal* (pp. 712-16). 1854.

At the autopsy, there was found in the lateral lobe of the cerebellum on the left side, a mass of *tubercular deposit* a little to the outer side of the median line, in a state of softened degeneration, and during life the following diagnostic phenomena were noticed in the child:—"There was an imperfect paralysis of the right side, both of the arm and leg, but still they responded to the mandates of the will: she could move her arm about, and could grasp anything firmly enough in her right hand, when her eyes and attention were directed to it; but, if they were diverted to something else, and the volitional power withdrawn, she would let the object which she had been holding fall from her hand, and without being conscious of the fact."



link between the vertebrate and invertebrate series of animals, the possession of *common sensation* or *tactile feeling*; and yet we know that, in its case, no cerebellum exists, and, in consequence, that the corpora dentata are wanting. But the thalami optici are not simply the great encephalic centres of common sensation, where the sensory strands of the medulla oblongata terminate. They are, in reality, the common centre and point of union of the sensory nerves. Implanted upon the sensory tracts of the crura cerebri and medulla oblongata, they are in direct fibrous commissural connexion with the respiratory, gustatory, and auditory ganglia, and with the optic nerves, by a direct passage of a portion of their roots, and with the peduncles of the olfactory nerves, through the medium of the fornix; so that a connecting nervous thread ramifies throughout the entire circle of special sensation, and the thalami optici form a *common foci* and *point of union* to all the nerves of special sense. And this harmonizes well with the universality of the feeling, or common sensibility, which pervades the entire system, and which is associated with all the voluntary movements of the body, and the exercise of the functions of all the other special organs of sense.

"Without some point of union, some fixed reality, running like a continuous thread through all the phenomena of the special senses," it has been well observed by Mr. Morell, that, "our whole sensational life would be a succession of mere impressions, each point of existence being distinct from the other, and each removed sensation like a momentary life and death of the whole individual. In this chaos of impressions, accordingly, and around a middle and uniting point, they all tend to cluster; order begins to ensue; a connexion between the phenomena of the different senses manifests itself, and the shadow of a continuous life, of which these impressions are but the passing phases, is projected from out of the dark confusion.

"This shadow is the first rise of *self-consciousness*—the middle point of our phenomenal existence—the unity around which all our sensations, from the earliest period, are gradually marshalled. Accordingly, the primary form of self-consciousness is the *unity of sense*."\*

And thus, as the encephalic ganglia of common sensation, and the centre and point of union of the nerves of special sense, we see what an important part the thalami optici play in the great circle of sensational consciousness and instinctive action. But their office does not end here. When we come to the consideration of the perceptive consciousness, from their intimate relations with the cerebrum and corpora striata, the centres of intellectual action and voluntary motion, we shall find what an important office the thalami optici sustain in operations which rank high in the psychical scale.

\* Morell's "Elements of Psychology."

*Sight and Hearing.*—Next to touch or feeling, sight and hearing are the most important of the senses. They have been viewed in contrast. Intellectually, *sight* is *knowledge*, and *hearing*, *attention*. To *see* is to *know*, and to *hear* is to *listen*. Sight is the clearest and hearing the deepest of the senses. The visual impressions on the retina pass at once to the perceptive consciousness, while the pathos of the orator appeals directly to the deepest feelings and emotions of the soul. Hearing is feeling, and tone moves us. An external object shows its outward surface ; but it is the tone or sound which it sends forth that betrays what exists within. It is not the form or colour of an object which tells what it is, but its sound.

*Sight.*—Sight is the highest, most refined, and objective of all the senses ; for sight is knowledge. I need not dwell upon the importance of the sense ; but, at first, it is nothing more than an overpowering sensation of light, no object being individually distinguished.

The corpora quadrigemina are the encephalic centres of vision, though some physiologists have restricted the function to the corpora geniculata ; and it must be admitted that, like the thalami optici, the corpora quadrigemina have a higher and wider sphere of action ; for, like them, they are associated with our emotional states, and they are not the mere ganglia of sight ; their commissural relations in the encephalon are commensurate with the importance of their functions, and their direct connexion with the seat of the muscular sense,—the corpora dentata in the cerebellum,—is just what *à priori* reasoning would lead us to expect, seeing how invariably in health all our voluntary movements are under the direction and guidance of *sight* as well as *feeling*.

*Hearing.*—The sensory ganglia of the auditory nerves are embedded in the posterior pyramids, in the sensory tracts of the medulla oblongata, and their commissural relations well accord with the psychical and emotional character of the sense of hearing. It is more subjective than that of sight,—for hearing is feeling, and it administers more largely to our sensuous feelings. We hear succession—continuous sound being the result of a succession of impulses, communicated from without to the auditory nerves. It is a refined kind of touch. Objectively considered, hearing is motion ; intellectually, it is *attention* ; for to *hear* is to *listen*. It is one of the most important inlets to knowledge, and is associated with our instinctive, emotional, and intellectual states. The sensations of sound, when wrought into music, are the sources of infinite pleasure ; and who can estimate the marvellous influence of articulate speech !—the magic of the human voice !

"The world of sounds is scarcely less important than the world of sights. All the rich varieties of tone, all the diversified notes of nature; from the whisper of the wind to the crash of the thunderbolt; from the massive harmonies of Handel, to the gentle wail of the parting spirit as it sings the flesh to sleep!"\*

*Taste and Smell.*—Taste and smell are the animal senses, and are intimately connected with the organic sensations of the alimentary canal. They administer to the most important purposes of animal life, but are more subservient to our physical comforts and welfare than to our intellectual development.

Taste is the chemical sense, and the gustatory ganglia, through which we acquire a knowledge of the sapid qualities of substances, are embedded in the sensory strands of the medulla oblongata with the nuclei of the glosso-pharyngeal nerves and a portion of sensory roots of the fifth. Of all the senses, taste is most allied to that of touch, or common sensation. It has no special nerve of its own, like smell, or sight, or hearing. But it is proved beyond dispute, that the *gustative impressions*, which excite nausea and vomiting, are conveyed to the medulla oblongata exclusively through the glosso-pharyngeal nerves; and as nausea and other tastes do become idealized, the sensory impressions must pass up to the thalami optici, and through those channels reach the perceptive consciousness.

Taste penetrates to the chemical constitution of bodies, and it has for its object the selection of food, and the excitation of the flow of the saliva. It is the steward of the stomach, and smell is the guardian of the lungs. They are co-operators.

"The toil of eating is a pleasure; a sense is stationed at the gateway of the alimentary canal, and endowed with the power of enjoying the substances required by the frame for its support. When a sapid substance comes in contact with the tongue, its papillæ rise up like a little army, as if to examine the intruder. This Inspector-General of Taste divides them into three classes, the *insipid*, *unpalatable*, and *positively agreeable*. It tells us how the external world *tastes*, and right skilfully does it do so. A beautiful accord subsists between the tongue and the stomach. The warden of the lodge knows what visitors will visit his colleague in the hall of digestion. Rightly used, the sense of taste is a gift of the most benevolent description."

†

*Smell* is the air sense. Like a sanitary guardian at the portal of the lungs, it tests the purity of the air we breathe, and is closely allied to taste.

"As sentinel at the gateway, it reports to the mind when it finds any suspicious perfumes abroad. The nose is the official inspector of nuisances. It strains the air for the lungs, and it tests the poison which may be suspended in that essential fluid."

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\* "British Quarterly Review," April, 1854.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.



The instinct of *self-preservation* is the most universal instinct in nature, and the very first that is roused into action. To it all the special senses are subservient, but first and foremost, those of smell and taste. Smell is its first and guiding sense, for it is the sense of smell which attracts and guides the human infant to the mammary gland of its mother to satisfy an *internal want* or *craving*.

I have alluded to the commissural connexions of the peduncles of the olfactory nerves with the thalami optici, the *great centres of sensorial feeling*, the foci and point of union of all the nerves of special sense, but they are also directly connected with those primitive basilar convolutions of the cerebrum which surround the *fissura Sylvii*, and which are coeval in point of existence with the fissure itself.

The impressions both of taste and smell become *idealized* and registered. We all know by experience how a savoury odour will cause the mouth to water, and how a noxious and disgusting effluvia will induce nausea and a sickening feel; but is it not equally true that the very thought of them, the mere recollection of the *idealized sensations*, will produce the same effects?

But besides the impressions from the special senses, and the simple feelings of pleasure and pain associated with the exercise of the functional endowments of their sensory ganglia, there are various classes of sensations and subjective feelings appertaining to our bodily states which are brought under the cognizance of the sensational consciousness;—such are the sensations of organic life, and of the appetites and instincts. With the animal processes sensations are inseparably connected, and with sensations their allied appetites and instincts. But sensations are the primary phenomena, and form the starting-point to the other two; for it is obviously manifest that an appetite or instinct must be preceded by or attended with a sensation. Sensations are either pleasurable or painful, but pain is the exception, and the indirect, and not the direct effect of the actions of life.

There is the pleasurable consciousness which constitutes the feeling of health, but there is also a feeling of sickness, of lassitude as well as of vigour, and a great variety of painful subjective feelings, arising from particular states of the muscles, as shuddering, twinging, spasms, cramp, &c., and which are conveyed by afferent nerve fibres to the sensorium, and thence to the sensational consciousness, awakening a consciousness of our bodily states.

There is a general feeling of *well-being*, and one of *malaise*, in common language known as “the state of the spirits;” and this state of *self-feeling*, or *canæsthesia*, is of a varying character, and greatly influenced by the bodily temperament. Some there are—

"So keenly susceptible of both conditions, that they pass their whole lives in an alternation between *cheerfulness* and *depression*, the former state being favoured by freedom from anxiety, by the healthy activity of all the organic functions, by a bright sun, and a dry bracing atmosphere, whilst the latter is immediately induced by mental disquietude, by a slight disorder of digestion or excretion, or by a dull, oppressive day. In such individuals, favourable conditions may even exalt the *canæsthesia* into *exhilaration* or *absolute joy*, whilst the combined influence of opposite conditions may produce *gloom*, which may be exaggerated almost to *despair*. The condition of 'the spirits' most to be desired is that of *tranquil comfort*, for this is far more favourable than the alternation of extremes to healthful activity, and to sustained energy both of body and mind."\*

(To be continued.)

#### ART. VI.—ON MORAL AND CRIMINAL EPIDEMICS.

WHILST the science of teratology was still young and unrecognised, Geoffroy St. Hilaire was one day told by a friend of a wonderful fœtal monstrosity which had just been shown him. "Did you see at the same time," asked Geoffroy, "the abortive placenta and umbilical cord of the second fœtus?" "Then you have seen it?" asked his friend. "No; but these are the *necessary* and *inevitable* conditions of an *abnormal* development such as you describe."

The philosopher recognises no accident. To him, there is no phenomenon without a *cause*, an antecedent adequate to its production; no cause but such as is reducible to *law*. He sees alike in the *normal* progress, and in the apparently *exceptional* conditions of the physical and moral world, only illustrations of law and order. The law may appear to be broken, nay, controverted by irregularities; the order may seem to be disturbed by disorders; anomalies may present themselves;—yet in all this he sees but evidence of wider grasp and adaptability; of general principles illustrated under conditions not yet investigated, yet susceptible of being so: the anomaly he knows to be only such in reference to his own finite powers and intelligence; he even retains his conviction, a conviction which affords the only stable foundation for all science, that similar elements, reacting under similar conditions, will produce similar results; and his confidence, that the same power which regulates the succession of day and

\* Dr. Carpenter's "Human Physiology."

Sir Henry Holland has published some admirable papers—On the Effects of Mental Attention on Bodily Organs, in his "Medical Notes and Reflections," and in his chapters on Mental Philosophy, well worthy of the attention of the medical philosopher and observant practitioner.



night, of seed time and harvest, is in operation to "guide the whirlwind and direct the storm."

Does an earthquake spread ruin and devastation over a district—does famine or pestilence exhale its baleful influence over a continent—does a comet glare threateningly upon the earth for a time, and pass away into illimitable space—does the sea swallow up the dry land, or the land encroach upon the sea,—in all this he sees, not the evidence of any new and unknown, but the manifestations of the universal law, acting under conditions as yet imperfectly known to him.

Lastly, does war decimate whole kingdoms, or a moral blight pass over and corrupt a community or a nation; he knows that the passions, impulses, appetites, instincts, prejudices, and weaknesses of man are, as they ever were, the source of all moral disturbances. The elements are constant, though their combinations may be variable. Hence the *history* of yesterday is the *interpretation* of to-day, the *prophecy* of to-morrow. With this conviction of the constancy of the relation between cause and effect ineradicably fixed in the mind, he boldly, yet cautiously, sets about the investigation of these apparently *irregular* phenomena, and the conditions under which they occur. He collects and compares numbers of similar and analogous facts, he considers carefully the powers which are proximately operative in their production, he separates the casual from the universal, the essential from the adventitious, and analyses the whole on strictly inductive principles.

And great is his reward! Not only are the irregularities themselves reduced to system and order, but, in their turn, they are made to contribute their quota to the knowledge and definition of the very laws themselves from which they seemed to err. It was by observation on such principles as these of the abnormal developments of animal structure, that Geoffroy not only constructed the science of teratology, but also laid the foundation for the discovery and definition of the true archetype of the osseous skeleton; it was by analysis of the *irregularities* of the pendulum that the figure of the earth was determined; it was by the observance of what were at first deemed to be *casualties*, that polarized light was discovered, and all the laws of optics defined and advanced. But perhaps the most striking illustration of this principle that the world has ever witnessed has been presented during the last few years, in the discovery of the planet Neptune. Certain *irregularities* in the motions of Saturn and Herschel had long been observed, which were of so peculiar a nature that it even began to be conjectured that at the confines of our system *law* was not so certain in its operations as near the centre. It was evident, however, that this view, if received, would tend to sap the founda-



tion of all science; and men like Leverrier and Adams, who were content to recognise no effect without a definite and sufficient cause which would inevitably and invariably produce the phenomenon, boldly hypothecated the existence of such a cause; and by pursuing a chain of inductive and mathematical reasoning and analysis, which appears almost superhuman, they were enabled ultimately to point their telescope to that part of the heavens where the disturbing body ought to exist—*where it did actually exist*, and so to extend the knowledge of our planetary system twice as far into space as before.

The aspect of the present times leads us anxiously and earnestly to inquire, whether some similar system of investigation may not be applied with advantage to the solution of the startling problems which are everywhere presented to us. The science of Sociology is new and imperfect; yet we are sure that it will afford no exception to the general rule which obtains in all; that, if perfected, it must be through a careful observation of its abnormal, or exceptional, as well as its normal phenomena. Nothing is stronger than the contrast between mind and matter, as to their essential nature; but, on the other hand, nothing is more striking than the correspondence in their mode of development, and in the laws which they mutually obey—such correspondence perhaps arising in some measure from the fact, that mind is only manifested through its connexion with matter, and also in many cases from the overpowering influence which each in turn exerts upon the other. As the body has its condition of health, including many gradations of energy and power, so the mind has *its* normal state, extending from the verge of imbecility to the intelligence almost godlike; as the body is affected by diseases of excitement or depression, so the mind has its passions, its mania, its melancholy; as plague and pestilence attack and hurry off their thousands and tens of thousands at one time, so to an equal extent does a more terrific blight than this pass over a country or a continent, at variable and uncertain periods in the history of man, changing the whole aspect of his moral nature, and converting what was once the image and likeness of God into the semblance of a fiend. At one time the spirit of (falsely so called) *religious* controversy will arouse the most ferocious passions of which human nature is susceptible, provoking mutual persecutions, bloodshed, and wars; at another, an epidemic of resistance to constituted authority will spread over half a world (as in the year 1848) rapid and simultaneous as the most virulent bodily disorder. Again is the *collective character* of mental phenomena illustrated by an anomalous psychological condition invading and dominating over thousands upon thousands, depriving them of everything but automatic action, and giving rise to

the popular opinion of demoniacal possession—an opinion in some sense justified by the satanic passions, emotions, and acts which accompany the state. At one period, the aggregate tendency is to retirement and contemplation; hence the countless votaries of monachism and anachoretism; at another the mania is directed towards *action*, having for its proposed end some Utopian scheme, equally impracticable and useless; hence the myriads who have forsaken their kindred, their homes, and their country, to seek a land whose stones were gold, or to wage exterminating war for the possession of worthless cities and trackless deserts.

Less disastrous than these, in their influence numerically upon the mass of mankind, perhaps much more so in their demoralizing results, are those cases in which, in the absence of proper moral culture, the seeds of vice and crime appear to be sown under the surface of society, and to spring up and bring forth fruit with appalling rapidity and paralysing succession. Here it is a forgery, bringing ruin upon thousands; there a suicide, the consequence and self-imposed penalty for other crimes. Now a brother's hand is raised against his brother, a son's against his father; now it is the mother who forgets even her natural instincts, and lifts a murderous hand upon her child; and again, the nearest and dearest relation of life—that of husband and wife—is violently severed by the administration of secret poison. A panic seizes upon society; man is afraid “for the terror by night,” and for the “arrow that flieth by day,” for “the pestilence that walketh in darkness,” and for the “sickness that destroyeth in the noonday.” He knows not whence the next stroke may come, so unexpected, so unnatural is the source of these crimes; the foundations of all social and domestic confidence are sapped by suspicion, and we think we hear again, as of old, the pathetic lament,—

*“It is not an open enemy that hath done this thing, for then I could have borne it; neither was it mine adversary that did rise up against me, for then peradventure I would have hid myself from him; but it was even thou, my companion, my guide, and mine own familiar friend. We took sweet counsel together, and walked together as friends.”*

It is fearful to think how forcible an illustration of this kind of epidemic is afforded us by the history of the last few months. Crime succeeds crime with unparalleled rapidity, like the monotonous strokes of a moral knell. The editor of the *Tablet* bitterly observes that—

“England is fast becoming a hell upon earth. Pernicious teachings are followed by pernicious practices. Thus the world is horrified within one short month by the harvest of crime which mantles Great Britain with its disastrous and funereal shadow.”



More temperately, yet not less forcibly, others set forth the state of society which we have imperfectly depicted. In the *English Churchman* of February 28th, there occurs the following passage, the commencement of a feeling and judicious appeal to the church itself:—

“It is very difficult to refrain from the conclusion that we are, just now, living in the presence of an increased accumulation of greater crimes than has been before witnessed by the present generation. We do not forget the notorious criminals of the first portion of the present half century—the Thurtells and Fauntleroy of that day; but there was not that fearful constellation of crime, as we may term it, which we witness in these days, and which almost every week increases, by some deed which either in the depth of the sin, or the rank of the sinner, shocks and distresses the whole nation. Murders, forgeries, suicides—suicides, forgeries, murders—to say nothing of other sins—have come upon us alternately, with fearful frequency, and in high places as well as low. No sooner had one case spread over the whole kingdom than another occurs to eclipse it, or to dispute a place with it in the public mind. The legislature, commerce, the race-course, the private family, alike contribute to swell the list—the single apartment of the working classes and the stately halls of the aristocracy are equally the scene of ‘lamentation, mourning, and woe.’”

The following passage from the *Christian Times* of January 25th enters a little more into the causes of the same phenomena, particularly as to *imitation*:—

“An epidemic of murders seems to be raging just now. We can hardly take up a daily paper without reading of some fresh murder of more than usual atrocity, while the details of the great Rugeley case, dragged slowly to light by the untiring and unerring ministry of science, fill us with horror and amazement that such a series of such crimes should be possible in the broad daylight of our nineteenth century of civilization. . . . But the Rugeley case is far from being the only one which painfully occupies the attention of the public. During the last weeks, great crimes—especially murders—have succeeded each other with a rapidity which suggests and explains the title of our article. Crime propagates itself by infection, like fever and small-pox, and at times it seems as if the infection came abroad into the atmosphere, and exacted its tribute from every class and every district of the country. The laws of moral infection, and the propagation of moral disorders, are among the most recondite and difficult subjects of contemplation; there is something fearful in the very thought that man may so abdicate his moral freedom as to bring his will and moral nature under the sway of laws as imperious and resistless as those which sustain and balance the orbits of the stars. But we cannot be blind to the fact. There is a large class of minds over which great crimes exert a kind of fascination; and those who have never trained themselves to exercise the responsibilities of moral freedom, are



liable to become the victims of the strangest delusions, and catch readily the moral infection which is always lurking, and sometimes raging, in the atmosphere of our world. Let a woman fling herself from the top of the Monument, and the gallery has to be railed in like a wild beast's cage, lest the contagion should spread, and Monument-yard should become the Tyburn of suicides. Let a particular poison have been used with deadly effect in an ignorant and demoralized district, and it must be mixed with some alien substance to colour it, lest it should become the instrument of systematic and wholesale butchery. '*Man that is without understanding is like the beasts that perish,*' said a wise one of old, and in nothing is he more beast-like than in the facility with which he becomes the slave of the laws he was set to govern, and buries his moral freedom literally in the dust."

Whilst writing this very page, a report is put into our hands, of an event which seems from its incredible audacity to put into the shade all those to which allusion is made in these passages. An independent gentleman, resident in one of our largest northern towns, is supposed to have poisoned his young wife with strychnine, actually administered before witnesses, in jelly and other articles of diet; boldly persisted in, in spite of her complaints of their *bitterness*, in spite of others tasting them and confirming her statement. The details are not yet fully known, and we would not prejudge the case; yet the evidence seems so strong and so direct as scarcely to admit of doubt.

The last testimony which it is necessary to adduce as to the actual existence, at this present time, of an epidemic of crime, is part of the address of the Recorder, in the opening of the proceedings of the Central Criminal Court, on March 3rd. It is of great value, as affording legal and official recognition of a most important fact. He thus contrasts the state of England now with its condition two years back:—

"He had before him a return of offences committed down to the year 1854, from which it appeared that, although undoubtedly there was a considerable increase in the amount of crime that had been committed down to that period, yet the increase was mainly in cases of ordinary felony, of a trifling character, and was quite accounted for by the increase in the population and the increased amount of property in the country, and also by the improved condition of the police. As regarded crimes of violence, such as murder, manslaughter, attempts to murder, and other offences of that class, it appeared that during the same period there had been a diminution of such offences to the extent of thirteen per cent. It seemed, however, that it was the same in the history of nations as of individuals, that there were certain periods of great calamities without any apparent traceable cause. During the last twelve-months, after having for forty years enjoyed the blessings of peace, they had been familiarized with all the horrors of war, and there was no doubt

that during the same period the most heinous crimes had been committed by persons of high station, by persons also holding a high position in the commercial and banking community, and also by persons in a more humble position of life; and in this court there had certainly been a most unusual number of cases involving the destruction of human life. It was no part of his duty or that of the grand jury to enter into any consideration of the causes that had led to this state of things, nor whether it arose from any peculiar circumstances in the state of the country or of the law; but the subject was one that was entitled to grave reflection, and it certainly ought to urge them all to do everything in their power to extend education among the people, and to improve their condition, as the most effectual means for the prevention of crime."

For the investigation of this lamentable state of society, we propose to make use of the same *calculus* which we have seen to be of such signal service in physical science,—viz., to collect a number of analogous instances, and to analyze the conditions under which they occur, with a view to the ultimate solution of these questions:—

1. What is the condition of mind most calculated for the reception of morbid moral influences?

2. What are the causes and source of this condition?

3. What are the circumstances which *directly* excite and foster these evil tendencies?

4. As a corollary to these,—What are the moral hygienic means to be adopted for the check or prevention of such epidemics?

Were we only to examine the phenomena of disordered *action* in man, we should get but a very imperfect idea of his psychological condition in health and disease. The mind manifests itself by thought, word, and deed; and its disorders are shown\* by erroneous ideas, by incoherent discourse, and by unreasonable conduct. These are respectively liable to become epidemic, as in opinion, expression, and crime; and for the complete comprehension of the latter, it is necessary to examine instances of the other two forms. We shall therefore select a few cases illustrative of each, giving the preference to those which have been marked by the most striking psychological phenomena, or which have produced the greatest effects upon the social and political condition of man; only premising, that whilst disordered opinion and action have a much stronger tendency to take on an epidemic type than bodily diseases, their elements are *less complex*, and consequently more susceptible of investigation; a position apparently paradoxical and fanciful, yet one which we believe to be in accordance with experience, and which we hope

\* Sir A. Morrison, M.D., on Insanity.



to illustrate afterwards. Many of the most remarkable epidemics, however, are compound, being complicated with physical disorder more or less evident; and these are proportionately *more* complex as to their elements, and present more difficulties to the inquirer than either form taken separately.

Nations, like individuals, have their periods of insanity, excitement, delusion, and recklessness.

"Whole communities suddenly fix their minds upon one object, and go mad in its pursuit; millions of people become simultaneously impressed with one delusion. We see one nation, from its highest to its lowest members, with a fierce desire for military glory; another as suddenly becomes crazed upon a religious scruple; and neither of them recovers its senses until it has shed rivers of blood, and sowed a harvest of groans and tears to be reaped by its posterity."\*

Pseudo-religion, opinion practical or speculative, life, property, emotion, all become in turn the subject or the motive for a maniacal epidemic. These collective or *imitative* tendencies appeared very early in the world's history. According to Maimonides, the earth had not been peopled 300 years when *all* turned with one accord to idolatry. Though his account is somewhat fanciful, yet it affords a very probable *theory* of the origin of the class of delusions which, in one form or other, have kept possession of mankind ever since.

"In those days the sons of Adam erred with great error, and the counsel of the wise men became brutish; and their error was this: they said, 'Forasmuch as God hath created these stars and spheres to govern the world, and set them on high, it is meet that men should laud and glorify and give them honour.' When this thing was come up into their hearts, they began to build temples unto the stars, and to offer sacrifice unto them, and to worship before them; and this was the root of idolatry. And after this they began to *make images* of the stars, in temples and under trees, and assembled together and worshipped them. And *this thing was spread through all the world*; so in process of time the glorious and fearful Name was forgotten."—Maim. *In Mishn.*

Such was the first origin of idolatry and image worship. After the flood the same tendency was quickly manifested, but under circumstances which indicated a far greater moral perversion and psychical deterioration than before; for this second falling away was especially amongst a chosen people, who had witnessed repeated instances of power which they knew could not reside in wood and stone. "These be thy gods, O Israel," said one, with the bitterest irony, "which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt," pointing to the golden calf which he had been compelled to make. How severely were they satirized by their own pro-

\* Mackay's "Popular Delusions."



phets ! Idolatry had now taken on its three typical forms—the worship of imaginary powers, of carved images, and of the animate and inanimate objects of nature.

*“I went in and saw ; and behold every form of creeping things and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, portrayed upon the wall round about. And there stood before them seventy men of the ancients of the house of Israel, with every man his censer in his hand ; and a thick cloud of incense went up. And he brought me to the gate ; and behold there sat women weeping for TAMMUZ (probably Adonis). And he brought me to the inner court ; and behold there were men with their backs to the temple, and their faces toward the east, and they worshipped the sun.”*

The same tendency is indicated in Isaiah’s withering sarcasm :

*“He planteth an ash, and the rain doth nourish it. Then shall it be for a man to burn ; for he will take thereof and warm himself ; yea, he kindleth it and baketh bread ; yea, he maketh a god and worshippeth it ; he maketh it a graven image and falleth down thereto. He burneth part thereof in the fire ; with part thereof he roasteth roast, and is satisfied. And the residue thereof he maketh a god ; he falleth down and worshippeth it, and prayeth unto it, and saith, Deliver me, for thou art my god.”*

And to these imaginary deities they sacrificed their sons and their daughters, causing them to pass through the fire. The epidemic of speculative opinion, followed naturally by actual crime, spread over the face of the whole earth ; and in this general falling away we find all the elements of the floods of crime which at variable periods since then have well-nigh submerged the moral world. What the condition of the earth was as to general morals and tendencies just before the Christian era, we may indicate by selecting the most refined and civilized of the cities, Rome ; and giving the impressions of their own writers, and in their own language, for the vices alluded to are too gross to be completely unveiled :—

*“Cum leno accipiat mœchi bona, si capiendi  
Jus nullum uxori, doctus spectare lacunar,  
Doctus et ad calicem vigilantibus stertere naso ;  
Cum fas esse putet curam sperare cohortis,  
Qui bona donavit præsepibus, ———”*

And as to the reward of merit, and the mode in which public trust was bestowed :—

*“Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum,  
Si vis esse aliquis ; probitas laudatur, et alget.”*

*\* \* \* \* \**  
*“— quando uberior vitiorum copia ? quando  
Major avaritiæ patuit sinus ?*

But even under this thin veil we may not sully our page with

quotations illustrative of the special and universal vices of this vaunted era.

In such a profligate time was Christianity introduced into the world ; and for once at least in the world's history the tendency of the human mind to receive opinions *collectively* was directed in a right channel. Promulgated by a few unlettered men—opposed with all the violence of a corrupt priesthood and a pagan court upholding doctrines which human nature felt to be humiliating—persecuted even to the death—Christianity triumphed, and became the religion of the civilized world. But it was not for long that its purity was preserved ; errors and heresies crept in ; and the doctrines which preached peace on earth and goodwill towards men, were made the pretext for passions the fiercest, persecutions the most diabolical, and wars the most sanguinary that the earth has ever witnessed. There is no wrath and bitterness equal to that which arises in (so-called) religious controversy. Each opinion once promulgated spread like an epidemic, and parties were found to murder each other in support of their respective views, with the more zeal and implacability, the more incomprehensible and less important was the subject of dispute. Ultimately the Christian and the heathen could live without mutual persecution ; but the Monothelite and the Monophysite, the Pelagian and the Arian, ever viewed each other with the most uncompromising hostility.

It would require a large volume even to mention the names of the controversies which for centuries shook the church even to its foundations ; we can but briefly allude to a few events, remarkable for their psychical characteristics, their rapid spread, or their bearing upon epidemics of later times.

The Gnostics of the second century originated from the attempt to combine the philosophy of the heathen world with the faith of the Christian. This, as well as the sect of the Manicheans, which arose in the third century, was chiefly remarkable for the incredible rapidity with which it spread, and for its persistency in spite of the severest methods used for its extirpation.

The fourth century is remarkable for the rapid increase of superstition, the reinstitution of *image worship*, the adoration paid to relics, and the many pious frauds, as they have been termed, of the monks. At this time, too, originated that remarkable and long-standing epidemic, which has ever since exercised so powerful an influence over domestic relations and the world generally—that of Monachism. Owing to the prevalence of a certain mystical preaching, vast numbers of men and women withdrew themselves from all society, endeavouring to live by contemplation alone, and mortifying the body by hunger, thirst, and labour. They were gradually reduced to system by Antony,



who prescribed rules for their conduct. Some, as the Anachorites, resisted all rule, lived separately, frequented the wildest deserts, fed upon roots, and slept wherever the night overtook them; and all this to avoid the sight of their fellow-creatures. Other sects, as the Sarabaites, were guilty of the most licentious practices, and were indeed profligates of the most abandoned kind.\*

The fifth century produced one of the most extraordinary and ridiculous manias that can well be conceived. Simeon, a monk, adopted, as a mark of especial sanctity, the singular device of spending thirty-seven years of his life on the top of a high pillar.

"Seduced by a *false ambition*, and utterly ignorant of true religion, many of the inhabitants of Syria and Palestine followed the example of this fanatic; and what is almost incredible, this practice continued in vogue till the twelfth century."—Mosheim, *Eccles. Hist.*

The rise and spread of Mahometanism in the seventh century is one of the most remarkable instances of the rapid propagation of ideas and principles. Doubtless the terror of Mahomet's arms, and his repeated victories, were very irresistible arguments; but at the same time his law was wonderfully adapted to the corrupt nature of man; its requirements were few and easy, its articles of faith simple, and its promised rewards marvellously acceptable to the manners and customs of the Eastern nations, and their favourite vices. "It is to be observed," says Mosheim, "further, that the gross ignorance under which the Arabians, Syrians, and Persians, and the greater part of the Eastern nations, laboured at this time, rendered many an easy prey to the artifice and eloquence of this bold adventurer." When we add to this the dissensions and animosities amongst the Greeks, Nestorians, and others, which filled the East with carnage, assassinations, and other enormities, such as made the very name of Christianity detestable, we may cease to wonder at the spread of of any new religion. Will not an attentive consideration of these reasons in the aggregate suggest to the reflective mind the source of some of the remarkable heresies of the present day, as our Mormonism and Socialism, and the German Apostolico-Baptism?—The epidemic of the eighth century was a violent contest, which overspread the whole Christian world, between

\* Trench, in his "Lectures on Words," has some remarks on this point of great interest.

"This is a notable example of the manner in which moral contagion, spreading from heart and manners, invades the popular language in the use, or rather misuse, of the word 'religion.' In these times, 'a religious person' did not mean one who felt and allowed the bonds that bound him to God and his fellows, but one who had taken peculiar vows upon him. A 'religious' house did not mean in the Church of Rome a Christian household ordered in the fear of God, but a house in which persons were gathered together according to the rule of some man. What an awful light does this one word, so used, throw upon the entire state of mind and habits of thought in those ages!"



the Iconoduli and the Iconoclastæ, concerning image worship, as their names imply. The ninth century presents to us the origin of the trials of innocence, which for ages continued so popular—by water, by single combat, by the fire ordeal, and by the cross.

The first is of great interest, as being afterwards so universally made use of, in the detection of supposed witches. The person suspected of any crime was thrown into water, the right hand bound to the left foot; if he sank, he was esteemed innocent; if he floated, it was evidence of guilt. In the trial by duel, the survivor was considered to have proved his innocence. In the fire-ordeal, the accused person walked barefoot on heated ploughshares, or held a ball of red-hot iron in his hand; if innocent, these feats would be accomplished without injury. In the last form of trial, that by the cross, the contending parties were made to stretch out their arms, and he that could continue in this posture the longest gained his cause.\* The universal belief in the infallibility of these tests is not the least singular feature in the mental aspect of these ages.

In the tenth century a strange panic seized upon men's minds, and produced the most disastrous effects. They conceived that the end of the world was close at hand, and vast multitudes forsook all their civil and domestic ties, gave their property to the church, and repaired to Palestine, where they imagined they should be safer than elsewhere. An eclipse of the sun or moon was considered as the immediate precursor of the end of all things; the cities were forsaken, and the wretched inhabitants did actually hide themselves in caves and rocks. Others attempted to bribe the Deity, by great gifts to the church; others pulled down palaces and temples, saying that they were of no more use. "In a word, no language is sufficient to express the confusion and despair that tormented the minds of miserable mortals on this occasion."

Consequent upon this was perhaps the most extraordinary epidemic into which fanaticism ever ran. We have said that vast multitudes left their homes to go to the Holy Land: not a meteor fell across the sky, but sent whole hordes on the same delusive errand. The hardships they suffered on the way were almost incredible; yet they were exceeded by those experienced from the Turks when they reached their destination. Persecution of every kind awaited them; they were plundered and beaten, and not allowed in most instances to enter Jerusalem. By degrees, this particular epidemic dread began to subside, and some of these pilgrims returned to Europe full of the indignities which they had received. Amongst them was an enthusiastic and eloquent, perhaps half crazy monk, Peter the Hermit, who,

\* A different account of the test of the cross is given by many writers, but this appears to have been the original one.

on his return, convulsed Europe by his preaching and his story of their wrongs. Then resulted a scene such as the world had never witnessed. In the insane idea of wresting Palestine from the Turks, countless myriads of fanatics left their homes, and traversed Europe under circumstances unparalleled in the history of man. Why should we dwell upon the details of the Crusades? Hundreds of thousands perished on the way; the roads and fields were heaped up with corpses; the rivers were dyed for miles with their blood. Yet again and again schemes for the accomplishment of the same purpose were adopted: now the elements were the lowest and vilest of the people—now the flower of Europe's chivalry,—and again thousands of *children* formed a separate crusade of their own. Millions of treasure were expended, and two millions of lives sacrificed, in the two hundred years during which this disastrous moral epidemic prevailed. And *this* ended!—the philanthropist would fain hope that such a fearful convulsion would not pass without some purification of the atmosphere.

Scarcely had the excitement of Europe subsided when another scourge made its appearance. The great Plague, or Black Death, of the fourteenth century, appeared in 1333 in China, and passing over Asia westward, and over Europe and Africa, carried off about one-fourth of the people. In Europe alone it is supposed that twenty-five millions fell victims to this fearful pestilence.

All epidemic diseases have their *moral* aspect; and this one was attended by a constellation of fanaticisms and delusions such as man has never witnessed before or since. The belief in witchcraft was already very prevalent, and there had been some isolated persecutions directed towards it. But the specific moral aberrations connected with this period were:—

1. The rise and spread of the Flagellants, or Whippers.
2. The wholesale murder of the Jews, on the suspicion of having poisoned the water.
3. The dancing mania.

The compound aspect of these three has more than an ordinary interest to the philosophic mind, arising from the fact, that although the first two appear to be of a strictly *psychical* nature, a *somatic* origin is indicated, from their extremely close connexion with the latter, which was accompanied by the most striking and uniform physical derangements, very analogous to the phenomena of hysteria. The sect of the dancers, indeed, seems to serve as a connecting link between mental and bodily affections, and to lead by a natural transition to many of the convulsive forms of religious worship with which the present century is familiar, as the Jumpers, the Shakers, the preaching mania in Sweden in 1842, &c.



The primary notion of the "Whippers" may be traced to the fact, that for ages flagellation had been considered by the Church the most appropriate punishment and atonement for vice. Horrified by the ravages of the plague, in deadly terror of its advances, the people thought to stop the vengeance (as it was supposed) of Heaven by mortifications and penance. Almost simultaneously, in many parts of Hungary and Germany, large masses of the lowest orders of the people formed themselves into bodies, which marched in procession through the cities, robed in sombre apparel, covered with red crosses, bearing triple knotted scourges, in which points of iron were fixed.

"It was not merely some individual parts of the country which fostered them: all Germany, Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, Silesia, and Flanders did homage to the mania. The influence of this fanaticism was great and threatening; resembling the excitement which called all the inhabitants of Europe into the Deserts of Syria and Palestine 250 years before."—Hecker.

They performed penance twice a day, scourging themselves and each other till the blood streamed from them; and this they blasphemously said was mixed with the blood of the Saviour. Flagellation was held to be superior to, and to supersede all other observances; the priests were forsaken, and these "Brethren of the Cross" absolved each other, and took possession of the churches, where their enthusiastic songs affected greatly the minds of the people.

As might be expected, all this speedily resolved itself into licentiousness and crime. The Church and the secular arm combined to put a stop to this universal phrenzy; veneration turned, in many places, into persecution, and public burnings of the chief instigators of the riots became common. During this and the early part of the next century a constant contest was carried on with them, but the sect was found most difficult to eradicate.

Simultaneously with these proceedings, was instituted a bloody and barbarous persecution of the Jews. Amongst the other absurd conjectures as to the source of the terrible pestilence which was everywhere raging, the Jews were supposed to have poisoned the wells or infected the air. They were pursued with relentless cruelty—tortured, in many instances, into a confession of crimes which had never been committed, and then burnt alive.

"Whenever they were not burnt, they were at least banished; and so, being compelled to wander about, they fell into the hands of the country people, who, without humanity, persecuted them with fire and sword."—Hecker's *Epid.*

In some places, driven to desperation, the Jews fired their own quarter of the town, and so perished. At Strasbourg, 2000



were burnt alive in their own burial-ground. In Mayence, it is supposed that 12,000 Jews were slaughtered by the Flagellants.

"At Eslingen, the whole Jewish community burned themselves in their synagogue; and mothers were seen throwing their own children on the pile, to prevent their being baptized, and then precipitating themselves into the flames."—Hecker.

A singular feature presents itself in the progress of this epidemic persecution, as in that of witches, to be shortly noticed,—viz., that after the rage had lasted some time, many confessed voluntarily, and without torture, to the crimes of which their countrymen were accused; and it even appears probable that some actually attempted to commit them by putting certain poisons into the waters. Apparently an irresistible impulse leads to acts of this nature, from the constant dwelling of the mind upon the accusations and reports on the subject. We meet with analogous instances in all epidemics of crime, and it is not unfrequent to meet with those who, from a morbid desire for notoriety, will insist upon confessing crimes which have evidently not been perpetrated, such as the murder of people still living.

The humanity and good sense of Clement VI. at last succeeded in putting a stop to this wholesale butchery; but it was not till after scores of thousands had fallen victims to the insane and cruel delusion.

The *Dancing Mania* next claims attention. In his preface to an account of this affection, Hecker makes some interesting reflections, which we here quote:—

"These diseases afford a deep insight into the workings of the human mind in a state of society; they expose a vulnerable part of man,—the *instinct of imitation*,—and are therefore very nearly connected with human life in the aggregate. It appeared worth while to describe diseases which are propagated on the beams of light, on the wings of thought, which convulse the mind by the excitement of the senses, and wonderfully affect the nerves, the media of its will and feelings. It seemed worth while to attempt to place these disorders between the epidemics of a less refined origin, which affect the body more than the soul, and all those passions and emotions which border on the vast domain of disease, ready at every moment to pass the boundary."

About 1374, at Aix-la-Chapelle, the singular spectacle was presented, of groups of men and women, who would join hands, forming a circle, and dance for hours together in wild delirium, till they fell to the ground utterly exhausted.

"They then (says Hecker) complained of extreme oppression, and groaned as if in the agonies of death, until they were swathed in cloths bound tightly round their waists,—a practice resorted to on account of

the tympany which followed these spasmodic ravings; but the bystanders frequently relieved patients in a less artificial manner, by thumping and trampling upon the parts affected."

It seems that in this and the analogous affections,—the preaching mania in Sweden, the convulsive disorders in Shetland, and the *convulsionnaires* in France,—the most brutally violent means were adopted for the removal of this tympany, not only without pain to the sufferer, but with actual temporary relief. Referring to this last class, M. Littré says:—

"Ni les distensions ou les pressions à l'aide d'hommes vigoureux, ni les supplices de l'estrapade, ni les coups portés avec des barres ou des instruments lourds et contondans, n'étaient capables de léser, de meurtrir, d'estropier les victimes volontaires."\*

Many called out for heavy weights to be thrown upon them, and for the blows to be administered with more force upon the abdomen. A stone about thirty pounds in weight, called a *pebble*, was in frequent use for this purpose.

This dancing mania rapidly spread over the Netherlands, which were overrun with troops of half-naked dancers.

"At length the increasing number of the affected attracted no less anxiety than the attention that was paid to them. They took possession of the religious houses, processions were instituted, masses were said for them, and the disease—of the demoniac origin of which no one entertained the least doubt—excited everywhere astonishment and horror. They were much irritated at the sight of red colours, the influence of which on the disordered nerves might lead us to imagine an extraordinary accordance between this spasmodic malady and the condition of infuriated animals."—Hecker, p. 89.

In this, as in all other epidemics, opportunity was found for the wildest licentiousness; gross impostures mixed with the real disease, and ultimately the resultant vices excited the indignation of clergy and laity, who united to put a stop to the disorders.

"Meantime, the plague crept on, and found abundant food in the tone of thought which prevailed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, causing a permanent disorder of the mind, and exhibiting, in those cities to whose inhabitants it was a novelty, scenes as strange as they were detestable."—Hecker.

Nothing affords a more striking illustration of the tendency which opinion, emotion, and action have, to take on a *collective* aspect, than the subject of WITCHCRAFT, whether considered as to its millions of votaries, its tens of thousands of persecutors, its myriads of victims, or the curious psychological phenomena developed by the mutual reactions of these.

\* *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, February 15, 1856.

"Europe for two centuries and a half brooded upon the idea, not only that parted spirits walked the earth to meddle in the affairs of men, but that men had power to summon evil spirits to their aid to work woe upon their fellows. An epidemic terror seized upon the nations; no man thought himself secure, either in his person or his possessions, from the machinations of the devil and his agents. Every calamity that befel him he attributed to a witch. France, Italy, Germany, England, Scotland, and the far North, successively ran mad upon this subject—thousands upon thousands of unhappy persons fell victims to this cruel and absurd delusion."—Mackay's *Popular Delusions*.

The summary of belief was something to this effect. At the command of any one who would sell his soul, in exchange for certain services during a stated period, there were innumerable demons—Wierus says only 7,405,926—incubi and succubi, that is, male and female, taking on various forms, according to the circumstances required—but if *human*, always imperfect in some respect.

They were bound to obey any order, except to do good, in which case they disobeyed, and visited their displeasure upon the offender. At uncertain intervals—generally on the Friday night—there were meetings, called the "Sabbath," at which those who in the intervals had done sufficient evil were rewarded, and those who had not, received chastisement from Satan himself, who flogged them till they could neither sit nor stand. New-comers were admitted by the ceremony of denying their salvation, spitting upon the Bible, and vowing obedience to "the master." Their amusement on these occasions was a dance of toads—their banquet, things too disgusting to mention. A general examination was made to know if each possessed "the mark," by which they were recognised as the "Devil's own." This mark was insensible to pain. Those who had it not, then received it. When the cock crew, the Sabbath ended, and all disappeared.

The persecutions on account of witchcraft were carried on from various motives—political, as in the extermination of the Stedinger in 1234, by Frederic II., assisted by the Duke of Brabant and others; and in that of the Templars, accused of sorcery by Philip IV. of France and burned; religious, as in the persecutions of the Waldenses under this pretext; and superstitious, as in the innumerable trials for witchcraft with which the middle ages abound. It is computed that during the prevalence of this epidemic, at least one hundred thousand persons were burnt as witches or sorcerers.

Illustrative of the strange psychological phenomena manifested in the votaries of this belief, and their *collective* character, we quote some facts and observations from a profoundly philosophic article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for February 15th, by



M. Littré. It will save repetition to remark, first, that there is a singular uniformity in the confessions of those accused; second, that although many confessions were elicited by torture, and many made through *dread* of torture, yet due allowance made for all these, there remain many who confessed *voluntarily*, and manifested pride in their supposed powers; speaking with delight of their enjoyments at "the Sabbath," and longing to be burned that they might constantly enjoy "the master's society."

Under the pontificate of Julius II., many thousands of persons were burnt, who confessed freely, that in the form of cats they were in the constant habit of destroying children.\* M. Littré on this makes the following striking observations:—

"In this fact, for which during many years the pile was constantly erected, we remark at first one prominent phenomenon, *i.e.*, its *collective character*. All the sorcerers say that they were changed into cats; and this in spite of the punishment which awaits them; they accuse themselves of homicides without number. In confirmation, the mothers notice spots of blood on the dead children; the fathers speak of strangely pertinacious cats about the house. To all this tragedy, so well attested on all parts—sealed by confession, certified by solemn inquisition—there fails but one thing: *in spite of the assassinations of so many children, the mortality is not increased, nor the district depopulated.*"

In the sixteenth century, the nuns of a certain convent were all seized with a kind of hysterical affection. Naturally they were bewitched, and victims had to be burned before they were cured.

In Lorraine, from 1580 to 1595, about nine hundred persons were burnt on this pretext. They all saw the Devil near them, even whilst the torture was being inflicted, endeavouring, in his way, to comfort them. In Labourd, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, the confessions of the accused are still more remarkable:—

"La plupart parlaient avec une expression passionnée des sensations éprouvées au Sabbat; ils peignaient en termes licencieux leur enivrement; beaucoup déclaraient être présentement trop bien habitués à la société du diable pour redouter les tourments d'enfer; souffrant fort joyeusement qu'on leur fit leur procès, tant elles avaient hâte d'être avec le diable; elles s'impatientaient de témoigner combien elles dé-

\* The witch *mania* may be considered to have first fairly set in in 1483, when Pope Innocent VIII. launched his terrible manifesto against them. In this celebrated bull he called upon all the princes of Europe to assist in extirpating this crime, by means of which all manner of wickedness was wrought. He also appointed inquisitors in every country, armed with little less than apostolic power, to try and punish the accused. Naturally this crusade against a supposed crime propagated it, and wonderfully deepened the belief in the minds of the people.

siraient souffrir pour lui, et elles trouvaient fort étrange qu'une chose si agréable fut puni."

It is unnecessary further to multiply instances ; we have said enough to illustrate the eminently *collective* character of these phenomena—"seizing upon great numbers simultaneously, and subjugating them to the same class of sensations and actions, finally passing away, and leaving no trace, save the remembrance of their singularity, and the difficulty of theorizing upon them."

We can scarcely persuade ourselves that some of the so-designated "*spiritual*" manifestations of our own times are less absurd or dangerous than those just quoted. In concluding this branch of the subject, one or two general observations suggest themselves which are both of speculative and practical interest.

1. The immense number of convictions and executions for witchcraft are easily accounted for, when we consider the rules and tests for the detection of the supposed crime. These, it is well known, were so devised as to reflect no discredit on the accuser in case of failure, but to admit no loophole of escape for the accused.

2. In addition to the surprising uniformity of the confessions, there is another evidence of the strength and persistency of the delusion. When the mania for witch-extirpation had begun to subside, and men were more anxious to acquit than condemn, there were found numbers who voluntarily accused themselves of crimes evidently not committed, as of the murder of people still living, and of having attended at the "Sabbath" during nights when the strictest watch had been kept upon them, and it was evident they had never quitted their room.

3, and lastly. The most remarkable consideration of all is this—and it shows forcibly the inconsequence of the whole business. These people, who could raise tempests, who partook of the power of the Prince of Darkness, who could work their will amongst the elements—they had neither riches, nor power, nor grandeur ; they, who could change their form at pleasure, could ride through the air, and pass through keyholes and crevices, and up chimneys at will—these very people could not preserve themselves from a painful and ignominious death !

The epidemics of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries we can but name in passing. The sixteenth was eminently *reformatory*, and never, not even in the sixth and seventh centuries, did polemic rage burn more hotly than during this period : the specific fanaticism was that of the Anabaptists, who, under the pretext of zeal, kept Europe in an uproar.

The seventeenth century in England and the eighteenth in France present striking analogies to each other in their broad features of resistance to authority. In each case, the entire national



mind, in all its manifestations, thought, expression, emotion, and action, was disturbed to the very foundation. In each there was a period of luxuriant literature, followed by deep thought amongst the masses. In each, prolonged thought excited emotion; and this in its turn produced action, reaction, violence, anarchy, *despotism*. In each case, after peace was restored, there was another phase of literature, remarkable for its immorality.\* The eighteenth century also presented two of the most frantic commercial manias that the world has ever witnessed—in France, Law's Bank and Mississippi scheme; in England, the South Sea scheme. It is impossible even to glance at the nature of these projects, or to describe the excitement caused by their rise and progress—the desperation and ruin consequent upon their failure. They were instituted in the same year; the two nations went mad simultaneously; and in the same year, 1721, both broke down, reducing thousands of families to beggary. Each gave rise to innumerable other bubbles, none of which were too absurd to be adopted. At one time, eighty-six of these undertakings were declared illegal by the Committee of the House of Commons, and abolished accordingly. Number seventeen in this list will serve as a fair sample of the credulity of the period. It was entitled: "A company for carrying on an undertaking of great advantage, *but nobody to know what it is!*" The projector of this cleared 2000*l.* in five hours, and decamped.

When remarking upon the mental aberrations of our own century, the nineteenth, M. Emile Montegut observes:

"Ils n'ont plus le fanatisme révolutionnaire de leurs pères, et ce n'est pas eux qui demanderaient à *étrangler le dernier roi avec les entrailles du dernier prêtre!*"

True—and fortunate as true—our tendencies are not so rabid; yet we take our part bravely in the insanities of our race. There are few of the manias which have been already noticed that have not their representatives in the present age. Penance, mortifications, and dancing—panic-terror, witchcraft, and commercial speculation run wild—a revolutionary madness pervading an entire continent,—we seem to be taking a *résumé* of the world's follies and crimes. But one morbid tendency stands out in bold relief from the rest—that of spiritualistic fanaticism, as set forth by jumpers, shakers, apostle-baptists, socialists, mormons, spirit-rappers, and a crowd of other sects, each claiming exclusive possession of the truth. Each one might well require a volume to relate their history and doings. We will but briefly notice

\* For an account of the causes of this state of literature in England, see Macaulay's "Hist. of Eng." vol. i. p. 399, *et seq.* The corresponding condition in France is alluded to in Alison's "Hist. of Europe from 1815 to 1852," vol. v. p. 274.



two, which are remarkable for the strange social and civil effects produced by them upon our transatlantic brethren.

Joseph Smith, the inventor of mormonism, which has now its tens of thousands of votaries encamped in the valley of the Salt Lake, was a man from amongst the lowest of the people. His character is naively described by M. Montegut, as not possessing precisely the innocence of a virgin! According to the same authority, he was of licentious manners, an audacious liar, a bankrupt, an adulterer, a murderer. The following passage would lose by translation, and affords matter for profound thought:

"Eh quoi! peut dire un sceptique, voilà un homme notoirement connu pour le dernier des mécréans et des coquins; un homme d'une éducation vicieuse, d'une intelligence médiocre, d'une âme rapace, et grossièrement sensuelle; un homme qui se recommande simplement par un appétit solidé, un front d'airain, des doigts crochus et agiles; cet homme réussit, non pas à voler une compagnie d'actionnaires ou à inventer un moyen subtil d'ouvrir les serrures, mais à fonder une religion, et à entraîner sur ses pas de grandes multitudes qui révèrent son nom! Il publie une fausse Bible, on l'accepte pour vraie: il se donne pour le prophète de Dieu, et il le fait croire sans trop de difficulté; il établit des dogmes qui blessent tous les sentiments de liberté des Américains, et il trouve des Américains pour accepter ses dogmes; il proclame la déchéance de la femme dans un pays où elle est plus véritablement souveraine que dans aucune contrée de l'Europe, et il se rencontre des femmes pour venir se remettre entre ses mains!"\*

Add to this, that, professing to live in such sanctity and close communion with God as to be able to raise the dead, his life was one of the most open profligacy, with details too sickening to mention, and that his followers are numbered by myriads,—and we have a sufficiently curious yet melancholy example of the credulity of large masses. The religion professed is eminently *eclectic*; each previous one contributing that part which is most acceptable to the appetites and passions of man. We cannot enter further into detail; sufficient has been said to vindicate the *collective* character of this delusion.

The next epidemic which we have to notice is still more extraordinary in its psychological relations, and forms an appropriate climax to this part of our sketch.

The Spirit Faith in America is computed to embrace two millions of believers, and hundreds of thousands in other lands, with 20,000 mediums. It appears that these include men in all ranks of society, from the highest to the lowest. Many of the facts related imperatively demand that we should consider this as a *delusion*, not altogether an *imposture*, especially the consideration

\* *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, Fév. 15.

of the number who have gone insane on the subject. It is said that amongst the lunatics confined in public asylums in the United States, there are 7520 who have become such entirely owing to this "spirit faith." The spiritualist has no *fixed* creed, but finds his "articles" as he advances. The fundamental belief is in their communication with disembodied spirits through the means of *mediums*—persons who are sensible of the presence of these spirits, and can learn and interpret their will. There are "rapping mediums," whose mode of action is sufficiently well known; there are the "writing mediums," who in a kind of cataleptic trance write down the communications of the spirits. There are also the "speaking mediums." On these last, M. Littré has the following remarks:—

"Ceux-ci sont des véritables pythonesques; d'une voix souvent différente de la leur, ils prononcent des paroles qui leur sont inspirées, ou qui sont mises directement dans leur bouche. Cette passivité a été notée chez les convulsionnaires. Plusieurs parlaient comme si les lèvres, la langue, tous les organes de la prononciation eussent été remués et mis en action par une force étrangère; dans l'abondance de leur éloquence, ils leur semblaient qu'ils débitaient des idées qui ne leur appartenaient aucunement, et dont ils n'acquerraient la connaissance qu'au moment où leurs oreilles étaient frappées par le son des mots. Une des prophétesses disait, et ce qu'elle déclarait s'appliquait à des milliers d'autres—'Je sens que l'esprit divin forme dans ma bouche les paroles qu'il me veut faire prononcer. Pendant que j'en parle, mon esprit fait attention à ce que ma bouche prononce, comme si c'était un discours récité par un autre.'"

Interpreted by these three orders of *media*, the spirits give information on all subjects upon which they are consulted,—religious, social, political, or medical. They relate past events, interpret present ones, and prophesy the future. It would appear, however, that the spirits have not all the wisdom popularly attributed to "ghosts," for they make frequent mistakes both as to past and present, whilst their knowledge of the future is dealt out economically and oracularly. Their religious instructions are involved in a vague mysticism, and their social, domestic, and political directions would, if followed, often lead to remediless confusion. It is, nevertheless, a thriving trade, for the revelations of the invisible world are made a matter of merchandise, and as publicly advertised as any other quack medicine!

These phenomena are closely allied, on the one hand, with those of trance and hysteria, and on the other with those of witchcraft and demoniacal possession, of the prophecies of Cevennes, the "preachings" of Sweden, the apostle-baptists of Germany, and the convulsionaries of St. Médard.

M. Littré suggests an ingenious theory of their *somatic* origin,



which we shall endeavour to condense. He entirely disbelieves, in the outset, in their spiritual origin,—first, from the smallness and absurdity of the results produced; secondly, because all the manifestations are such as, in a *sporadic* form, are well known, and recognised as the normal symptoms of certain pathological conditions of the nervous centres.

These phenomena are all resolvable into disorders of the senses, muscular actions, and intelligence; and M. Littré shows first how these may all be affected by well-known physical agents, producing certain definite physiological results. Thus illusions of the eye may be produced by belladonna,—those of the ear by large doses of quinine. The muscular system may be convulsively affected by the administration of strychnine, whilst a general modification (or even aberration) of the intelligence and the emotions, is producible at will, by the use of opium, hachish, and other narcotics.

These results are all physical,—they are likewise all special, definite, and constant. Whence it may be considered as ascertained,—

(1) *That a certain physiological (or pathological) condition of the nervous centres is connected with illusions.*

But (2) it is well known that whatever subjective sensations may be produced by *external* agency may also be produced by *internal* changes,—*i. e.*, changes in the organs themselves. Thus, from congestion and other causes, the eye may perceive light, the ear may perceive sound, without those being actually present; and so with the other senses. Under similar circumstances, the intelligence is troubled, creates strange associations of ideas, sees visions, and appears abstracted from a real world to live in an imaginary one. Here we have the same condition as that referred to above, produced spontaneously—yet the source is somatic or physical.

But (3) we know that certain pathological conditions have a tendency to become epidemic, influenced by causes not yet investigated, as glandular, bronchial, and gastric inflammation or irritation, in time of plague, influenza, or cholera; and it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the morbid change in the nervous centres, which we see in *individual* cases producing such visionary results, may also become epidemic, and produce these aggregate delusions.

On reviewing the foregoing details, we see how strong is the tendency of opinion once promulgated to run into an epidemic form,—no opinion, no delusion is too absurd to take on this collective character. We observe also how remarkably the same ideas reproduce themselves, and re-appear in successive ages. We have now to examine those cases in which *individual* crime operates upon masses of people to produce great numbers of



imitations. We shall see that no crime is too horrible to become popular,—homicide, infanticide, suicide, poisoning, or any other diabolical human conception.

Crime of various kinds appears to be *endemic* in certain countries, and even to be incorporated in the forms of religion peculiar to them. Assassination was one of the principal *observances* among the subjects of the Old Man of the Mountain, a sect which lasted nearly two centuries, and carried dismay and terror into every Court in Europe. Infanticide is a part of the religion of the Hindoos. It is stated in Buchanan's *Researches* in Asia, that the number of infants killed in one year in the two provinces of Cutch and Guzerat was 30,000. It is also endemic in China; the number of children exposed in Pekin alone is about 9000 annually. It is much the same in the South Sea Islands, the Sandwich Islands, and Ceylon. Suicide appears to be endemic in Hindostan; many hundreds lay violent hands on themselves each year—three-fourths being women. Robbery is endemic in Italy; incendiarism and murder, we regret to think, in Ireland. But though these seem to be the favoured *habitats* of the special crimes mentioned, yet *everywhere* are the seeds of evil sown deep under the surface of society, deep in the corrupt moral nature of man, and their development is like those curious phenomena so familiar to the observer of animal life in its most elementary forms; where it only is required that the proper nidus should be prepared, and countless millions of living creatures crowd in, or originate from it, propagating themselves with ever geometrically increasing rapidity—the germ ever present—the *conditions* casually supplied.

So let the surface of society be disturbed, or its depths ploughed up by influences of exceptional social, commercial, or political events, as in times of speculation, panic, or war, then inevitably will these seeds of evil works germinate, and their results will be offences against order, property, and life, which for their check will often require enactments as stern and unsparing as the fiat by which the thistle and the poppy are eradicated from our corn-fields. In epidemics of plague, cholera, or influenza, we can trace those conditions of public hygiene which are calculated to favour or retard their development; but the *cause* of the rapid spread at that particular period remains a mystery. We believe that the causes of the spread of crime are *more* amenable to investigation than these; that the imitative propensity, so closely bound up with the constitution of man, his impulses, weaknesses, and vices, taken in combination with the special, social, or political conditions of any given time, are amply sufficient to account for our natural principles, and to reduce to some sort of law these striking *collective* moral aberrations. We proceed to give a few illustrations of these aggregates of crime, with a

view to an inquiry into the causes concerned in their production : (1) as to crime against property, (2) against person and life.

Mr. Macaulay gives a very graphic picture of an epidemic of housebreaking and robbery, in the fourth volume of his recent History. After alluding to the scarcity of grain, he says :—

“A symptom of public distress much more alarming was the increase of crime. During the autumn of 1692 and the following winter, the capital was kept in constant terror by housebreakers.”

Attempts were made on the mansion of the Duke of Ormond and the Palace at Lambeth.

“From Bow to Hyde Park, from Thames-street to Bloomsbury, there was no parish in which some quiet dwelling had not been sacked by burglars. Meanwhile the great roads were made almost impassable by freebooters, who formed themselves into troops larger than had ever been seen. The Oxford stage-coach was pillaged in broad day, after a bloody fight. A wagon laden with 15,000*l.* of public money was stopped and ransacked. The Portsmouth mail was robbed twice in one week, by men well armed and mounted. Some jovial Essex squires, while riding after a hare, were themselves chased and run down by nine hunters of a different sort, and were heartily glad to find themselves at home again, though with empty pockets.”

It seems that these robbers were by some suspected of being Jacobites; but they showed the most laudable impartiality in the exercise of their calling. The gang, consisting of not less than eighty names, were ultimately betrayed by the confession of one of their fraternity.

Another form of crime against property is that of Incendiarism. History abounds with instances of this offence. We shall but mention two cases, which will illustrate the mode in which the propensity is propagated. M. Marc, in his “*Annales d'Hygiène Publique*,” relates some particulars of a band of incendiaries, who in 1830 (the date is significant) desolated many departments of France. A girl, about seventeen years of age, was arrested on suspicion of being connected with them. She confessed that “twice she had set fire to dwellings by instinct, by *irresistible necessity*,—a victim to the suggestions to which she was exposed by the constant reports of fires, and the alarms from these scenes, which terrified the whole country and excited her diseased brain.” A boy, about eighteen, committed many acts of this nature. He was not moved by any passion; but the bursting out of the flames excited a profoundly pleasing emotion, which was augmented by the sound of the alarm bells, the lamentations, clamours, and disorders of the people. “*Dès que le son des cloches annonçait l'explosion de l'incendie, il était forcé de quitter son travail, tant son corps et son esprit étaient violemment agités.*”



In all this we find nothing mysterious, though the epidemic is strongly developed. A time of political excitement and change (1830)—men's minds agitated—revenge for real or supposed injuries influencing the few—imitation and impulse inducing the many to follow—hysterical girls—excitable and idle boys (for most of the band were young)—we have here a sufficient number of elements well known to exist, and ready to burst forth into crime when the example is once set, and quite capable of themselves producing the entire phenomenon.

In De Quincey's curious and brilliant paper entitled "Murder considered as one of the fine arts," he observes, with regard to this class of crime, that "it never rains but it pours," and gives some singular illustrations of its tendency to occur in groups. He mentions that in the comparatively short time intervening between 1588 and 1635, seven murders or assassinations of the most distinguished characters of the time occurred. The first was that of William I. of Orange; then Henry Duke of Guise; next to him, Henry III., the last of the Valois princes; next, Henry IV., the first of the Bourbon dynasty. Then followed the murder of the Duke of Buckingham, of Gustavus Adolphus, and lastly of Wallenstein. It is not often in the history of man that such a constellation of crime is met with; yet epidemics numerically more formidable are constantly presenting themselves. One murder of great atrocity is constantly and (as it would appear) inevitably followed by others vying with it in horror. Sometimes, also, a predominant delusion affecting large numbers gives rise to many examples of the same crime. Thus in Denmark, in the middle of the last century, a great number of people were affected with the morbid notion, that by committing premeditated murder, and being afterwards condemned to die, they would, by public marks of repentance and conversion on their way to the scaffold, be better prepared for heaven. The murders were generally committed on children.

As it was evident that capital punishment would not stop this epidemic, it was ordered that the delinquents should be branded on the forehead, confined for life to hard labour, and annually publicly whipped. A midwife in Paris for some time was in the habit of introducing an acupuncture needle into the brains of new-born children, that they might people heaven!

Esquirol relates a curious case of homicidal monomania, which created much excitement. He was within a short time called in to many others, all of whom traced the tendency to this original case:—

"Un monsieur lit un journal dans lequel sont rapportés les détails du meurtre d'un enfant; la nuit suivante, il est éveillé en sursaut avec le désir de tuer sa femme. Une femme coupe la tête à un enfant



qu'elle connaissait à peine, est traduite en jugement; ce procès a beaucoup de retentissement, et produit par imitation un grand nombre de monomanies homicides."

The acquittal of Oxford for shooting at the Queen was quickly followed by the attempt of Francis to imitate him. The case of Laurence, who in 1844 killed an inspector of police, was immediately followed by that of Touchett, who, without motive, save that of imitation, shot a stranger at the shooting-gallery. A similar instance of succession, with its causes, is alluded to in the following paragraph, extracted from the *Medical Times* :—

"It is known that Mallard, the pawnbroker from whom Wix purchased the pistol with which he shot Bostock, his master, was the shopkeeper from whom Graham subsequently bought the pistol with which he shot the stranger, Blewitt. This fact, sufficiently striking of itself, is made more remarkable by the pawnbroker's evidence, which tends to prove that what looks like a mere coincidence was, in fact, but the operation of a moral law, and that where the appearance was an accident, the reality was a principle. '*Immediately*,' says the pawnbroker, '*after the assassination by Wix, I received a great many applications for pistols, and now, within the last few days*' (after the second tragedy) '*several persons have applied to me for the same thing. I am now determined, however, never to sell another.*' Passing by the very proper resolve adopted by this tradesman of mishaps, we find in the fact he records, a startling revelation of the mental condition of a portion of that public authors and orators are so fond of bepraising. To many of our London denizens there would appear to exist a fascination about the circumstance of murder. About us and near us, arrayed in all the externals of common sense and charity, are persons endued with a mesmeric sensitiveness to the horrors of homicide, from the very intensity of whose abhorrence of crime arises an interest for it, tempting and fascinating them to its commission."

The homicidal horrors of the French Revolution partook strongly of the nature of an epidemic. Here everything co-operated to propagate the slaughterous tendency: times when political changes were almost of daily occurrence; distress amongst the people; gradual loss of respect for human life in general; self-defence, terror, emulation; morbid imitation; mere sanguinary impulse;—all were in operation to produce scenes such as man had never before witnessed.\*

In general, when unconnected with national interests, the mere homicidal epidemic must, for obvious reasons, be comparatively

\* It is interesting to trace in these cases the effect of any physical agent, however unable we may be to comprehend its *modus operandi*. Esquirol says: "Lorsque le terrible klamsin souffle, l'Indien, armé du fer homicide, se précipite sur tout ce qu'il rencontre." Similar to this is the "running amuck" of the Malay, when drunk with bang, hachish, or enthusiasm.

limited in its extent. There are other forms, however, not less criminal, where the same restrictive causes are not in operation : the only one we shall at present notice is the crime of duelling. In the year 1528, Francis I. sent a cartel to the Emperor, Charles V.; and from this time the duel became a fashionable vice—very shortly after amounting to an epidemic. In the reign of Henry IV. of France, about 5000 were killed in ten years in single combat, and 14,000 others were similarly engaged. All France went mad upon the duel. Kings, popes, and bishops in vain fulminated against it. “At last,” says Lord Herbert, the English ambassador, “there was scarcely a Frenchman deemed worth looking at who had not slain his man.”

Infanticide has a strong tendency to become epidemic, of which we will mention one instance only. In one of the departments of France, about the close of last century, a girl killed her illegitimate child. The case created much excitement and interest, as there had not been a crime for very many years of that nature. Within twelve months, eleven others occurred in the same department, very similar in details.

No individual crime seems to have so strong a tendency to spread by example and imitation as *Suicide*.

“L'apparition épidémique du suicide,” says M. Esquirol, “est un phénomène bien singulier. Dépend-elle d'une disposition cachée de l'atmosphère, de l'imitation qui le propage, de circonstances politiques qui bouleversent un pays, ou de quelque idée dominante favorable au suicide ? Il est certain que cette apparition subite et passagère, mais en quelque sorte épidémique, appartient à des causes différentes.”

Some of the illustrations which follow are extracted from Dr. Winslow's “Anatomy of Suicide,” and also from M. Esquirol's essay on Suicide in the “Dict. des Sciences Médicales.”

In the time of the Ptolemies, a stoic philosopher preached so earnestly and eloquently contempt of life and the blessings of death, that suicide became very frequent. The ladies of Miletus committed suicide in great numbers, because their husbands and lovers were detained by the wars ! At one time there was an epidemic of drowning amongst the women of Lyons—they could assign no cause for this singular tendency—it was checked by the order that all who drowned themselves should be publicly exposed in the market-place. That at Miletus was stopped by a similar device—the ladies chiefly hung themselves—and the magistrate ordered that in every future case the body should be dragged through the town by the rope employed for the purpose, and naked. An ancient historian of Marseilles records that the girls of that city got at one time the habit of killing themselves when their lovers were inconstant !



The following passage is extracted from the "Anatomy of Suicide:"—

"Sydenham informs us, that at Mansfield, in a particular year, in the month of June, suicide prevailed to an alarming degree, from a cause wholly unaccountable. The same thing happened at Rouen in 1806; at Stuttgard, in 1811; and in the Valois, in the year 1813. One of the most remarkable epidemics of the kind, was that which prevailed at Versailles in the year 1793. The number of suicides within the year was 1300—a number out of all proportion to the population of the town."

Suicide not unfrequently accompanies epidemics of a bodily disease, such as pellagra. It is said that one-third of the victims of this affection commit suicide. Nostalgia is also a very frequent cause of this crime.

Closely connected with this subject is that of self-mutilation, a singular instance of which was related in the *Medical Times* some years ago; it is entitled

"AN EPIDEMIC OF VOLUNTARY MUTILATIONS.—In the month of February, 1844, 350 men of the 3rd battalion of the 1st Regiment of the Foreign Legion were encamped at Sidi-bel Abbés, in the province of Oran. A soldier mutilated himself by a blow upon his wrist with the lock of his gun. Thirteen others inflicted a similar injury upon themselves within twenty days. None of these men would admit that the mutilations were voluntary; but all affirmed, that they arose from pure accident while cleaning their arms. It was not possible, in a single case, to discover a plausible motive to explain so strange a circumstance. The commanding officer, alarmed at this singular epidemic, and supposing it might extend, removed the camp some seven or eight leagues, to a place occupied by the 10th battalion of Chasseurs of Vincennes, commanded by M. Boëte. The astonishment of the officer commanding the Foreign Legion was great, when M. Boëte informed him that eight of his men had mutilated themselves in the same way, and nearly at the same time. The commanding officer and the surgeon both affirm, that there was no communication between the two camps. But even supposing that a communication had existed, it affords another example of the force of imitation."

We have deferred till the close of our list of the vices and crimes which disfigure humanity epidemically, that of Poisoning, partly because of its close connexion with the aspect of the present time, and partly because from its secret nature, the facilities which are afforded for its commission, and the difficulties in the way of its detection, it appears to us to exercise a more fearfully demoralizing influence upon society than any of those already noticed, dreadful as is the aspect of many of them.

"Early in the sixteenth century," says Mackay,\* "this crime

\* For many of the succeeding details we are much indebted to Mr. Charles Mackay's account of "The Slow Poisoners," in his "Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions," vol. ii.



seems to have gradually increased, till in the seventeenth it spread over Europe like a pestilence." An attentive consideration of the facts will show that this rapid spread quite naturally resulted from the well-known causes in operation—evil passions originating the crime, which then became popular, by temporary impunity, by impulse, by imitation, and by the publication of details, leading the public mind to dwell upon the subject, and gradually inducing a familiarity with the crime, and a proportionate contempt for human life. Many of these influences are even now rife, and the result is the harvest of crime which is constantly thickening around us. If the history of the past be the interpretation of the present, and the prophecy of the future, surely some useful lesson may be learnt by the accumulation of the experience of past ages.

Sporadic cases of poisoning occur very far back in history ; but the first epidemic which we meet with is in Italy in the seventeenth century. Lebre, in his "*Magazin zum gebrauch der Staaten Kirche Geschichte*," relates that in 1659, Alexander VII. was informed by many of the clergy, that a number of young women had confessed to having poisoned their husbands, for various motives ; no names were mentioned, but the authorities were directed to look out for these events. This caution resulted in the discovery of a society of young wives, who met nightly at the dwelling of an old woman called La Spara ; and their business was to arrange the details of their poisonings. La Spara and four others were hanged ; thirty were publicly whipped through the streets, and a great number were banished. Shortly afterwards nine others were hanged, "and many more, including young and beautiful girls" (Mackay), were whipped half naked through the streets of Rome. To these succeeded the notorious Tophania, the inventor of the "*Aqua Toffana*," now generally supposed to have been a solution of some neutral arsenical salt. This wretched creature carried on her horrible trade for above fifty years, selling poison to those who could afford to buy ; but such was her sympathy, says Lebat, with those who were tired of their husbands, that she freely gave it to them, if they could not afford to pay. She was ultimately detected and strangled, after having confessed her crimes and her employers. The succeeding punishments for the time checked the mania.

About the same time, or a little after, a similar epidemic appeared in France. Between 1670 and 1680, Madame de Sévigné feared that Frenchman and poisoner would become synonymous, so frequent was the crime. The horrible series of murders perpetrated by Madame de Brinvilliers may be passed over as being well known ; but it is especially interesting to

trace their effects upon the public mind. We quote again from Mr. Mackay :—

“During the trial all Paris was in commotion. La Brinvilliers was the only subject of conversation. *All the details of her crimes were published, and greedily devoured; and the idea of secret poisoning was first put into the heads of hundreds who afterwards became guilty of it.* It was now (*i. e.*, after her execution and confession) that the mania for poisoning began to take hold on the popular mind. From this time to 1682, the prisons of France teemed with persons accused of this crime. We have already seen the extent to which it was carried in Italy—it was, if possible, surpassed in France—disgrace was, in fact, entailed, in the eyes of Europe, upon the name of Frenchman.”

The criminals were detected ultimately, and many burned or hanged in 1679; but “for two years longer the crime continued to rage, and was not finally suppressed till the stake had blazed or the noose dangled for *upwards of a hundred individuals.*”

Hitherto we have had in England no such fearful epidemic as these, but are we not even now exposed to the droppings before the tempest? Do we not hear the growling of the thunder before the storm breaks in all its fury?

In the year 1845, a year memorable in our annals, the case of Tawell the Quaker, which is too well known to need recapitulation, excited much interest, and was the topic of almost exclusive comment for some time, even in those days of commercial madness. Poisoning was brought prominently before the public; and the mere accident by which detection was brought about, suggested to many minds the facility with which such crime could be accomplished, and *perhaps* escape detection. Whoever will take the trouble to examine the “Annual Registers” since that period, will find almost constant reference to the great increase of poisoning in Great Britain. Public indignation was greatly excited a few years ago at the revelations made concerning the burial-clubs: the number of the children that fell victims at this time is not to be ascertained, but was certainly great; and “we remember,” says a vigorous writer in the *Express* of March 14th,—

“The sudden revelation of poisoning practices among the neglected poor in certain agricultural counties, where mothers had been taught, by the operation of the Corn Laws, to believe that the most loving office they could fulfil towards their children was to send them early from the pains of life to be ‘better off with the Lord.’ None of us are likely to forget that one very poor woman avowed, without any sense of guilt or shame, that she had thus dismissed to ease and plenty eight infants in succession by putting arsenic on her breasts.

We in 1856 seem threatened with the storm, of which these



were but the preliminary drops; the crime of poisoning is brought prominently before us, it fills men's minds, and illustrations of it crowd our daily and weekly papers. But we must refrain—*these* cases are not yet matters of history—on the most important amongst them, the laws of our country, administered by those who rank amongst the wisest of her sons, have yet to pronounce their verdict, and we will not, even constructively, prejudice the matter.

The cumulative portion of our task is ended. To exhibit mind in its *contagious* aspect, we have passed in review not only those conditions of aberration which from their transitory nature may most strictly be considered as epidemics, but also those which having risen from small beginnings, have spread rapidly, and ultimately exercised a permanent influence upon the race. We have seen that in all its manifestations, Thought, Emotion, Expression, and Action, mind has a powerful action upon mind. The individual error or crime acts upon the mass by suggestion—the mass reacts upon the individual by intensifying every development of emotion. The tension of thought, which at first leads to any delusion, may be but slight; but when it takes hold upon numbers, each individual is affected by the combined force of these numbers. It is like the addition of plates to a galvanic battery, and the effect is almost like it, numerically proportionate. The man who timidly enunciates an opinion so long as it is but his own, will die in its defence when strengthened by the moral force of thousands. And this staunch adherence to any given view, is quite independent of whether it may be right or wrong, important or otherwise. Nothing can more strongly illustrate this position, than the persistency with which, when the witch-mania was fairly established, the victims of this delusion persisted in dying in support of their belief.

Our catalogue of error, folly, fanaticism, and crime, has been a long one; yet we have selected but a very small number from those with which all history abounds,—may we not say, of which almost all history consists? This would, however, be a profitless enumeration, if we could not deduce some general principle, as indicative of the causes of all the singular phenomena passed in review.

Granting the corrupt nature of man to be the primary source of all crime, we cannot fail to see that its development is favoured and fostered by the predominance of appetite and instinct over volition,—of imagination and impulse over reason and judgment. And what is this but the permanence of an *infantile* condition of mind? Children have appetites and instincts strong—reason undeveloped—passion unregulated. A proper system of education (strictly so called) has a tendency to substitute reason for



instinct, to develop the former, to hold in check the latter. If this be neglected, or if it be misdirected, man will grow up a child in all but its innocence and its inability to do evil,—his appetites, impulses, and passions are strengthened by indulgence and lack of any restraining influence, his reason and judgment are null from disuse. In this state (and of how vast a majority of our fellow-creatures is this the condition) he is an easy prey to any class of ideas or emotions which may be presented to him—he receives them, adopts them, and imitates them, because he cannot analyze them—because they, perhaps, tend to the indulgence of the desire of the eye, or the lust of the flesh—because they flatter his pride—but most chiefly because uncultivated and uneducated man is *essentially mimetic*. Of the influence of morbid imitation in producing crime, many instances have already been given. Two very remarkable cases will be found in our Foreign Department, under the head of “Suicide amongst Children.” Dr. Winslow, in his “Anatomy of Suicide,” relates the following:—

“A criminal was executed not many years ago, in Paris, for murder. A few weeks after, another murder was perpetrated; and when the young man was asked to assign a reason for taking away the life of a fellow-creature, he replied, that he was not instigated by any feeling of malice, but, *after having witnessed the execution*, he felt a desire, over which he had no control, to commit a similar crime, and had no rest until he had gratified his feelings.”

A similar instance occurred recently in one of our Northern counties, where the only reason which the murderer could give for cutting off the head of a child was, that W—— (mentioning the name of another notorious criminal) had done so before him. The following remarkable instance is also from Dr. Winslow’s “Anatomy of Suicide:”—

“Some years ago, a man hung himself on the threshold of one of the doors of the corridor at the *Hôtel des Invalides*. No suicide had occurred in the establishment for two years previously; but in the succeeding fortnight, *five invalids hung themselves on the same cross-bar*, and the governor was obliged to shut up the passage.”

“Last week, a boy, who had witnessed the execution of Baker, at Southampton, was found hanging by a rope from his mother’s bed.”—*Liverpool Albion*, Feb. 18, 1856.

It is needless further to multiply examples; the imitative instinct is perhaps the most powerful in our nature; and

“It is in homicidal mania that we look for the most striking illustrations of this mysterious form of cerebral disease. The instances on record of the dreadful exercise of this perverted instinct, under circumstances the most peculiar and afflicting, are numerous and well-authenticated, and the law is now well established among cerebral physiologists, that to persons

thus diseased, the latent impulse—the lurking demon—is often forced into resistless action by the influence of a striking or notorious example. One startling and celebrated murder is the sure herald of several. The notoriety attracts to a congenial crime the diseased minds of thousands; a morbid sympathy is created; there is fascination in the gulph; the diseased propensity is stimulated, excited, and made to overwhelm both volition and reason. The last agency wanted is supplied to make the madness culminate.”—*Medical Gazette*.

Love of notoriety is a strong incentive to crime.

“The man who was killed by attaching himself to a rocket, and he who threw himself into the crater of Mount Vesuvius, were no doubt stimulated by a desire for posthumous fame. Shortly after the suicide at the Monument, a boy made an unsuccessful attempt to poison himself; and on being questioned as to his motives, he said, ‘I wished to be talked about, like the woman who killed herself at the Monument!’”

In the case of the man who cut the child’s head off, mentioned above, a very striking feature was the desire for notoriety—the contemporary press has the following article:—

“While in the cell at the Town Hall, he was gratified when, by his mimicry or other means, he could attract the attention of persons in the office above. When being taken out on Monday, he anxiously inquired whether there were a good many people standing outside, intimating that he should shout out to them if there were; and on finding nobody standing about, he exhibited much disappointment. While in the cab, and also, after being placed in the railway carriage, he persisted in sitting close to the window, and seemed pleased at the slightest notice. His utter insensibility to the awfulness of the crime which he has committed, is, however, most strikingly illustrated by a piece of shocking levity in which he indulged also on Sunday. The attention of several of the police officers, who were in the receiving office, was attracted by bursts of merriment from the prisoners, and on looking in the cell-yard, the officers saw H— standing in a stiff, upright position, slowly turning his head backwards and forwards. In reply to an inquiry what it all meant, the prisoner said, ‘I am only showing them how I shall look in waxwork, next fair.’ This performance he went through a number of times during the day, complying unhesitatingly with every request to ‘show them again.’”

Another powerful instinct is that of *impulse*. By this we mean an apparently irresistible tendency to the commission of a certain act, without motive, without any knowledge of the cause, but that the necessity to perpetrate it is most urgent.

A very striking instance of this is mentioned by Esquirol. A young girl, of unexceptionable morals and character, of mild and amiable deportment, acting as a nurse, one day met her mistress coming in from a walk, and requested to be dismissed the house. On being questioned as to her reasons, she said that



every time she undressed the child, the temptation to kill it was almost irresistible, apparently stimulated by the sight of its white skin. This seems to ally this class of phenomena to those animal instincts and passions which are aroused by the sight of bright colours, as scarlet to the bull, &c.

The well-known case of Henriette Cornier, related by M. Marc, was of a similar nature, with this exception, that she accomplished her purpose, the impulse having proved too strong for her to overcome—the child was one to which she had always professed and felt extreme attachment.

All writers on the psychological relations of crime recognise, that in an otherwise sound mind this strong and occasionally irresistible tendency may suddenly occur, and depart again as soon as gratified, leaving the intelligence and the moral disposition in every respect unaffected. Instances of it occur very frequently after the public mind has dwelt for some time upon any given crime—yet it is altogether different in nature from the tendency to imitation, before noticed. Many of the subjects of it have sufficient warning given, to enable them to request to be restrained, or that the objects of their maniacal fury may be removed.

“Une jeune dame qui s’était retirée dans une maison de santé, éprouvait des désirs homicides dont elle ne pouvait indiquer les motifs. Elle ne déraisonnait sur aucun point, et chaque fois qu’elle sentait cette funeste propension se produire et s’exalter, elle versait des larmes, suppliait qu’on lui mit la camisole de force qu’elle gardait patiemment jusqu’à ce que l’accès, qui durait quelquefois plusieurs jours, fut passé.”—Marc.

Without adducing further illustrations, we see plainly that a great proportion of mankind are, so far as their reason and intelligence are concerned, in the condition of *children*,—governed by instinct, appetite, and passion,—uncontrolled by conscience and judgment,—ready for any impression, prepared to tread any path marked out which leads to any indulgence, bodily or mental. The remedy for this is plain, palpable, and on the surface—difficult in detail, but ultimately practicable—a sound form of EDUCATION, secular and religious. *Education*, we say,—not *Instruction*!—nothing is more dangerous than knowledge to the mind without the capacity to make a proper use of it; then, indeed, it does but afford an additional facility for the commission of crime. It is through not carefully distinguishing between instruction and that sound education which should consist in the literal *educing* of the faculties of the mind, as a counteracting agency to the instincts, that Sir A. Alison has adopted his singular and almost paradoxical notions on the direct ratio between education and the increase of crime, as set forth in the following



passage, and also in the introductory chapter to his recent history, at greater length :—

“Philanthropists anticipated, from this immense spread of elementary education, a vast diminution of crime, proceeding on the adage, so flattering to the pride of intellect, that ignorance is the parent of vice. Judging from the results which have taken place in Prussia, where instruction has been pushed to so great a length, this is very far indeed from being the case. On the contrary, though one of the most highly educated countries in Europe, it is at the same time one of the most criminal. On an average of three years, from 1st January, 1824, to 1st January, 1827, in Prussia, where the proportion of persons at school to the entire population was 1 in 7, the proportion of crime to the inhabitants was *twelve times* greater than in France, where it was 1 in 23. This startling fact coincides closely with what has been experienced in France itself, where the proportion of conviction to the inhabitants is one to 7285; and it has been found that, without one single exception in the whole eighty-four departments, the amount of crime is in the *inverse ratio* of the number of persons receiving instruction.”—Alison’s *History of Europe*, vol. v.

That a state-engine such as that of Prussia, little better than an instruction-mill, should produce results like these, is not surprising; but all the statistics of our own country, when *properly analysed*, show that crime and true education are perpetually in an inverse ratio; and we have the concurrent testimony of writers both upon psychology and crime, that it is chiefly defective or *perverted* education which is the source of mental aberration on the one hand, and of crime on the other. Mr. Hill, in his work on “Crime,” places bad training and ignorance at the *head* of his causes of crime. He says—

“The great majority of those (criminals) that have come under my observation have been found to have been either greatly neglected in childhood, and to be grossly ignorant, or at least to possess merely a *quantity of parrot-like and undigested knowledge*, of little real value.”—Hill *On Crime*, p. 36.

And again :—

“By direct education I need scarcely say that I do not mean the mere capability of reading and writing, but a systematic development of the different powers of the mind and body, the fostering of good feelings, the cultivation of good principles, and a regular training in good habits.”—p. 48.

For much valuable information on this subject, we refer our readers to Mr. Hill’s very excellent work, chapter 3rd.

An education which merely instructs will *encourage crime*; one which co-ordinates the faculties of the mind, which gives exercise to reason and judgment, at the same time that it represses *without ignoring* the instinctive part of man’s nature, will ele-

vate his position in the scale of creation, and turn those faculties to the service of his fellow-creatures, which otherwise would be employed to their destruction. If the emotions be constantly trampled down, and *invariably* subordinated to reason, they will in time assert their claims, and break forth in *insanity* or crime; if they be constantly indulged, the result will probably be the same. It is not by directing attention especially to them, but by elevating those tendencies of the mind which counterbalance them, that man will be brought nearer to the fulfilment of his high destiny, and his moral constitution be rendered less liable to those epidemics of folly and crime, upon which we have been commenting.

Deeply as these considerations affect the individual and societies, there are others which as closely involve the interests of the race; and these are so well and forcibly set forth by a recent writer in the *Express*, that we make no apology for quoting at length from his very philosophic article:—

“There is always something startling in a rapid succession of cases of the same kind of calamity or crime; and the witnesses of such a disclosure are apt to forget, in the strength of their emotions, that the experience of all ages should save us, on such occasions, from astonishment and dismay. Not only is there always a tendency in the criminal world, as in other worlds, to *modes* (to fashions based on sympathy and imitation), but there is a deeper cause for the existence of modes of suffering and of crime. . . . It is a fact, which has employed the pens of some thoughtful physicians and moralists, that changes in bodily functions and even structure attend on changes in civilisation, and that every important discovery in science is followed by new and strange human phenomena, individual and social. Very curious details may be found in medical literature on the subject of the varying physiological conditions which have attended the different periods of our civilisation. We have never met with a medical man who could or would say how it was that the women in Queen Elizabeth’s time—the ladies of her court, for instance—could live as they did, and keep their health and attain old age. . . . The alimentary apparatus, with all that it involved, was then the strong and the weak point; and the nervous system is the strong and the weak point now. People could then digest like ostriches; but the abuse of the power led to ‘surfeits,’ fevers—inflammatory disorders of all kinds. People can now get a great deal more out of brain and nerve than brain and nerve were then trained to yield; but the complement of the case is, that we witness more nervous ailment and stranger phenomena of the nervous system than were ever distinctly observed before. Science has helped to alter the conditions of our life by a variety of new disclosures. Sir Charles Bell’s great discovery in the matter of nervous structure has brought into light and prominence whole classes of diseases and liabilities; and the all-important reforms caused by science in the study and dissection of the brain have thus far thrown our practical methods of dealing



with disease and certain orders of crime into confusion, rather than fitted us to treat them as wisely as the next generation may do. At the same time, there has been a vast development of the science of animal chemistry; and we are in the first astonishment at discovering how the curious mechanism of our bodies is sustained and kept going. Our condition is precisely that in which abnormal nervous states are most striking to us, and in which the subjects of food and poisons are interesting to the greatest number of people. If a wise student of history, secluded from the world, were told of the scientific and physiological conditions of the time, he would probably declare us to be liable to new and unaccountable manifestations through the nervous system, probably to a fashion of poisoning by new methods, and certainly to an epidemic credulity and suspicion about poisoning."

The writer then proceeds at considerable length to argue from these premises the necessity for taking these changes into consideration in deciding upon the phenomena of the present times, and urges most strongly caution in receiving prejudice as proof, and assertion as corroboration of crime.

Profoundly involved in the mysteries of our nature, and in those connected with the tidal progress of our race, these great *predisposing* causes of delusion and crime only admit of indirect influence by human agency.

There are others, of a more directly *exciting* character, which are dependent upon our social and political institutions, and which therefore admit of modification, if such can be pointed out, as likely to influence the spread of moral contagion in society. Our limits compel us to be very brief upon this most important topic. The evils to which we refer originate from the *Press*, the *Pulpit*, the *Bar*, the *Legislature*, and *Science*.

1. The great publicity given to the minutiae of atrocious crimes in the public Press is undoubtedly a fruitful source of crime in this and other countries. The evil is a great and an admitted one: the remedy is yet to be discovered. There is always floating on the surface of society a numerous class of persons of questionable moral sense, ripe and ready for every kind of vice, eager to seize hold of any excuse for the commission of grave offences against the person and property. This class is generally more or less affected by the publication of the minute details of murder, suicide, and other crimes. To them such particulars are dangerously suggestive. They tend, as it were, to form the *type* of the moral epidemic, and to give form and character to the criminal propensities. Esquirol, and many others, complain bitterly of the effect of the public press in increasing the amount of cases of maniacal crime. We will not multiply instances, but select one only, as especially interesting in its evident origination from the publication of the details of another case. The follow-



ing extracts are from the evidence given before the Coroner in the case of Mr. Dove of Leeds, accused of poisoning his wife with strychnine:—

“Mr. John Elletson, a pupil of Mr. Morley, proved that on several occasions he had had communications with Mr. Dove at the surgery. On one of these occasions, about a fortnight ago, he began by talking about Palmer’s case. He said he believed strychnia could not be detected after death. I said I thought it could, and mentioned some of the tests. He asked me the effects of strychnia on man. The Coroner: Was anything said about antimony? Mr. Elletson: I think he saw the bottle, and said that was the poison that Palmer used.

“James Peacock said: I am surgery boy to Mr. Morley. I know the prisoner by coming for his wife’s medicines. I have known him since December. I have been present in the surgery nearly every time he came. I was present about four or five weeks ago. Mr. Dove came for his wife’s medicine. He looked at the bottles, and said, ‘Tartrate of antimony,’ and observed, ‘I suppose this is what Palmer killed his wife with.’ On the same shelf was strychnia, and he said, ‘I suppose they can’t test strychnia?’ I said, ‘Yes, they can.’ He replied, ‘They can test all mineral and vegetable poisons but strychnia.’

“Henry Harrison said: I am a dentist. I have known the prisoner for sixteen or seventeen months. I remember having had a conversation with him two months since about Palmer’s case, at the New Cross Inn, South market. He sent for me about two months since. I read aloud Palmer’s case in the bar in his presence. He said, ‘Could I get him any strychnia?’ I said, ‘Not for the world.’ I had another conversation with him about strychnia at the same house, about half-past two last Thursday. He sent for me to the same house, and I went there. He asked me, ‘If they could detect a grain or a grain and a half of strychnia?’ I said, ‘Why, have you given your wife some?’ He said, ‘No, but I have spilt some.’ (Sensation.)”

Can anything more strongly illustrate the evil tendency of the publication of scientific and other details? The particulars constantly retailed, also, in the papers, as to the state of health and mind, the deportment and general conduct of notorious criminals, are the strongest inducements to many weak-minded persons to take the same means of acquiring notoriety. Add to this, that not many days ago we met, in one of our most extensively circulated papers, with a popular account of the *precise method of making strychnine*, and we need say no more to show the fearfully evil influence which an unregulated press is calculated to have on society.

2. The influence which the Pulpit exerts is of two kinds, negative and positive—the lack of proper, and the actual existence of improper, teaching. On the former point, we shall allow the Church to speak for itself:—

“It is impossible to doubt, or to conceal, that very much of the

preaching of the present day has been defective in those qualities which the character, temptations, and sins of the times require. There has been, in many quarters, plenty of vague generality, and semi-sentimentalism, but very little of definite practical teaching and intelligible counsel. What is called, *par excellence*, the preaching of 'vital godliness,' has dealt very little with the real life of men, women, and children, in detail, day by day, and hour by hour. Conventional language, conventional thought, and conventional feeling, have been excited and cultivated; but these are, in many instances, wholly ineffective, or inadequate for the real battle of life, with the world, the flesh, and the devil, in all their varied and ever-varying disguises, temptations, and deceptions. To what purpose is it to preach, Sunday after Sunday, on 'imputed righteousness,' to the man who is contemplating forgery to supply his extravagance; or upon 'justification by faith only,' to those who are about to ruin their friends or neighbours in order to sustain their own credit; or upon the 'errors of Popery,' to those who are knowingly selling adulterated articles, or using short weights and measures; or upon the doctrine of Predestination, to those who are ill-treating their wives, and bringing up their children like heathens? We fear that in many cases we have exchanged what was sneered at as mere 'moral preaching,' for something which, in its practical effects, allows a good deal of immorality to go on, unrebuked by the clergy or by conscience."—*English Churchman*, 28th Feb. 1856.

With regard to positively improper teaching, it must be acknowledged that there are few now, who, like that renowned street preacher mentioned by Mr. Villette, who exhorted his hearers to become like Jack Sheppard; but perhaps the following incident indicates a state of morbid craving after effect not less objectionable. For obvious reasons we mention no names, but vouch for the correctness of the occurrence. A wretched man, W——, committed in cold blood a most atrocious crime, for which he was afterwards executed. A minister visited him, and hoped that his counsels were not thrown away. On his return home he assembled his congregation and preached, in a style of by no means contemptible eloquence, a sermon upon the penitence and pardon of "this poor erring yet suffering fellow-creature"—depicted his tears and his sighs, and his reminiscences of his young days when he went to the Sunday School—the manner in which their joint petitions had ascended from that cold cell to the Throne of Grace; and all this, in a manner so acceptable to his audience, that very many were taken out in hysterics. It was not long before one of that district, if not that very congregation, was tried for a crime similar in nature, and for which he could give no reason, but that W—— had done so before.

3. With great caution would we comment upon the influence which the Bar may have upon the spread of crime. We are not

prepared to suggest any remedy—our law recognises no man's guilt until it is proved, and all are equally entitled to such defence as the law allows. But knowing how powerful an incentive to crime is the love of notoriety, let any one glance over the impassioned address of Mr. Kelly to the court, in the defence of Frost, on a charge of high treason—the glowing eloquence of Mr. Phillips, labouring under the withering disadvantage of the confession of Courvoisier's guilt—the pathetic appeal of Mr. Robertson in favour of Alex. Alexander, tried for the crime of forgery—or the thrilling and soul-stirring peroration of Mr. Whiteside's defence of Smith O'Brien—and then let him consider whether to be thus spoken of, would not be, to hundreds, a strong incentive to go and do likewise.

4. The encouragement which the Legislature gives to crime is derived from the *uncertainty*, and in many cases the *insufficiency* of punishment—from the publicity and notoriety encouraged in such punishments (for it is a common saying, that one hanging produces twenty)—and from the growing unwillingness to inflict capital punishment even for the most atrocious crimes. On this subject, a writer already quoted, after commenting upon the duty of the authorities to repress and punish crime, has the following observations:—

“While we are upon this part of the subject, we cannot forbear referring to a very recent case in which, it appears to us, the Home Secretary has utterly set at nought such considerations as these, and the duty of increased faithfulness in punishing prevalent crimes. Contrary to every principle of law and justice, and to general expectation, the man who murdered his wife at a friend's house in the Minories, last Christmas, has been reprieved. Without impugning the Royal Prerogative in this matter, we boldly assert that Her Majesty has been very badly advised—that it was a most flagrant case, and that the lives of many wives will be thereby exposed to a greatly-increased danger. The man was a simple murderer—nothing more and nothing less—and as justly deserved death as nine murderers out of ten who have been executed since the Divine sentence of death for murder was first pronounced. A reprieve in such a case goes far to make murder a mere lottery, as to the infliction of death as its punishment. And this comparative impunity for wife-murder occurs at a time when not only murders of all kinds abound in the land, but when both secret and open brutality towards wives (and other women) has arrived at a pitch which, we believe, has no parallel in the previous history of this country. Mercy to man is murder to woman in such a case.”—*English Churchman*, 28th Feb. 1856.

5. The uncertainty of Science, both mental and toxicological, is a fruitful source of evil. The public press teems with illustrations of this position perpetually; we have scientific evidence



for the defence, and scientific evidence for the prosecution, almost as formally as we have counsel. The Staffordshire papers announce that Mr. Palmer's defence is to be *purely scientific*! On one of the most important points now before the public—the detection of a subtle and powerful poison—the most eminent men are at variance. That they should differ amongst themselves in the details of a science not yet perfected, is quite natural; but that these things should be allowed to go forth to the world, so that men may screen their enormous vices under the wing of science, is a phenomenon so monstrous as to be scarcely credible.\* In the plea of insanity, also, the law is so vague, and the opinions of psychologists are so at variance, that whilst one man, who is only more accomplished in crime than his fellows, is acquitted as insane, we have occasionally the sad spectacle of a maniac dangling in a noose upon our gallows! These things are a disgrace to science, and *these* at least are susceptible of some alteration for the better. If there *be* three men in the kingdom upon whose opinion the nation and our rulers can depend, surely, if formed into a permanent commission to inquire into the state of mind of supposed lunatics, their verdict would be much more satisfactory than that of a jury puzzled by the conflicting and desultory statements of casual witnesses, medical or otherwise. If there *be* three men, who are capable of conducting an impartial chemical investigation, how much more weight and conviction would their unbiassed analysis carry to the minds of all men in disputed cases of poisoning, than are attained by the present defective and vicious system of professional evidence!

Our work is done. It is ever a painful task to dwell exclusively upon the delusions and crimes of mankind; but it is in the *aberrations* of intellectual and moral nature that (as in other sciences) we must seek the clue to their normal laws. We have attempted to trace these aberrations, and have here met constantly with the conviction that man, who has an *individual* responsibility, is the plaything not only of *his own* passions and instincts, but through the laws of his being, also of those of others. We have seen that through these same laws, and others of still more profound and complex operation, large masses are likewise subject to evil influence, from the caprices or vices of one. In attempting to trace the causes of these phenomena, we have ventured to intimate that our press has a liberty which amounts to

\* A singular instance of scientific special pleading once came under our own notice. A case of poisoning by arsenic was under investigation; the poison was found in the stomach in a large quantity, but the chemist employed *for the defence* asked the writer of this paper, if he had ever heard of the fumes of arsenic, which had been used amongst the whitewash for the wall, acting as a poison, as he intended to found the defence upon the opinion that the deceased did not die from what had been taken into the stomach, but from that used upon the wall!!

license ; that our spiritual teachers are lax in their duties ; that science is prostituted to evil purposes ; and that our legislature is not entirely free from the imputation of adding *its* quota to the encouragement of crime. All this forms a problem of vast importance to humanity. Wise and thoughtful men are looking earnestly into it, and attempting its investigation ; and we, in this imperfect sketch, have but wished to add our mite to the endeavour, by inquiring into the history and conditions of the past, which is indeed “the interpretation of the present, and the prophecy of the future.”

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#### ART. VII.—ON SOME UNRECOGNISED FORMS OF MENTAL DISORDER.

BY FORBES WINSLOW, M.D.

(Continued from page 90.)

I NOW proceed to cite a few illustrations of this *type* of undetected insanity. A lady, who up to the age of forty-three was never known to manifest anything resembling a passionate disposition or a bad temper, became, after the birth of her last child, subject to paroxysms of overpowering and ungovernable passion, induced by the most trifling and apparently insignificant causes. This continued for several years, her state of mind never being considered otherwise than sound. I had several opportunities, after her morbid condition was recognised, of observing her fits of rage ; and certainly I never witnessed any demonstrations off the stage so truly appalling. Her intellect was not deranged, *id est*, there was no *aberration of idea* in connexion with the case ; there was no appreciable delusion, no perversion of the affections, and no hallucinations of the senses. Her mental affection manifested itself solely in these sudden paroxysms of intense passion. These attacks generally occurred once a week, sometimes only once during the month ; but for a short period she had them more frequently. They were almost invariably preceded by vertigo, pain in the occipital region, and a dimness of vision. It was the presence of these physical symptoms that led to the supposition of the existence in this case of some undetected cerebral mischief. I ordered leeches to the head, a few days in advance of the expected paroxysms ; regulated the bowels and secretions, and thus greatly diminished the intensity of the passionate excitement, but failed in entirely curing the case. Dr. Cheyne refers to a somewhat similar instance in his work on “Partial Derangement of Mind



associated with Religious Impressions." He says, a friend of his was one day riding with a clergyman of refined manners, who for many years had been devoted to the service of God. To the amazement of his friend, his companion, without any adequate provocation, fell into a paroxysm of ungovernable fury, swearing at a wood-ranger, and threatening him with vengeance, because he had been dilatory in obeying an order which he had received relative to a matter of little importance. Had (observes Dr. Cheyne) this fact become public, all the devotedness to his profession, for which this excellent man was distinguished, would by many have been considered as assumed, and his habitual humility of demeanour, arising from a sense of his own unworthiness, as the result of hypocrisy. It appears that this gentleman had a short time previously undertaken a duty which led to over-excitement of the brain. He was quite conscious of the incongruity of his conduct. It appears that his only brother had died in an asylum. I have a young lady under treatment whose only appreciable morbid condition is that of being subject to violent and uncontrollable fits of passion. These attacks frequently occur during the night. The poor little creature is painfully conscious of her sad infirmity, and assures me that she struggles heroically against it. We sometimes in practice see a modified form of this affection exhibiting itself in a bad, morose, and capricious disposition, called by Dr. Marshall Hall, who has seen several of these cases, "*temper disease*." This affection is not, however, confined to the female sex. A celebrated member of the House of Commons, now dead, had periodical attacks of this nature, particularly after his brain had been overwrought. I was informed by a particular friend of the gentleman to whom I refer, that he once saw him in a terrible paroxysm of fury after making an election speech. He was perfectly conscious that at these periods he was temporarily beside himself. He was in the habit of dashing cold water over his head during the fit, and occasionally when suffering from much physical exhaustion he has been known, with great benefit, to drink at a draught a pint of port wine. The celebrated Spanish General Galvez was subject to attacks of this nature. A bottle of claret was his remedy. It immediately composed his mind, probably, as Dr. Rush remarks, by overcoming a weak, morbid action, and producing agreeable and healthy excitement of brain. Would not, adds Dr. Rush, a dose of laudanum have been a better remedy for the purpose? A young gentleman was thrown from his horse, and fell upon his head. For ten minutes after the accident he continued in a state of coma. Since his recovery he has been subject to fits of passionate excitement. These attacks are generally preceded by severe headaches. His mental faculties do not appear much, if



at all, impaired, but he continues to suffer from these morbidly painful ebullitions of temper. Prior to the injury, he exhibited the most extraordinary degree of self-control and equanimity of temper. Dr. Beddoes refers to the case of a lady, who, after her recovery from an attack of brain fever, became extremely irascible. This was the reverse of her natural disposition. She made herself so offensively disagreeable to all her family, that her husband, a most amiable and self-denying man, was compelled to separate himself from her, and abandon his once happy fireside.

A somewhat similar case I visited in consultation with Dr. Webster. In this instance the lady was in the habit, during her paroxysms of passion, of seizing hold of her husband's hair and tearing it out by handfuls. This poor fellow has often come to me in great distress, having a full assurance of his wife's insanity, beseeching me to protect him from her acts of insane violence. She was clearly disordered in her mind, but neither Dr. Webster nor myself could detect, in our consultations with her, sufficiently conclusive evidence to justify us in signing a medical certificate authorizing her confinement. We both lamented that, owing to a defective state of the law, we could not grapple with the case; but in this, as in numerous anomalous instances of disordered mind, we felt that nothing could be done, and matters must be allowed to take their course.

I have referred to a certain morbid mental condition, exhibiting itself exclusively in acts of cruelty and brutality. This form of unrecognised disorder may exist unassociated with delusion. There is much of this latent and undetected alienation of mind in real life, producing, within the sacred precincts of domestic life, great irregularities of conduct and a fearful amount of domestic misery. It often coexists with great talents and high attainments, and is compatible with the exercise of active philanthropy and benevolence. The ordinary actions or conversation of those so affected, in many cases, would not convey to a stranger an idea of the existence of such a sad state of the intellect. Howard, the celebrated philanthropist, affords an unhappy illustration of this type of disorder. He is represented to have been a tyrant in his own house. His cruel treatment caused the death of his wife. He was in the habit, for many years after her death, of doing penance before her picture. He had an only son, whom, for the slightest offence, he punished with terrible severity. He was in the habit of making this son stand for hours in a prescribed grotto in the garden. The son became a lunatic, as the result of this brutal treatment. Several similar cases have been brought under my observation. In one instance, temporary confinement was resorted to, but without positive advantage.

The paroxysms of ungovernable brutality returned immediately after the patient's return home.

A lady, moving in good society, happily married, accomplished, well educated, of sweet temper, and with a mind under the controlling influence of religious principles, manifested, at the age of forty-five, an extraordinary change of character and habits. She became irritable from trifling causes; was continually quarrelling with her husband and servants; discharged her tradesmen, accusing them of acts of dishonesty; and offended many of her most intimate friends and relations by her cold, and often repulsive manner. This state of mind continued for two years, during which period she played the capricious tyrant within the sphere of the domestic circle. Her husband became nearly broken-hearted; his friends and relations could not enter his house without being insulted; he neglected his business, and his health became seriously impaired from constant anxiety. A new phase of the malady, however, exhibited itself. She one day accused her husband of gross infidelity. Proof was demanded. She immediately produced several anonymous letters which she had received, containing a minute, circumstantial, and apparently truthful account of her husband's misconduct. These letters appeared to substantiate, as conclusively as such documentary evidence could do, the accusations. No person doubted the genuineness of these letters. Her friends, however, refused to recognise, even at this time, her actual morbid state of mind. She subsequently had an epileptic seizure, followed by partial paralysis. I then saw the case. Her cerebral condition being then apparent, she was removed from home. It was now discovered, beyond a doubt, *that this lady had written the anonymous letters to herself, accusing her husband of infidelity,—had addressed and posted them, and had eventually become impressed with the conviction that the letters were actually written by a stranger, and contained a true statement of facts.* They had, as it afterwards appeared, been concealed about her person for nearly six months!

Not many months back, I was requested to visit a lady, who, after a painful and dangerous accouchement, exhibited, without any adequate exciting cause, an inveterate feeling of hatred towards one of her children. She treated this child with great and systematic brutality; and to such an extent did she carry this morbid and unnatural feeling, that her husband was obliged to remove the child from the house, and to place it under the care of a relative in a distant part of the country. I had no doubt at the time that this person's mind was disordered. Such was my written opinion. The idea was, however, repudiated by nearly all the members of the family, who obstinately closed



their eyes to her sad and melancholy condition. The only evidence that existed, at that period, of mental disorder, was her unnatural alienation of affection, and her brutal conduct towards one of her children. This state of mind appeared unassociated with any appreciable delusive ideas. Three weeks had scarcely elapsed since my first consultation in this case, when I was informed that this lady had made an unsuccessful attempt at suicide. It was then obvious that she was not in a sane state of mind, and her family no longer hesitated in placing her in a private family, under close restraint. We occasionally observe evidences of this morbid state at a very early period of life, and it is indicative of an original organic defect in the constitution of the intellect.

I cite the following case from the *Times*:—Thomas Pepper, fourteen years of age, a pot-boy, a clever lad, but of sullen and morose disposition, committed suicide by hanging himself in an arbour in his master's bowling-green. It appeared from the evidence that the mind of the deceased was peculiarly formed, his conduct frequently evincing a predisposition to cruelty. He had been frequently known to hang up mice and other animals for the purpose of enjoying the pain which they appeared to suffer whilst in the agonies of death. He would often call boys to witness these sports, exclaiming—"Here's a lark; he is just having his last kick." He had often been known to catch flies and throw them into the fire, that he might observe them whilst burning. He had also been observed, whilst passing along the street, to pull the ears of the children—lifting them off the ground by their ears; and when they cried out with pain, he would burst out into a fiendish paroxysm of delight at their sufferings. Witnesses deposed that about four years previously, when only ten years of age, he attempted to strangle himself, in consequence of his mother having chastised him. He locked himself up in a room, and, when discovered, life was nearly extinct. I refer to this as an illustration of a *type* of mental disorder arising from a congenital mal-organization of the brain and intellect. This morbid disposition may be either connate, hereditary, or may be the *sequelæ* of disease affecting the healthy condition of the brain. It occasionally supervenes upon injuries of the head.

Mr. Shute, surgeon, of Mecklenburgh-square, consulted me respecting a youth whose whole moral character had become completely changed in consequence of a severe injury that he had sustained. This young gentleman, when of the age of eighteen or nineteen, was attacked by fever. In a paroxysm of delirium he sprung violently out of bed, and severely cut his ankle; considerable hæmorrhage followed. After his recovery, his whole moral character was found to have undergone a com-



plete metamorphosis. From being a well-conditioned boy, kind and affectionate to his parents, steady in his habits, sober, of unimpeachable veracity,—he became a drunkard, a liar, a thief, and lost all sense of decency and decorum! His intellectual faculties were unaffected. He was clever, intelligent, sharp-witted, but his every action was perfectly brutal. This boy, prior to his illness, was known to hang with endearing affection round the neck of his mother; but after this sad change, I have seen him attack her with brutal and savage ferocity. This patient was for some years in close confinement. He was subsequently sent abroad; but during a voyage to the East Indies he mysteriously disappeared one evening from the quarter-deck of the ship, and is supposed to have committed suicide by jumping into the sea. We occasionally meet another *type* of unrecognised mental disorder. I refer to cases in which there appears to be a *paralysis of the moral sense*. Such cases are not inappropriately termed moral idiots.

A young gentleman, who had been greatly indulged and petted at home, exhibited, shortly after going to school, a morose, cruel, and revengeful disposition. He quarrelled with the other boys—committed several petty acts of robbery, accusing others of being the culprits. He pursued his studies with intelligence, and was generally at the head of his class. His conduct became so systematically brutal, savage, and untruthful, that his father was requested peremptorily to remove him. The gentleman under whose care the youth was placed, was induced, by the earnest persuasions of the father, to withdraw his request and retain the boy. For several days he was noticed to be unusually taciturn. He was perceived to be busily occupied one morning in writing: being called suddenly out of the room, his letter was examined, and it was found to contain the details of a plan he had carefully concocted for the murder of one of the other boys, towards whom he entertained feelings of rancorous animosity. His letter was written to a boy who had left the school for misconduct, and who appeared to be his confidant. He had procured a long, sharp-pointed bodkin, which he intended, whilst his victim was asleep, to drive into his heart by means of a hammer which he had in his possession. In the letter, giving a minute description of the contemplated murder, he says—“*To-night I will do for the little devil.*” This boy was immediately placed under the care of his father, and at the advice of an eminent provincial physician, he was, without loss of time, subjected to close restraint. I am informed, that there is now no doubt of his insanity. I did not see this case myself, but I obtained these particulars from the father of the young gentleman who had so

narrow an escape of his life. If this youth had committed murder, what would have been the verdict of the jury?

N. B., *ætat.* sixteen, of singularly unruly and intractable character, selfish, wayward, violent without ground or motive, and liable, under paroxysms of his moodiness, to do personal mischief to others. He was not, however, of a physically bold character. He was of fair understanding, and exhibited considerable acuteness in sophistical apologies for his wayward conduct. He made little or no progress in any kind of study. His fancy was vivid, supplying him profusely with sarcastic imagery. He was subjected at different times to a firmly mild and to a rigid discipline. Solitary confinement was tried, but to this he was impassive. He was sent to school, where he drew a knife upon one of the officers of the establishment, and produced a deep feeling of aversion in the minds of his companions by the undisguised pleasure which he showed at some bloodshed which took place in the town during a political disturbance. He manifested no sensual disposition, and was careful of property. His conduct became worse, and more savagely violent to his relatives. It is recorded that, at the early age of thirteen, he stripped himself naked and exposed his person to his sisters. I am indebted to Dr. Mayo for this interesting illustration of what I term moral idiocy, or congenital depravity. When referring to this painfully anomalous class of affections, the late Dr. Woodward, Physician to the State Lunatic Assylum of Massachusetts, observes,—

“Besides a disease of the moral powers there seems to me to be in some cases something like moral idiocy, or such an imbecile state of the moral faculties from birth as to make the individual irresponsible for his moral actions. The persons to whom I refer have rarely much vigour of mind, although they are by no means idiots in understanding.”

A boy under Dr. Haslam's care, only thirteen years of age, appeared to possess no one of the moral faculties, and yet he was conscious of his lamentable state; he often asked, “why God had not made him like other men.” Has not Shakspeare placed in Edgar's mouth a faithful portrait of this class of case? When delineating his own character, Edgar exclaims,—

“I was a serving man, proud in heart and mind,  
That served the lust of my mistress's heart,  
And did the act of darkness with her;  
Swore as many oaths as I spake words;  
Wine I loved deeply, dice dearly:  
I was false of heart, light of ears, and bloody of hand;  
Hog in filth, fox in stealth, wolf in greediness,  
Dog in madness, lion in prey.”



A boy, in early life, was struck violently upon the head when at school by a brutal fellow employed as usher. He was partially stunned, but recovered from the effects of the injury. When of sufficiently advanced age, he joined his father in business. He became subject to attacks of headache, particularly if exposed to much anxiety. For some months he continued sullen, was often absent from the counting-house, became the associate of the lowest class of society, and was detected in abstracting several large sums of money from his father's private desk. In this condition he remained for seven or eight months, no one suspecting the morbid state of his intellect. One morning whilst sitting in the counting-house, he suddenly seized one of the clerks by the throat and attempted to throttle him. A severe scuffle ensued. Upon separating the combatants, it was discovered that the gentleman's mind was obviously affected. He became suddenly, as it were, demoniacally possessed. He poured fourth a volley of filthy oaths, and an amount of obscenity appalling to those about him. There appeared no impairment of the reasoning powers, of the memory, or reflective faculties. He suddenly lost all perception of truth, decency, and propriety. I saw this poor fellow in several of his paroxysms, and must confess, if I were disposed to believe in the possibility of demoniacal possession, I should cite this case as one illustrative of the fact. I have referred to instances of unrecognised monomania floating upon the surface of society. I am acquainted with two existing cases of this form of mental disorder where disease of the mind is not suspected. The affection exhibits itself in unreasonable and morbid hatred to one member of the family. One child, without any valid reason, is ostracised by his mother from home, in consequence of her morbid hatred of him. In the other case one out of a large family is treated with great harshness, and occasionally with cold neglect, by his only parent. In both these instances, I have no doubt some monomaniacal idea exists, but is unrecognised. Having been consulted in one of these cases, I have recommended the son to whom, unhappily, the concealed delusion relates, to issue a Commission of Lunacy, with the view of protecting his pecuniary interests. On all other points, no mental infirmity can be detected; and with regard to her other children, her affections remain intact. I feel quite assured that this lady has no ground for this unnatural feeling. These latent and unrecognised attacks of monomania frequently lead to overt acts of violence, crime, brutality, and suicide, and very often to alienation of property, no departure from healthy mind being suspected. A few years back, I received a summons from Mr. Gilbert Abbott A'Beckett, the police magistrate, to examine a case of alleged insanity. It appears that a labouring man had committed several serious



assaults, and had consequently been arrested by the police, and temporarily confined. This man was examined by a medical gentleman, who pronounced him to be a lunatic, without being able to assign sufficient specific reasons for such an opinion. Mr. A'Beckett had, on more than one occasion, investigated the case, and had taken the evidence of the medical man referred to, but could detect no insanity in the man's appearance or conversation. The medical gentleman asserted it to be his belief that the prisoner was insane, but could give no satisfactory reason for this opinion beyond the man's apparently unreasonable conduct and mad acts of violence. I obeyed Mr. A'Beckett's summons, and had to examine the prisoner publicly in court. It was not until after the expiration of nearly half-an-hour that I obtained any semblance of a clue to the actual state of the man's mind. I subsequently discovered that he was unequivocally a monomaniac. He believed that a strange person, having evil designs upon him, was in the habit of placing daily a small pill upon the mantelpiece of his bed-room; that this pill (which he was compelled to swallow) contained an ingredient that greatly excited him, destroyed all power of self-control, and led him to commit the acts of violence of which he stood charged. His insanity then became obvious, and Mr. A'Beckett, without any hesitation, signed a warrant committing him to an asylum. It appears that this poor fellow had been severely punished on previous occasions for different acts of violence, no one suspecting the existence of mental disorder. It was not until I had subjected him to a close and rigid examination for nearly three-quarters of an hour, during which the lunatic showed extraordinary ingenuity in parrying my questions, that I could establish, with satisfaction to myself, the presence of this monomaniacal idea. Let us charitably hope, that many extraordinary and apparently unreasonable and motiveless acts of brutality, violence, cruelty, passion, and crime, that appear to result from trifling and inadequate exciting causes influencing naturally weak, badly-organized minds, may have their origin in some latent and concealed insanity, and arise from a morbidly uncontrollable and unrecognised mental delusion. Is not the sad history of crime fraught with illustrations of this kind?

*(To be continued.)*

## Part II.

## Foreign Psychological Literature.

*On the Detection of Doubtful Insanity.*

OUR German contemporaries are, at the present time, much occupied with the consideration of doubtful and simulated insanity, and its relations to responsibility, as regards the law and crime. A work, entitled "*Reiner Stockhausen*," has been published by three physicians—Doctors Böcker, Hertz, and Reichart—which has excited much interest, and which has brought forth a great number of illustrative cases, and many critical comments, not only upon the case, so far as regards the suspected simulant himself, Reiner Stockhausen, but also upon the modes of investigation made use of and the criteria adopted for the solution of the question. The subject is so important that we shall extract freely from the ample details before us, prefacing the account of Reiner Stockhausen by some cases and observations on the subject of simulation generally, by Dr. Snell, director of the Asylum at Eichberg. He observes—

"That the detection of simulation is a very weighty and important task for the physician; for although the general rules to be applied are sufficiently familiar to all, yet in actual practice the difficulties are very great; and he believes that more is to be learned from cases than from general directions.

"CASE 1st.—In the house of correction at Eberbach some years ago was a young criminal, who to avoid punishment feigned madness. He worked no more, danced about his cell, sung unconnected words and melodies, and kept up a perpetual humming and growling to himself. He put on a fixed and stupid stare when any one entered his cell, and looked only by stealth at visitors, chiefly fixing his eyes on the wall or ground. To any questions he gave either no answer, or a determinedly incorrect one—thus: How many days are there in the week?—*A.* Ten. When I asked him, Do you know who you are? he answered that he did not know *me*, and had never seen me. On being pressed to say who I was, he said 'A man.' He would not acknowledge to recognise any of his daily associates. The simulation was too plain to admit of doubt; and finding that it availed him nothing, he shortly relinquished it.

"CASE 2nd.—Peter U., an unmarried man, twenty-seven years old, was accused of perjury. After he had been two months in prison, he suddenly showed a complete change of conduct. He either would not answer questions, or answered quite astray; he lay apparently asleep on his bed the day long; jumped up suddenly, and ran screaming about the cell; begged to be set at liberty, as 'his dying mother was calling him;' cried 'Fire' when a light was brought, and often pointed to his forehead, and said all was not right there. He was considered insane and sent to this institution."

Here follows a lengthy account of his personal appearance and general conduct, and after that the verbal examination, wherein is manifested the overstrained determination not to approach rationality at any point:—

"*Q.* What is your name?—*A.* Anton U. *Q.* Where do you come from?—*A.* Ems. (He lived really in Schlossborn.) *Q.* How old are you?—*A.*



Twenty years. Q. Why have you been put in prison?—A. Because I stole 2000 florins from Rothschild in Frankfort. Q. How did you accomplish it?—A. I got in at the widow, and broke the gold chest open. Q. With what did you break it?—A. With my hands. He did not know the pastor, the school-master, nor the burgomaster of his dwelling-place, nor what number of brothers and sisters he had. He always gave false answers as to what he had eaten, &c. I made him read, write, and count; the two former he did, omitting letters and syllables irregularly; he counted 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, &c.; twice three was seven, twice six fourteen, three times seven sixteen. Being now convinced of his simulation, I tried to induce him to confess it, but every means failed. Nothing remained but to report to the authorities my opinion. It was evident to me that the bewildered and stupid look of the accused made a more powerful impression on the spectators than my scientific conclusions. On the strength of these, however, he was sentenced to two years' hard labour, and on the very day of the judgment ceased his pretence of madness. I visited him afterwards, and found him perfectly sane."

"CASE 3rd.—Katherine R., a widow, bought a house, and afterwards seemed to repent it. In order to set aside the sale, she pretended insanity. With two other *experts* I was appointed to examine into her state of mind. We found a fine old woman, who was partly blind from cataract. Her features expressed indifference, her eyes cast down, but a certain *unrest* not quite concealed thereby. We were told that she could not read or write; she counted 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 18, &c. How many fingers has each hand?—Four. How much is twice two?—Six. How many children have you?—Nine. (She had seven.) How long has your husband been dead?—Ten years. (It was only five years.) Do you know your daughter here?—what is her name?—Yes; Babette! (It was Katherine.) What year is this?—I don't know. How long is it since Christmas?—I don't know. You have bought a house, have you not?—No; I know nothing of it; I have a house, why should I buy another? Some people wished to buy *my* house. Do you know the Ten Commandments?—what is the first?—I am the Lord thy God. And the second?—I am the Lord thy God. And the third?—I don't know. The same to the fourth. And the fifth?—Thou shalt *not* honour thy father and mother. Convinced of her dissembling, we reported accordingly, though against the testimony of fourteen witnesses, two of them medical. The cause was decided against her, and immediately after that her pretence of insanity ceased. She was committed to the house of correction for perjury."

Dr. Snell adds the following comments on these cases:—

"For the regulation of simulated insanity, it is a favourable circumstance that those who attempt it have ordinarily not the least conception of the true phenomena. They believe that everything about them must be perfectly different from all other men. They must not know any one—must not read, write, or count correctly. On this account it occurs that uneducated people seldom recognise real alienation of mind (unless extreme). Speaking of one in such a condition, they say that 'he cannot be insane; he knows every one, and conducts himself as an understanding man,' and only indicates oddities. They conceive that an evil spirit must enter into all the insane, and change every act and feeling of life. Where they see thought, reflection, and a knowledge of right and wrong, they think that no insanity can exist; whereas *all* these are seldom wanting (at once) in the insane, and they are frequently very highly developed. On this rock most simulants will split, as is seen in the three cases quoted."

Dr. Snell recognises the increased difficulty of detection in cases where an obstinate silence is preserved, and relates an illustrative case, where he still remains in doubt. It requires, however, great



self-control permanently to resist all inducements to speak. Two points are dwelt upon as especially worthy of attention.

1. As at the *beginning* of insanity, there is most frequently great disorder of the *emotional* faculties as well as the purely intellectual ones; so if these last appear to be disordered, without any of the former class of symptoms accompanying the onset, the circumstance is *suspicious*.

2. Sleeplessness is perhaps one of the most difficult symptoms permanently to counterfeit. A careful consideration of the physical functions is also absolutely necessary for a correct diagnosis.

We proceed now to the case of Reiner Stockhausen, related by the three above-named physicians. The details are drawn from the work alluded to—from the *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie* for October 1855 and January 1856, and from the *Correspondenzblatt* for December 1, 1855, and January 31, 1856:—

“R. St. was born near Bonn, about 1797–9. When he was seven years old, his mother married again, and it appears the stepfather was not kind to the boy. St. was of a lively temperament, full of tricks and jests, but could not bear ill-treatment. He soon left his mother’s house, and took to a vagabond life. Sometimes working, sometimes idle, he passed through vicissitudes innumerable. On one occasion, he drove post to his native village (Oberwinter), and scattered gold among the people as he passed. Then he made as a common soldier the campaign of 1815. He returned to Neuwied as a captain’s servant. He married, and on account of a theft was condemned to three years’ punishment. In 1820, he went to America; but after his wife’s death at Amsterdam, he returned to Holland, and made his living by hawking crockery, day-labouring, and smuggling. He was again convicted of stealing, and from 1828 to 1832 was condemned to labour at the fortifications. Again, from 1839 to 1850, he was imprisoned in Cologne for theft. When liberated, he drank deep and gambled, and appeared altogether a brutal, degraded wretch. On the 17th of December, 1850, he was again arrested for theft, and gave his name to the magistrate as ‘Carl Löwe,’ from Bacharach. Again, on the 14th, he gave the same account. Being recognised by another prisoner, and charged with being the often-punished Reiner Stockhausen, he replied, ‘I know nothing any more.’

“On the 8th of January examined, his answers were quite astray. Q. Do you know Joseph Weber? A. I pay no more—now it is done. Q. Do you not remember being imprisoned with him in Cologne? A. One hundred cost ten groschen, and I don’t sell it for less. Q. What is your name, and where do you live? A. Poniatowski, born at Bernsone, eighty years old.

“January 22.—Gave his name Salentin, answered incoherently in French to some questions, and ultimately gave his name again as ‘Carl Löwe.’

“February 4.—To all questions remained obstinately dumb. Dr. Böcker being called upon to give an opinion upon his state of mind, pronounced him a simulant. Between this time and the assizes (June 13) there was a great change of demeanour. He ate very little, and complained much of flying pains in the stomach, chest, and head. He became very filthy in his habits. He answered uniformly to questions, ‘It is all gone, all sold; I have nothing more; shoot me dead.’ At the assizes, Dr. Böcker and Dr. Hertz were present as witnesses. The former declared that the demeanour of St. was abnormal, but that it was probable he was simulating insanity. The latter suspended his judgment, not having had sufficient time. The case was adjourned to the next assizes, and Dr. Reichart appointed to join his report to that of the other two. We need not quote the examinations at length,—all his answers were

quite unconnected and wild. One of the bystanders was one hundred years old; he himself was six days old; his bed was a ship; a small coin was a general's decoration, &c. Afterwards, he became monosyllabic in his replies, but murmured to himself unconnected snatches of his previous answers. He became morose, and tried to kill his keeper; he ate very little and slept very little, and that restlessly; he was very dirty in his habits, but showed no disgust at anything; he witnessed a post mortem examination without any apparent impression; he was submitted to the influence of chloroform, without any light being thrown on his condition. In September, 1851, the above-named gentlemen gave their reports, separately.

"Dr. Böcker declared that, *apparently*, Stockhausen was not labouring under insanity, and that the symptoms were *probably* simulated. Still less did he suppose that there was any insanity at the time of his last theft.

"Dr. Hertz gave a doubtful and guarded opinion.

"Dr. Reichart gave it as his opinion, that though it might be *possible* that the abnormal mental manifestations were feigned, *apparently* they were not so; that Stockhausen was then deranged, and that at the time of his theft he was not fully sound in mind.

"On account of these diverse judgments, the court decreed that St. should be placed in an asylum, until his state of mind could be more perfectly investigated. He was taken on the 23rd of November, 1851, to Siegburg. Here, according to Dr. Jacobi, he kept perfect silence, speaking on no inducement, or only answering questions by an inarticulate and somewhat fearful growling. He refused all nourishment, except a little bread, and abstained from all employment. He *propped* about his cell unweariedly, and indulged in many fantastic gestures. After some time, and after the use of the cold douche, he became somewhat more rational; he ceased growling and gesticulating, took his food, and answered questions in the same strain as before. He complained then bitterly of his treatment for a small crime, to which (he said) hunger had driven him.

"He was by degrees brought round, and placed first amongst the *quiet* insane, and then in the convalescent wards, in which he took some share in the ordinary occupations. Ultimately, he appeared as a peaceful, tolerably conversible, intelligent man. He took care of the fowls of the institution for the last few months of his stay there. He became excited greatly, however, so soon as any conversation turned upon the causes of his arrest, or upon his state of mind.

"On the 23rd of November, 1852, when St. had been nearly a year in Siegburg, Dr. Jacobi gave his final opinion that St. was *simulating insanity*, and founded his judgment upon the consideration of the scientific division of insanity into its various forms,—amentia, dementia, idiocy, &c., with none of which Stockhausen's state of mind was found to correspond.

"On the 17th December, St. was brought again before the assizes. His examination lasted twelve hours. On the question of the president, What is your name? he answered, 'You know all things,—you know my name,—you are God.' This answer he returned with little variation to many of the questions. His other answers were equally incoherent.

"Dr. Jacobi and Dr. Reichart gave conflicting evidence as to the mental condition, each stating the grounds upon which such evidence was based. The jury, however, returned a verdict of *Guilty*, and he was condemned to fifteen years' house of correction. The sentence seemed to take little effect upon him, but some days after he told the president, who asked him why he so conducted himself, that he was usually clear in his head, but not always,—that in Siegburg, every one had irritated him greatly; that the douche baths made him desire to put an end to himself, &c. &c. Since this time, he has led a quiet life, as much secluded from all his companions as possible, with occasional



outbreaks of violence, but usually peaceable and diligent. The above-named gentlemen have visited him, and had long conversations, which have ended in each being confirmed in his own view. Dr. Hertz is now quite decided on his simulation, Dr. Reichart equally so on his insanity."

Dr. W. Jessen, in his criticism on this work (*Ueber Psychische untersuchungsmethoden*, *All. Zeitsch. für Psych.* 1855) has some observations upon the method employed respectively by the four examiners to ascertain the state of his mind, which (whether strictly just or not we do not venture to say) are instructive, and from which we may gather these methods themselves. He says:—

"1. The method of Dr. Hertz is ancient, and was till recently the most in use. He sets before himself the question of simulation or real insanity, goes unprejudiced to the inquiry, but only considers the isolated phenomena, and sees in them reasons *for* and reasons *against* simulation. These reasons he compares and weighs, and thereby seeks to determine whether the evidence or counter-evidence be the stronger. This method is bad, inasmuch as the examination of particulars has a tendency to put the *whole* state of mind out of sight and consideration; and this objection becomes ever more weighty, the greater is the acuteness brought to bear upon the examination. Hence the difficulty, and hence the hesitation expressed by Dr. Hertz. This method is justly becoming obsolete.

"2. The method of Dr. Böcker is coming more into use, although it is the worst of all. He also sets before himself the question of simulation, but seems to *pre-suppose* this, and only admits the idea of insanity when this fails in proof. (Many reasons are given at length, for repudiating this method, and much blame thrown upon the trial of experiments, as with chloroform, &c., in such cases,—upon the supposition of simulation.)

"3. The method of Reichart is strictly opposed to the last, inasmuch as he seems to pre-suppose insanity, and only to admit simulation on failure of proof of the former. It partakes of the error of the former method, in being amenable to influence from prejudice, but is a much more just and philanthropic method of inquiry.

"4. The method of Jacobi, in its essential difference from all others, is perhaps not readily comprehended, but is frequently, and perhaps exclusively, used by the highest authorities in psychiatry, as Damerow, Ideler, Jessen, and others. Jacobi does not make the question one of simulation, but founds it upon the condition of the mind generally (*Seelcuzustand*)—viz., whether this be sound or unsound. To decide this, he does not lay especial weight on *any single phenomena*, but upon the *general mental aspect*, which he then compares with the *well-known and recognised forms of mental aberration*. As he believed then, that the condition of mind of St. did not accord with any of these, and as it appeared to him, that all the symptoms were accounted for by the hypothesis of a perverse and neglected character, he declared him *not insane*. We believe, nevertheless, that St.'s state of mind comes under a *certain form* of derangement, and that Jacobi was in error; yet this error did not arise from the method, but from accessory circumstances. One source of error exists in the supposition that the classification of insanity made use of in this case embraced *all possible forms*, which is far from being universally acknowledged. Yet this system, when complete, promises not only to be the most scientifically perfect, but the most practically useful and simple in its application."

This question of simulation is now still further complicated; it is not merely, "Is A. B. of sound or of unsound mind?" but "May he not be of *unsound mind*, and yet dissembling insanity?" In the



*Correspondenzblatt* of January 31, 1856, we find a paper entitled, "Can the insane simulate insanity?" The writer appears to think those in the wrong who, on finding any symptoms of simulation, at once conclude on the absence of mental aberration. We see daily instances of attempts to conceal the mental and bodily condition, and, on the other hand, to feign the existence of pains and sufferings of various kinds.

"The question arises, then, 'Can the insane simulate, not only a bodily, but a mental disturbance?' They can, and they do, if they conceive that the reputation of madness will be of service to them,—and because they, in their insanity, think themselves *not* insane. They place a mask of insanity over the already unsound mind."

The writer concludes his paper by a reference to the case which we have detailed at such length.

"We cannot give a better illustration of our opinion than the case of Reiner Stockhausen, related by Doctors Böcker, Hertz, and Reichart. It is beyond all doubt that St. was a simulant, and therein we agree with Herz and Böcker; but he *was also insane*, and therein we are of the opinion of Reichart. The book is an extremely instructive one, and teaches clearly the important lesson, *that madmen can simulate madness—that simulation and insanity do not necessarily exclude each other, but that they may and do often co-exist.*"

Dr. Damerow, one of the accomplished editors of the *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie*, has some profound and excellent observations, bearing on this subject, with reference to the neutral ground between sanity and insanity, in the October number of that able journal, p. 643. For the present, however, we must leave the subject.

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### *Suicide amongst Children.*

(From the *Annales Medico-Psychologiques*.)

M. DURAND FARDEL states, that amongst 25,760 suicides observed in France from 1835 to 1844, 192 were under sixteen years of age—1 in 134—19 each year. This number seems considerable: our ideas of suicide seem so incompatible with childhood, that we can with difficulty bring ourselves to look upon facts of this nature otherwise than as monstrous exceptions to general rule. The study of them will not be without interest and advantage.

We are left without further particulars of the above-mentioned cases, as to age or circumstance; but we have ourselves collected twenty-six examples of suicide in children from five to fourteen years of age.

One was five years old, two were nine, two were ten, five were eleven, seven were twelve, seven were thirteen, and two were fourteen years old. Seventeen were boys, seven girls, two not mentioned. Amongst twenty-two of them, ten were drowned, ten hung themselves, and two broke the neck. All the girls were drowned. Five of the twenty-six failed in the attempt. Of these last, a woman, mentioned by Esquirol, who had thrown herself into the water at nine years of age, did the same at forty. M. Falret relates the history of a woman affected with suicidal melancholy from the age of twelve years; and of another who, from the age of ten, made frequent attempts at self-

destruction, which succeeded at forty-five. "I know at this time," says Gall, "a young lady, well educated and well brought up, who, at the age of four or six years, when shut up as a punishment, tried to kill herself. She is always awaiting death. She considers it a misfortune to have relatives or friends, since death must soon separate them." We learn from these examples, that however long a time may have elapsed after a first attempt of this nature, there is always a fear of its recurrence. The inadequacy of the motive is often very surprising. One boy of nine years killed himself after having lost a bird; another, of twelve, because he was only the twelfth in his class at school. Sometimes the reasons are more serious. A boy of fourteen years was accused of having stolen a snare for birds, and threatened with imprisonment. He continued to work for a few days, and then hung himself. A child of eleven years old drowned himself, because his mother committed suicide.

In many cases of childish suicide, it appears to be in consequence of punishment or ill-treatment. A child of thirteen years, only son of parents in easy circumstances, was reprimanded and struck by his father. The next day he went to see his companions, and said—"I have been struck by my father: he will not do so again; I am going to drown myself." They laughed at this, supposing it to be a joke; but he effected his purpose, and was found twenty-four hours after drowned. A little girl, eleven years old, was promised by her father a reward if she executed her task well, but threatened with a severe punishment if the contrary. She left home early in the morning, and walked to the quay of St. Bernard. There she met a neighbour of her father's, who asked her where she was going; to which she replied, she was on an errand. All at once she threw herself into the river, but was rescued, after a determined effort to get under a boat.

A child of five years old threw himself into the Elbe, on account of his mother's ill-treatment of him. The suicides of children are almost always remarkable for their *sang-froid* and premeditation. It is certain that before puberty, the idea of death is not accompanied by that sentiment of horror which often, in more advanced life, preserves from suicide. Up to a certain age, children do not comprehend death; somewhat later, they scarcely feel the horror of it. We have seen many children die who were old enough to know that they were about to quit this life; yet we have never observed any expression of terror or despair. On the 7th of March, 1836, Henri Fournier, æt. 12, was sent by his mother for a watch, which he broke. He was sent to bed at 6 p.m. with a piece of dry bread. At 10 o'clock his little sister was sent to see if he was asleep; she returned with the answer that he was. At 6 o'clock the next morning a woman entered his chamber and found him hung. He had made a rope of two cravats, and hung himself to a nail in the wall, climbing up by a wardrobe. Every one bore testimony to his mildness and intelligence; he never complained of ill-treatment, except by once observing that he got punished whilst his sister was always pardoned.

The next case appears to have been without motive, so far as could be ascertained, further than that the boy's uncle had committed suicide a month before under circumstances very similar. Is it an instance



of that peculiar spontaneous impulse, called suicidal monomania? or is it merely the result of that powerful principle, imitation?

Benjamin Ricard, æt. 11, was sent by his father to gather cherries, instead of which he returned home, where he met his sister at the door, and told her he had come for a bottle for his father; she replied she had just broken the key in the lock, and did not know how to get in. He then got a ladder and mounted up to his father's chamber. After some unimportant events, he left the house, but soon returned, and having got quit of his sister, he *traced some crosses on the wall*, and wrote on the window-sill with charcoal, "o sadiou de Francois Benjamin Ricard, qui s'est pendu atacher au rido de sa mère." He then hung himself in his bed-room, where was found also a *bottle of holy water*. These circumstances are particularly noticed, because the uncle had before his suicide traced three crosses on the wall, and placed near him a bottle of holy water.

Some years ago, there occurred in the arrondissement of Montargis a double event, as inexplicable as the last related. Pierre Chaumeron, æt. 11, had been playing, on the 2nd of July, 1847, with two children of his own age, as cheerfully as usual. On their returning home, the two said they would call for him shortly to take a walk. In about a quarter of an hour they did so, but he was found hung to a nail in an outer wall, quite dead. It was impossible to account for this act by any past circumstances. He had never suffered any annoyance; he had been in his usual spirits and habits up to the time of the act. It is clearly ascertained that he had no vicious habits—no precocity of temperament. The cause of this suicide remained a mystery. A boy of the same district, aged 14½ years, had followed Pierre to the grave, as a chorister. During the ceremony he was heard to say, "I must hang myself also," and it was laughed at as a jest, though an inopportune one. Four days after the death of his young companion—he had been absent about a quarter of an hour from his parents,—his father wishing to speak to him, sought and called for him, and ultimately found him hung to a nail in the wall, in a precisely similar place and position to that in the last case. There was no assignable cause for such a deed: it would seem to arise from the impulsive necessity to *reproduce in his own suicide* the circumstances which had so much affected his imagination in that of his friend. M. Durand Fardel dwells, after the detail of these cases, at considerable length upon some of the causes which may influence suicide in children; amongst which he ranks chiefly punishments, ill-treatment, and defective education. On the latter subject he urges especially a system of intelligent, and not mill-like, training; showing how necessary it is not only to *educer* those faculties which are inactive, but also to attempt judiciously to repress those which, by an abnormal vivacity, are likely to lead their possessor into evil. After commenting upon the production of suicide by punishment, he proceeds—

We find, in the *Comptes Généraux*, that in the space of nine years, from 1836 to 1844, there were in France 132 suicides attributed to ill-treatment by parents. Special observations show that these cases occur in all ranks of society. Children are everywhere the same in



their affections and impulses; difference of condition has not yet had time to work the specific changes. Everywhere children are found who cannot support brutality, injustice, or even the absence of tenderness. That children but rarely commit suicide is not for want of courage, but that the idea of death does not readily occur at this age.

"But," asks M. Fardel, "is there not a suicide a hundred-fold more sad than that which merely cuts off a life yet new? Children, in whom an evil system of education has once developed this spirit of resistance, this their only protest against the blind authority which oppresses them—these children are almost always ruined for the future destined for them. Whether the intelligence is arrested, or whether the tendency is to crime, all the instincts of oppressed feebleness develop themselves at the expense of the more generous impulses; and they afford to us examples of useless and vicious characters, which, under a more intelligent training, might have been the ornaments of society."

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*The Theory of Automatism, with the Manuscript of a Monomaniac.* By  
M. BAILLARGER, Physician to the Salpêtrière.

(From the *Annales Médico-Psychologiques*.)

"It is more than ten years since I propounded for delirium in general, and hallucinations in particular, the theory of automatism. The more I observe the insane, the more I am convinced that it is in the *involuntary* exercise of the faculties that we must seek the 'point de départ' of all delirium. As soon as cerebral excitement comes on, the subject of it becomes incapable of directing his ideas—the ideas *impose themselves*, and he is forced to *submit* to them. Drawn onward every moment by these spontaneous and involuntary ideas, he ceases to be able to *fix* his attention on anything. After vainly striving against this power which oppresses him, he generally comes to wrong conclusions; for instance, he attributes the suggestions which besiege him to another being. What adds to this belief is, that these ideas are often totally opposed to all which he has had in his sound state.

"We know that nothing is more frequent than conversations in dreams, and it is not surprising that there should be the same antagonism of ideas when the exercise of the faculties has become *involuntary* in the waking state. The resemblance is rendered more complete by the thought often appearing to be articulated internally. Hence sometimes the singular illusion of a voice in the chest or stomach. Their *duality* becomes distinct; there is double thought, and, as it were, two distinct natures."

The writer of the MS. which M. Baillarger gives in illustration of automatism, was a young man who, by severe study commenced rather late, and by onanism, combined with a naturally feeble and irritable constitution, had reduced himself to the deplorable mental condition set forth by himself.

The earlier pages of the MS. describe the more ordinary experiences of an extremely nervous temperament—shyness, uneasiness, and dread of all sorts of dangers. The first indication of *duality* is perhaps to be found in this expression—"I often used to see myself dead, and assisted in imagination at my own burial." The sight of a corpse produced a violent effect upon him, always preventing him from sleeping.

"During the time of which I speak (from sixteen to twenty-seven years of age), I never went to rest without thinking of death—often convinced that I

should die during the night. I foresaw a thousand dangers, fearing to go blind, or to break a leg or an arm simply in walking.

"A man in the enjoyment of natural thought occupies himself with many different and new ideas; he reads, and retains the sense or general impression of what he has read. If any idea does not suit him, he dismisses it, &c., but I cannot do so; I cannot rid myself of my constant ideas—death, the cemetery, the grave, God, and religious ideas."

The following is a remarkable passage:—

"Deprived of natural thought, and of intelligent reflection—if I may so express it—I cannot have any consecutive idea; I cannot occupy myself with any given subject; I am not capable of a moment's attention. *It is matter which has always thought within me.*"

"What (says M. Baillarger) is all this but the automatism of dreaming transported into the waking state?" He further describes himself as incapable of reading, or taking any interest in anything—"c'est comme l'eau qui passe sur la roche de la rivière."

"After passing a day in reading and studying, I asked myself what I had read. I knew nothing; nothing remained with me. One remark, or rather discovery, I have made, which is—that I have never read, like others, with my head; but I have *articulated inwardly* the words, whilst my mind was incessantly occupied with a thousand irrelevant matters." "In attempting to recall a letter which I have written, I must *articulate* word for word the phrases I have used, or the ideas themselves will not return." At last this process becomes necessary in conversation. "My thought, before being expressed in words, is *formularised* internally; do you understand that?" Again: "There is in my chest or stomach as it were a tongue, which articulates internally. Ordinarily when one wishes to write a letter, the head thinks, the intellect is at work; but with me, the head is of no use: it is the stomach which is at work; c'est cette langue intérieure *qui formule*. I regret not to be able better to explain this sensation."

The next passage we present without translation:—

"Privé de cette pensée instinctive et naturelle à tout homme, je ne puis livrer mon esprit à aucune occupation, je ne suis capable d'aucune attention, ma pensée a changé de siège; tout n'est que matière chez moi, *c'est la matière qui pense*. Ma pensée gît, il me semble, à la poitrine, à l'estomac; je suis portée à croire qu'il y a chez moi *une double pensée*, car il s'opère en moi comme un *contrôle*; il y a comme un autre moi-même qui inspecte toutes mes actions, toutes mes paroles, comme un *écho* qui redit tout, et me représente constamment tout ce que je fais ou tout ce que je dis."

It remains (says M. Baillarger) to indicate the explanation which the patient gives of these phenomena. Instead of seeing in all which he felt a state of illness, he reproaches himself with having by his own fault deviated from the right way. "Little by little I discovered the frightful truth. My existence divides itself into two parts. I lived an ordinary life up to my seventeenth year; but at this epoch I went out of the place assigned me by nature. I followed a false path; j'ai compromis tout mon être moral."

To prove more fully that he has lost his intellectual faculties, and that their functions are performed by the stomach, he says:—

"The proof that I have no *intellectual* thought is, that after having read or written a long time, my mind has never felt fatigued. I have been obliged to cease because my back pained me; the body, matter, demanded repose: but



the mind, thought, never." "A last proof of the same position is this, that if I possessed intellectual faculties I should go mad. A long time ago, when I was, or believed myself to be, in life, I had the idea, without any reason for it, that I should become insane. Now I know, that being deprived of intellectual faculties, I cannot become so."

M. Baillarger concludes thus:—

"The patient had delirious ideas besides those of a hypochondriacal nature. He attributes to himself all unfortunate events; amongst others, the earthquake in 1839. He believed that he could never die, and that the most virulent poisons would be harmless to him. He imagined that every one was examining him, and speaking of him; he therefore avoided society. His affection was, in my opinion, hypochondriacal monomania, brought on by seminal discharges, by a debilitating regimen, and by severe study."

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*Practical Observations on the Domain of Psychiatry, with a Retrospect of the last Thirty Years.* By Dr. STEINTHAL.

(From the *Allgemeine Zeitschrift*, 1855.)

DR. STEINTHAL commences by some general observations upon the increased attention bestowed upon mental affections on the Continent during late years, both by the profession and the public; the interest of the latter being evidenced by the vast increase of establishments both public and private for the care and treatment of the insane. Amongst those who by diligence, science, and a philosophic spirit have greatly contributed to the advancement of psychology, he mentions the names of Nasse, Jacobi, Jessen, Flemming, Ideler, Damerow, Bergmann, and many others. Still much remains to be done, and in particular, it is requisite to have a clearer definition of terms, as it appears that the specific forms of insanity have different meanings attached by different writers. Dr. S. considers the classification of Pinel, Reid, and Horn to be the most practically useful—*Mania*, *Melancholy*, *Folly* (*i.e.*, general perversion and weakness of the mental powers), and lastly, *Fatuity* (*Blödsinn*, *i.e.*, abnormal asthenia of the intellect, palsy of the judgment).

If we enter more closely into the inner nature of insanity, it is recognised as an abnormal condition of Thought, of Feeling, and of Will. "Let us ask ourselves," says Dr. Jessen, "whereby we know that a man is insane. We must answer, we know that he speaks, behaves, and acts otherwise than we have known him to do; and as there is no other manifestation of the psychical life than through speech, behaviour (or disposition), and action, so these being abnormal we consider their source morbidly affected." On this Dr. Steintal remarks, that however difficult it may be in some given case to distinguish between the somatic affection (mere hypochondria it may be) and the hypochondriacal melancholia already amounting to insanity, or between the mere moral defect and the actual mental aberration, yet the criteria in Dr. Jessen's simple exposition are clearly pointed out, by which we may distinguish insanity from all other diseases. Hence it is important not to found our judgment merely upon the condition of the patient at the time of examination, but to examine into



the minutest details of his previous life and conduct—a point often overlooked in judicial inquiries, and the neglect of which is productive of serious error and injury.

“Concerning the origin of insanity, no unanimity has been arrived at. Two hostile camps appear opposed to each other, called, according to their principles, the Somatic and the Psychical. The former party are much the more numerous. The principal supporters of the psychical or moral theory, Heinrich and Ideler, differ from each other only in this: that the former seeks the origin of insanity in general sinfulness and criminality; the latter, in excessive or disproportionate excitability. Amongst the supporters of the somatic theory, some consider that the brain, as the seat of thought and the source of action, is *always* and *exclusively* the seat and origin of insanity; others, that it may be produced by disease and suffering of any other organ. Acknowledging myself as one of this party, I must go a step further, according to my individual experience, and seek the chief source of insanity in affections of the abdominal viscera—acknowledging, however, that the abnormalities of thought, feeling, and will have their *dynamic* seat in the brain. The overpowering majority of cases treated by me, induce me to attribute the origin of the affection to disease of the digestive organs, and the genital system in the female, and only in a proportionately small number to diseases of other organs, the brain included. Even in cases where, during life, it was scarcely possible to detect any physical anomaly; and when the most prominent reasons seemed to point to a psychical origin; the result of opening the body after death has announced the somatic source of the malady in a very unexpected manner.”

In the remarks on *proximate cause* there is nothing of peculiar interest. Hereditary predisposition is mentioned as the most important,—and as an illustration, the writer mentions that in one family he himself treated ten cases, and that four or five others were related to him. Under the head Prognosis, Dr. S., after alluding to the difference between public and private treatment, especially urges the necessity of *never, under any circumstances*, relinquishing the hope of cure.

He considers, as to treatment, that there has been no advance, but rather the contrary, during the last thirty years—at least so far as medicine is concerned. He likewise enters a protest against the utter exclusion of all methods of coercion; and states, that in his hands, the happiest results have occasionally followed the judicious use of the strait jacket and the rotatory chair. On moral treatment, he says:—

“Decidedly I differ from those who would cure the really insane by so-called *rational* appeals, through religious representations, or methodistical religious practices. Scarcely a single case is known to me, where an evident insanity was checked in the bud by reason, by religious appeal, or by any direct psychical influence. It is quite different when the patient approaches convalescence.”

He disapproves *in toto* of the water-cure for insanity—it only produces mischief.

Much stress is laid upon the direct and indirect somatic treatment, and upon the absolute and negative psychical influences. The general observations are concluded by a brief notice of quinine and opium as curative agents. The author has not generally found much benefit from them. The cases mentioned by Dr. S. are extremely interesting, but too lengthy for quotation. They are chiefly directed to the illustration of the somatic origin of affections of the mind, and in par-

ticular to the important part which the diseases of the abdominal organs play in the production of aberration. The first is especially instructive, being the case of an old woman (sixty-two), who without any particular bodily affection, *i.e.*, without any defined illness, became affected with melancholia passing into mania, apparently owing to mental trouble, grief, two unhappy marriages, and the like. There was no very especial bodily derangement accompanying the insanity—it seemed a clear case of aberration, dependent purely on psychical causes—yet after death scarcely an organ in the body was found in a normal condition. It might be objected that these morbid changes were the cause of *death*, not of insanity; but most of them were evidently of long standing.

*On the Causes of Insanity.* By M. TRELAT.

(From the *Annales Medico-Psychologiques*, 1855.)

M. Trelat comments strongly upon the danger of concluding hastily upon the causes of insanity:—

“A fact exists—we wish to know the cause. Why not take one, almost by chance, in the immense ocean of deceptions, of troubles, of torments of every kind, which agitate humanity! It is always easy to accuse *the unknown*. Misery is great, its privations are cruel; violence, ambition, love, envy, cause many and great sufferings! Is there not sufficient here to account for loss of reason?”

“We are not of this opinion; and although we occasionally recognise the influence of an unexpected disaster, of a great misfortune, a violent fear, a disappointment in love; of transports of jealousy, of an excessive abuse of the intellectual powers; we do not hesitate to consider madness from these causes as very rare exceptions.

“Man has been placed in the world with a necessity for labour, with its trials and sorrows; he has received appropriate armour,—vigour, patience, and courage. Unhappiness is rife everywhere—it is the history of man. Strife, more or less painful, is the condition of his existence. Great and prolonged sufferings give a marked superiority to those who endure them. There is nothing more feeble and inefficient than the man who has never suffered. The most persistent adversity has its limits; courage has *none*.

“We believe much more in *internal* causes than in those which are *without*.”

ILLUSTRATIONS.

“CASE 1.—S., æt. 36, falls upon his head, feels no inconvenience at the time, but four years later is seized with melancholia, which is attributed to the fall. On inquiry, it is found that there are three insane persons in his family.

“CASE 2.—Madame C., æt. 30, made an unhappy marriage, and suffered much sorrow. She showed symptoms of insanity, which rapidly increased. This was attributed by her friends and her medical adviser to her domestic troubles; but the first inquiries elicited the facts that her mother was insane, and her grandmother had been so.

“CASE 3.—A young English girl, living in Paris, was forsaken by a young man who had promised her marriage; she became insane. The victim inspired much interest; which, however, diminished, when it became known that long before this, she had taken to excess intoxicating liquors. This tendency was the result of a morbid state; she died consumptive,—*her mother died insane*.



"CASE 4.—Madame R., æt. 40, had passed a life full of care; the death of her husband threw herself and two young children into great sorrow and poverty. She was attacked with epilepsy and great mental derangement. She had an insane sister. Her daughter had many attacks of epilepsy. One of her nearest relatives was epileptic. It is in *herself*, not in her misfortunes, that the root of the evil is to be sought."

Many other, and even more striking cases are adduced to show that the cause of mental derangement is internal and personal, and not adventitious. The writer dwells at some length upon a very interesting series of four cases, females, who were all attacked with insanity, whilst fulfilling the same, or analogous functions, as superintendent of the insane in the prison of St. Lazare.

"This series of facts of the same nature, in the same place, in so short a time, calls forth very serious reflections. Does madness then propagate itself by imitation? Did not their chances progressively become less and less, by seeing the fate of their predecessors? If this be so, nothing can be more perilous to the reason than exercising any functions about the insane. Should not the physicians themselves be as liable to such attacks as the inferior officials?"

"Observation does not support these views. Although these four, who seemed by their age, their physical health, and by every indication of a fine moral organization, to promise long and useful services, had been struck in so similar a manner, we must not be led away by the superficial appearance of the facts.

"It was a pure coincidence—all these had had insane members in their families respectively—one, a sister; another, an aunt and a grandmother; the third, her mother; the fourth, many relatives. Two of the four had had previous attacks of insanity."

The circumstances in which these four persons were placed must, however, be considered as exciting causes, although there was a strong original or constitutional tendency.

"In pointing out the hereditary origin of insanity, we pretend to no novelty. Our examples are chosen from those which abound in insidious appearances, in causes sufficiently numerous and satisfying, to turn us from any further search. There is the danger. Distrust the first aspect of facts—if you only wish for probabilities, you may always have an abundant supply. Where is the man, whose life does not include a sum of sorrow, of misfortunes, or of deceptions, sufficient to *explain*, by the ordinary and received rules, any derangement of intelligence? Were the sentiments and intellect of man given to be unemployed? You make man of too little a stature.

"Labour, calamities, torments, persecutions; strife in all its forms—these are not the source of man's misery—they are his riches and the glory of his character. It is not here that is found the germ of deterioration and death—it is the germ of life and of development.

"The imbecile and the idiot, who do not strive—who think, feel, and suffer little—they have a short life. The intelligent and the strong, whose combat is rough, are generally gifted with long life."



## ON CRIMINAL RESPONSIBILITY.

BY ROBERT HUNTER SEMPLE, M.D.,

*Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, Physician to the Northern Dispensary.*

THE records of our criminal jurisprudence are fertile in instances in which the most atrocious crimes are perpetrated by persons who are absolved from responsibility on the ground of insanity. The mind is horrified at the tale of a mother cutting the throats of her helpless infants as they lie slumbering in their beds, or of another parent hurrying away her progeny in the darkness of the night, and drowning them in the river. These persons are acquitted, and no doubt properly, because they are irresponsible for their actions. But in another case, a man of apparent respectability and good education entertains a groundless suspicion that a clergyman, with whom he had been formerly acquainted, had formed an improper connexion with his wife; and acting upon this delusion, he procures a pistol, balls, and other ammunition, travels down to the village where the clergyman is accustomed to preach, and enters the church with the obvious intention of murdering the preacher; but by a fortunate accident he leaves at the inn the bag containing the loaded pistol, and brings into the church another bag which does not belong to him. Thus his murderous intention is frustrated; but as the abortive attempt is only a sequence or an accompaniment of a series of threats directed at the unoffending clergyman, the latter brings his tormentor to the bar of justice; yet upon a verbal promise to desist from annoyance (a promise which is not kept), and upon his finding bail for his good behaviour, and for his appearance when called upon to receive judgment, the accused is allowed to escape.

I cannot help feeling that cases like the above, which are almost of daily occurrence, deserve the most serious attention, not only of the profession, but of the public at large; and the opportunity is an appropriate one to offer a few remarks upon the difference between Insanity and Crime, upon the practice of the legal profession in the cases now under consideration, and upon the duties of the medical practitioner when placed in relation with insane persons, either before or after their appearance at a criminal bar.

Although it may seem plain enough at first sight to distinguish insanity from crime, the fact is that the boundaries which separate the one from the other are by no means accurately defined, and the difficulties of the subject increase as we proceed in the investigation; and those who are in the habit, like some superficial barristers, of abusing the medical witness because he cannot draw the exact line which divides responsibility from irresponsibility, will find, upon a little investigation, that the difficulty exists in the principles of the law itself, and more deeply still in the very constitution of the human mind. For the aspirations of the law, in its highest development, are directed to the discovery of that abstract principle of equity, which has never yet been

isolated, and like the mind itself, has never been disencumbered from the dross around it. The Roman poet says,—

Sunt certi denique fines  
Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum;

but the boundaries are yet to be discovered, and the abstract principle of right is as far away as it was in the time of Augustus.

In the absence of any defined standard of justice, to which all mankind may implicitly submit, the various nations of the earth have erected standards for themselves, and this standard in each country constitutes what is called the law; and as it often happens that what is lawful in one country is unlawful in another, and *vice versâ*; and as, moreover, the law itself is differently interpreted by its own members, it follows, after all, that the limits of right and wrong are determined in different nations upon certain conventional principles, which are more or less conducive to the general welfare and happiness of the human race, in proportion as the nations themselves are more or less advanced in civilization and refinement.

Now, any person who violates the rules thus laid down by a community for the general welfare, becomes a criminal, and amenable to the law. Thus murder, which robs a person of his life, and theft, which robs him of his property, are crimes, because they are clearly injurious to the welfare of the whole people; but that the mere destruction of human life is not a crime in itself, is proved by the fact, that the slaughter of our enemies in war has ever been considered, in the most enlightened countries, rather meritorious than otherwise; and even in the case of theft, the moral guilt of the delinquent is very much modified by a consideration of the motive which has prompted the act. The wretch who steals a quartern loaf to allay the pangs of hunger has a very different moral responsibility from him who habitually steals because he is too idle to work.

If it is so difficult to give an accurate definition of crime, it is still more so to give one of insanity; and especially since the law vaguely defines insanity as the inability to distinguish between right and wrong; whereas neither the lawyers nor any other human beings can accurately define the meaning of these two words. If I were inclined to sophistry, it would not be very difficult to show that crime itself is a species of insanity; for the law having been made for the good of all, whether individuals or communities, it is clear that he who commits a crime is really injuring himself; and as his so doing is contrary to the common instincts of human nature, he ought to be considered insane.

But it is evident that this idea of the identity of crime with insanity can only be regarded as a metaphysical abstraction, and that its introduction into practice would be attended with the most destructive consequences, and, therefore, in the great majority of cases, criminals are considered as responsible beings, and, as such, amenable to the law of the land. But I think it will be readily admitted that the modern treatment of crime is founded upon the view that it is really an insanity, or, rather, an *unsoundness* of the mental faculties; for many of our prisons are not so much abodes of punishment as schools of reformation; and even in the treatment of our worst criminals, a plan of moral



and physical indulgence is pursued, which certainly makes the lot of the felon more enviable than that of the pauper. I do not blame this system; I only adduce it as a proof that crime is regarded and treated by our legislators as a species of moral disease.

But, again, there is a class of persons who violate the conventional rules of the community in which they live, or, in other words, commit unlawful acts, but who do so without being conscious that such acts are unlawful. This may happen in three distinct sets of offenders:—1st. Among those who have never received any education, and, therefore, are unable to discern between what, in any community, is considered right and what is considered wrong; 2nd. Among those who are idiotic from birth, and who, from possessing small brains, or from diseased conditions of that organ, are reduced to a level with the brutes; and, 3rd. Among those who, having once received some kind of education, and possessing a well-proportioned cerebral development, fall into what is called insanity, or unsoundness of mind.

It is obvious that the first two sets may be dismissed at once, but the great difficulty lies with the third set, and the great problem to be determined is, how to establish the principles which are to shield the criminal from the consequences of his offence, and to transfer his treatment from the discipline of the gaol, or suspension by the halter, to the Medical superintendence of a lunatic asylum.

Upon this very difficult point I have no dogmatical opinions to offer, because every case must be treated upon its own merits, and no rule can be laid down which can be available in every instance. I repudiate the idea that the solution of the difficulty is to be found in the use of the technical language or of the artificial distinctions drawn by the lawyers, and insisted upon by them with such pertinacity, and I might add, ignorance. I even doubt whether *physical* Medical examinations (except in certain cases, as, for instance, where a woman commits a crime while labouring under puerperal mania) throw very much light upon the matter. The pulse of the accused may be tranquil, the tongue clean, the head cool, the secretions regular, and yet he may have murdered his father, his wife, or his children; nay more, I may state as the result of very considerable experience, that insanity may exist to a high degree without any appreciable lesion of the cerebral organs. I say *appreciable*, because I do not deny that some physical changes may exist in the brain in every case of insanity; I only assert, that I do not know what they are, and that the alleged appearances of congestion of the membranes, subarachnoid effusion, slight degrees of induration or softening of the cerebral substance, all may exist in cases where there is no insanity at all, or may be wanting in cases of well-marked and long-continued aberration of intellect. Without at all denying that the brain is the instrument of the mind, I believe that we are still very far from knowing the exact relation which exists between the structure of the one and the functions of the other; and, in the mean time, I attach little confidence to the attempts which have been made from time to time to explain the wanderings of a morbid fancy by reference to supposed physical appearances.

But although the *physical* Medical examination of a lunatic patient



too often throws very little light upon our investigations, the *psychical* Medical examination is a most important and indispensable part of our duties; and apart from the perplexing technicalities of modern lawyers, may and often does lead to correct conclusions with regard to the responsibility or otherwise of the accused.<sup>1</sup> Here we must rejoice that the studies which fit us for our profession enable us to pass the boundaries of matter, and to explore the mysteries of the spiritual world; and difficult as the task undoubtedly is, we must seek by a study of the anatomy (so to speak) of the human mind, for a clue to the morbid conditions of the same powerful principle. We must examine the general character and disposition of the patient; must ascertain the degree of education he has received; must trace the relative importance of his intellectual, moral, or merely animal faculties; must dive as far as possible into his principles of thought and action; must ascertain whether any remarkable change has lately, or at any time, changed or perverted the current of his ideas or of his conduct.

Now, the practical result which I wish to draw from the above remarks is, the improvement of the present practice in relation to what is called criminal lunacy. In the cases alluded to at the commencement of this paper, crimes of the most atrocious character,—murders, by mothers, of their own offspring,—have been undoubtedly committed; and during the trial of both these unhappy women, evidence of a most convincing character was adduced to prove the irresponsibility of the murderesses. But the question naturally arises, if the evidence was so convincing of insanity, *after* the commission of murder, why did no one take the trouble of pointing out the facts *before* human life was so cruelly sacrificed? In one case, it was proved that the prisoner had suffered from milk fever (probably, puerperal insanity), and that her mind had never recovered its tone; and that, moreover, her father was confined in an asylum as an incurable lunatic; in the other case, it was shown that the mother conceived both herself and her children to be labouring under incurable diseases, and that she destroyed them as the most merciful plan of terminating their miseries. Now, can any one for a moment doubt that in both these cases there existed obvious and dangerous delusions? Why did not some of the witnesses, and especially the Medical ones, keep a watchful eye upon the conduct of these unhappy mothers, and thus prevent the commission of horrible infanticide? Why is the commission of murder to be the only valid evidence of insanity?

We believe the answer is to be found in the feeling of the present day, which is almost a morbid feeling,—to allow liberty to every one to the fullest extent, even at the risk of allowing injury to be inflicted on others. I am very far, indeed, from wishing to infringe in any manner upon the great and glorious privilege which belongs to the British subject, of being the uncontrolled master of his own actions; but I maintain, that when the mind of a man falls into a morbid state, such as may endanger the safety and welfare of the community, such a person should be, not punished, but controlled from injuring himself or others. That the present state of the law is culpably lax, by carrying a principle, good in itself, to too great a length, is abundantly evident from the other case to which I have directed attention; where

a man, entertaining a *groundless* suspicion as to the virtue of his wife, utters a series of menaces against the *supposed* adulterer, and follows up his threats by an actual attempt (happily abortive) to destroy an innocent man. If the latter *had* been destroyed, the assassin would of course have been acquitted on the ground of insanity; and yet, because he has not *succeeded* in his murderous attempt, he is allowed to go loose, upon his verbal promise—the promise of a lunatic!

I am quite aware of the difficulty of the subject now introduced; other and abler pens than mine may probably enlarge upon a topic which is fertile in interest to all civilized communities; but my conclusion is, that the law should, if possible, *prevent* lunatics from committing crimes, instead of confining them in a lunatic asylum *after* the crimes have been committed. In the case of the person who attempted to shoot the clergyman, the evidence of insanity is so clear as ought to have rendered it imperative upon the Judge to detain the accused, and place him under medical care; but there are several milder forms of mental aberration which no less require the vigilance of relatives. During last week, a gentleman entered the boxes of a crowded theatre, in a state of intoxication, armed with a revolving pistol (fortunately not loaded), which he pointed at the audience. Can there be any doubt that this person's conduct was of a dangerous tendency? could he have any reason to complain, if, acting like a madman, he should, at least for the time, be treated like one?

What I would therefore urge is, that the whole subject of criminal lunacy should be carefully reconsidered by our statesmen, our lawyers, and the members of our profession; and I say emphatically, that the latter should have a principal share in the deliberations. I have no taste for *dilettanti* noblemen, however amiable and excellent they may be, usurping to themselves the right of exclusive legislation upon a subject which belongs to our profession, and in which our opinions ought to have very great weight. Nor have I any profound regard for legal decisions coming from Judges, who, in maintaining (and properly, within due limits) the liberty of the subject, would allow of the commission of crime.

I maintain that in cases where delusions are proved to exist, and more especially where those delusions may lead to actions dangerous to society, a degree of *surveillance* ought to be exercised. If a man either is a madman, or pretends to act like one, it can do him no harm whatever that his actions should be watched; and even if it should turn out that his malady is temporary, or that his conduct was merely assumed, I cannot understand why he should be otherwise than grateful to those who have kindly interposed to prevent anticipated evil. I do not urge that all such cases should be locked up in lunatic asylums, but I do maintain that they should be carefully attended by competent persons, until their sanity or insanity is completely established. A person who is suspected of picking a pocket, and is taken to the station-house, has no redress if he were not confined from malice, but upon reasonable suspicion; why should a supposed insane person complain, if, in mercy to himself, he is prevented, by gentle *surveillance*, from hurting himself or society.

It is impossible to exaggerate the evils consequent upon the present



practice, which is founded upon a mistaken view of personal rights, and upon the decrees, often arbitrary and often changing, of legal authorities; but the instances have now become so numerous that they are likely to attract attention. Every one must rejoice that the treatment of insanity is founded in the present day upon humane and enlightened principles; but let not this proper relaxation in the severity formerly exercised towards lunatics, lead us into the opposite extreme, and expose the lives of helpless infants, or of other unoffending members of society, to the random attacks of irresponsible assassins, who are proper objects for the vigilance of the State.—*Medical Times and Gazette*.

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#### THE PARISH OF ST. PANCRAS AND ITS LUNATIC POOR.

At a general meeting of the directors and guardians of the poor of the parish of St. Pancras on Tuesday, an official letter from the Secretary of the Commissioners of Lunacy was read to the board. It was accompanied by a Report by Mr. Gaskell, one of the Commissioners in Lunacy, upon his recent inspection of the wards appropriated to the insane and idiotic inmates of St. Pancras Workhouse, and the directors were urged to attend to its recommendations without delay. Mr. Gaskell's Report disclosed a lamentable state of disorder and neglect as prevailing in the wards inspected. He speaks of them as much overcrowded and dirty. In certain wards which were in a former report described as inconveniently crowded when there were 13 men and 16 women in them, there are now 21 men and 45 woman. Eight patients are unprovided with beds; two men slept on beds placed on the forms, and two on the floor of the padded room. The report expresses regret that previous suggestions of the commissioners have been utterly disregarded. The Report, after detailing numerous evils existing in the insane wards of St. Pancras Workhouse, concludes by drawing attention to the following, which they recommend:—1. That no recent case of insanity be detained in the workhouse. 2. That chronic cases on whom restraint or seclusion are imposed be removed to an asylum. 3. That the number of inmates in the idiotic wards be forthwith diminished. 4. That more means of exercise and occupation be provided, and that a larger number of patients be allowed to attend divine service. 5. That a bath be supplied to the women patients. 6. That the better means of washing be provided for the men, and a larger supply of towels and sheets for both men and women. 7. That suitable beds to prevent bed sores be purchased. 8. That better means of cleansing soiled bedding be adopted, and a larger number of bed-ticks be supplied. 9. That the wire-work be removed from the windows in the men's ward. 10. That the women be supplied with suitable books. After the presentation of the Report, it was resolved to appoint a committee of five members, to inquire into the grounds of its allegations. A letter was also read from the Poor Law Board, urging the directors of the poor to lose no time in giving effect to the measures necessary to remedy the serious evils shown in Dr. Bence Jones's Report to exist at St. Pancras Workhouse.—*Times*, March 6th, 1856.

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#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE have embodied in our Retrospect the judicial psychology of the quarter. In consequence of the length of the article on "Moral and Criminal Epidemics," we have been obliged to postpone until July all our reviews, and the communication on Idiocy by the Editor.



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\*\*\* The "*Psychological Retrospect*" cannot, owing to unavoidable circumstances, appear this Quarter. The Editor makes amends for this omission by appending nearly three extra sheets of matter to this number.

THE JOURNAL  
OF  
PSYCHOLOGICAL MEDICINE  
AND  
MENTAL PATHOLOGY.

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JULY 1, 1856.

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Part First.

Original Communications.

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ART. I.—THE PEACE.

FROM the eminent point of view which the happy consummation of peace has led us to, we may survey at our leisure the condition of the European powers. Warned by the past, we look upon the present state of the world with a cautious, as well as a critical eye. According to our conception, the study of *Mind*, in its broad physiognomy of nations and dynasties, of religion and civilization, is the highest point in the study of psychology. In the mental diseases of individuals, we are apt to lose sight of those great intellectual revolutions that break up the harmony of mankind, and involve the individual in the general ruin or disturbance of the whole. Thus, epidemic diseases sweep over wide portions of the earth, like the unchartered winds, and mock at the precautions of legislative quarantine, the rigid performance of *pratique*, and the *cordon sanitaire* of military boundaries. So, likewise, the mental phenomena seldom, if ever, appear in solitary cases, or, if they seem to do so, it is because we are not sufficiently aware of what is going on beyond our immediate sphere of vision, so as to perceive the extensive class of maladies to which they belong, and of which they are only isolated instances. Hence it is that we are so frequently staggered by crimes of the same nature developing themselves simultaneously, or coming, one after another, in different persons and widely separated localities. It is because they are the effect of vast moral changes, in operation over vast portions of the world, originating in occult, but by no means inexplicable causes. The



true spirit of mental philosophy pre-eminently consists in understanding these great epochal psychological variations of the moral atmosphere.

It is no longer possible for this country, nor for any other, to stand isolated and apart from the rest of the civilized world. It is not possible, either, for statesmen or philosophers to act or think as if their own country were the only one that deserved their attention and interest. No nation can any longer pretend to the narrow and exclusive policy of exalting itself at the expense of all others, and of putting itself forward as the model republic, kingdom, or empire, for the rest to copy and work by. That day has passed away, we hope, for ever. The family of mankind are becoming one in thought and feeling; the period of slavery has virtually, if not actually, expired. Our interests are one. Mountains and seas, climates and hemispheres, may mark us off from each other in the many-coloured map of the universe; but our minds no longer recognise the real or artificial barriers between countries, nor the distance of space, nor the varieties of language, nor the peculiarities of manners, nor the difference of creed. It is useless to quarrel about a few hundreds of leagues of territory more or less, and worse than useless to quarrel about faith, which, if it do not amend the morals and correct the heart, is nothing better than an empty sound.

The trials and contests of the last fifty years have brought along with them their own dearly-bought experience, and, it must be added, with a velocity more than equal to a hundred and fifty years in any previous epoch of history. The nations have tried their strength and have failed. They have tottered on their slippery foundations: some of them have crumbled into nothing, while others have literally fallen to pieces. Europe has grown grey in feudalism, warfare, and theological disputes. America, liberal, independent, and young, has arisen out of the dissensions of her tenacious ancestors. *Our* prejudices are *her* freedom. On the other side, the Eastern populations have dwindled away into nothingness, abject slavery, and insignificance. China has potentially fallen; India is the *spolia opima* of Great Britain; and France, after oscillating violently between the two extremes of anarchy and despotism, has, for the present, settled down into a modified imperialism; Germany is still a huge mass of undigested fragments; Austria vacillates between Italy, Hungary, and St. Petersburg; while Russia, who only two years ago was soaring aloft, and motionless like an eagle on the wing, ready to swoop down on the first tempting prey that came within sight of her piercing eye, has fallen, and now lies fluttering at the feet of the two successful marksmen whose well-aimed rifles have brought her to the ground.

Russia has reached a crisis the most momentous to her existence. Situated both in Europe and Asia, she is intimately concerned in the well-being of either continent. Her Asiatic or Mongolian element need not distress her; for, though much too visible to escape detection, it just serves to impart to her that imposing air of superiority and dread so essential to what she has always aimed at becoming—the empress of the world. The testament of Peter the Great, apocryphal though it be, is nevertheless the index of the Muscovite temper; and the aggressive acts of the Czars have at least borne tangible evidence to the probability of its truth. Profiting by a lucky moment, says its fourteenth article, with a large army on land, and fleets at Archangel, in the Baltic and the Black Seas, the Mediterranean may be seized on, France invaded, and Germany subdued: these points gained, and the rest of Europe is ours. Late events are a practical comment on the reality of this *supposed* will of the Czar Peter. A serious inconvenience within the heart of Russia herself has, however, checked the earnestness with which she proposed to secure her conquests,—it is her religion, which retains too many traces of superstition and formalism ever to allow of her adopting any freedom of action in her efforts at political advancement. Peter the Great saw this important obstacle before him at the commencement of his reign. One of his first blows was aimed at the clergy, whose popular influence was incompatible with his own supremacy; and he fancied that with a stroke of this bold kind everything else would bend before him. He changed the Oriental style of dress for the Western—compelled his subjects to wear the frockcoat, and to shave their beards. But acts of tyranny of this childish sort cannot change a whole people at once; and Russia has not yet been able to coalesce with the Western Powers, nor to enter into the *universal* spirit of the age with which the rest of Europe has been so long and deeply imbued. She still remains intact and alone, swallowed up in the vastness of her boundless wastes; nor have her people manifested the influence of Christianity, in the plainest meaning of the word: for we must distinguish between the power of religion over the man, and the predilection of the man for his own religion. The one is a formality, the other a principle. They are two distinct things. It is one thing to observe a fast, or to die for a sacred image, and to carry a picture round the ramparts of a besieged fortress, for the purpose of inspiring or preserving devotion; but it is another thing to experience *that* Christianity which renders both the individual and his nation susceptible of the highest degree of virtue, science, and civilization.

Nevertheless, the Russians are an eminently brave nation—



kind-hearted, intelligent, hospitable, ingenious, and eloquent. Their language is said to be almost devoid of *patois*, or provincialism, from which so few languages are exempt. They are enterprising, fruitful in resources, and patient—crafty and diplomatic. After the defeat of Narva, Peter the Great was not in the least discouraged: “*Je sais bien*,” was his cool remark on first learning the news—“*Je sais bien que les Suédois nous battront long temps, mais ils nous apprendront enfin à les battre!*”—a spirit of diplomacy from which we may do well to take a warning on the conclusion of the *present* peace—*quo tandem?*

The faults of Russia belong to her antique, if not antiquated, form of government, which was Tartar, as much as to her aggressive mode of civilization, which is intensely Russian; and her prejudices and government, both of them dating from the darkest epoch of the world, have not yet been reformed by the just demands of her people, nor remodelled by amalgamation with elements external to herself. The Russian sees his own fate in that of his Czars. With the exception of the late Emperor, Nicholas, their reigns have seldom exceeded thirteen years, while the average reigns of other European monarchs is about twenty-five; and as his Emperors have disappeared, no one scarcely knows how, so he himself disappears from his home, as a conscript or an exile, never more to return to his family hearth! In order to reach the level of general civilization, knowledge, popular freedom, and enlightened administration, a crisis, such as the present, was indispensably necessary to the very existence of “all the Russias.” She could not advance by means of her own inherent vitality; she could not stand still while the rest of the world was advancing; and to recede was a national decease. The blow has been struck—the walls have been levelled with the earth—an open breach has been effected into the very heart of Russia—and the inroad of modern opinions and freedom of thought through the yawning gap is inevitable and irresistible. When the Allies landed at Old Fort, on the 14th of September, 1854, they took possession, not of Muscovite territory, but of the Muscovite mind.\*

\* The *Czas*, the Austrian journal of Cracow, says:—“In the night of the 20th ult., the recruitment of 30,000 men, from the age of nineteen to thirty-five, took place in Poland.” This is the most terrible form of serfdom extant. But the Russian government are already alive to the pressure of the times. A university is to be founded at Nicolaieff. An observatory—arranged for meteorological as well as astronomical records—is also to be erected in the city. Proposals for railway undertakings are already in the market. These reports, if true, speak volumes. The following is from the *Times’* Special Correspondent, April 4th, 1856:—

“The demolition of trenches, works, and houses in the city continues daily and incessantly, so that the south side will soon be as desolate and ruinous as Thebes or Palmyra. Every hour long trains of men pass by with beams of timber and



France, as a great military power, is the first and foremost of the European family. She has never wanted a great statesman nor a great warrior, at her command, or on her throne, from Pepin the Little down to Napoleon the Great. At the same time, she is the most fickle and the most constant, the bravest and the lightest hearted, the most ingenious and the least persevering, the most enthusiastic and the most frivolous, the most erudite and the most superficial, of the chief western powers. Her history abounds with the saddest and the most joyous of anecdotes and annals. The Merovingian, Carolingian, and Capetian dynasties are full of characters as remarkable for their piety as for their vices, for their debaucheries as for their saint-like virtues. It is a tale of romance from first to last, and never palls upon the taste with dullness and inaction. Her chivalry is proverbial. For the sake of liberty, real or imaginary, as it may be, she has changed her dynasty and its titles, her ensigns and her flag, more than once within the memory of some of the present generation. She has been infidel and Christian with the same breath; she has deposed and defended the head of her church in the course of the last half century. Her spirit has

planks on their shoulders, which are taken out of the remains of the White Buildings. Had fire beep rained down from heaven on the devoted city, its annihilation could not have been more complete. The stranger who halts to survey it from the neighbouring heights, deceived by the whitewashed and plastered walls of the houses, might think that Sebastopol was still a city; but when he walks through its grass-grown, deserted streets, formed by endless rows of walls alone, of roofless shells of houses, in which not one morsel of timber can be seen, from threshold to eaves; when he beholds great yawning craters, half filled with mounds of cut stone, heaped together in irregular masses; when he gazes on tumuli of disintegrated masonry,—once formidable forts, and now shaken, as it were, into dust and powder; when he stumbles over the fragments of imperial edifices, to peer down into the great gulfs, choked up with rubbish, which now mark the site of the grand docks of the Queen of the Euxine; and beholds the rotting masts and hulls of the sunken navy, which was nurtured there; when he observes that what the wrath of the enemy has spared is fast crumbling away beneath the fire of its friends, and that the churches where they worshipped, the theatres, the public monuments, are specially selected for the practice of the Russian gunners, as though they were emulous of running a race in destruction with the allied armies,—he will no doubt come to the conclusion that the history of the world affords no such authentic instance of the annihilation of a great city. It is hard to believe that the site can ever be made available for the erection of houses or the construction of docks; but I am by no means certain that the immense resources in the command of manual labour possessed by the Government of Russia, of which this very struggle has afforded us all such striking proofs, in the Quarantine Battery, the Bastion Centrale, the Bastion du Mât, the Redan, the Mamelon, and the Malakhoff, may not be available in time to clear away these modern ruins, and to rebuild houses, theatres, palaces, churches, forts, arsenals, and docks as before. To prevent any successful attempt to use the old materials in the docks, our engineers are now busy in destroying the coping-stones of granite and the larger masses of stones in the masonry; but in the Inkermann ravines there are inexhaustible supplies of building material, which can be floated by the Tchernaya into the waters of the harbour with very little trouble. The immense quantity of cut stone lying in piles at the upper end of the harbour shows that the allies interrupted the Russians in

been subtle in the cause of Christianity ever since she was first called Frank. Warmly attached to her religion, which she never at heart renounced, she has endeavoured to propagate it all over the world. Her missionaries have always supported a high reputation in the most distant quarters of the globe. She alone owns the splendid victory over the Saracens, in the eighth century, which so effectually freed Europe from their grasp. A thousand years ago, the empire of the Franks was the most powerful state in Europe; and for a long period she was the centre of the civilized world. To her the student owes a willing debt of gratitude for her unrivalled works in science and literature, modes of feeling and sound logic; and the scholar and man of taste thanks her for so much that is beautiful, attractive, and instructive in the fine arts. Often buried beneath the agitated surface of external events, her intellectual progress has never ceased, and her history forms an essential and magnificent theme in the life of every civilized community. The dead monotony of the Byzantine court expired in a decreasing scale of moral, political, and intellectual degradation, and the Saracenic sway was but the hasty growth of circumstances unable to survive its

the development of the splendid architectural plans which it was the ambition of emperors to accomplish, and which had engaged every thought and energy of the Muscovite governors of the Crimea. The shells of princely mansions which remained on the French side of the town have been battered to atoms by the Russian batteries on the north side; the theatre has been demolished, and the beautiful church of St. Peter and St. Paul laid in ruins by the same implacable foe, and they have directed particular volleys of round shot and shell on a monument to one of their naval heroes, which stands conspicuously placed in front of a beautiful little kiosk in the midst of a garden, to which there was a fine approach from the place behind Fort Nicholas by a handsome flight of steps, now knocked to pieces. On a quadrilateral pedestal of some pretensions, supporting entablatures with allegorical devices, and ornamented at the summit by a *puppis*, were inscribed when first I saw it the name of "Kazarski," and the dates 1829 and 1834, with an intimation that the monument was erected to posterity in his honour. Most of the letters have been stolen and knocked away now; and had not the fire from the north ceased, the pedestal itself would have disappeared likewise. The French garrison, somewhat harassed by the incessant fire on the town, which, however, did them or us but little mischief, have constructed out of the *débris* of the houses a very neat *quartier* inside the walls, which is altogether new, and presents a very strange appearance from its contrast to the ruins around it."

The subjoined is an admirable description of the Muscovite, Tartar, or Mongolian physiognomy. *Times' Special Correspondent*, April 4th, 1856:—

"There is a wonderful family likeness among the common soldiers. The small round bullet head, the straight light hair, high cheek bones, gray keen eyes rather deeply set beneath straight and slightly-defined eyebrows, undemonstrative noses with wide nostrils, large straight mouths, square jaws, and sharp chins are common to the great majority of them. Their frames are spare and strongly built; but neither in stature or breadth of shoulder do they equal the men of our old army of 1854. Many of the officers are scarcely to be distinguished from the men in air, bearing, or dress, except by the plain, ill-made, and slight swords which they carry from an unornamented shoulder-belt; but now and then one sees a young fellow with the appearance of a gentleman, in spite of his coarse long coat; occasionally a great tall lumbering fellow, who seems to be of a different race from the men around him, slouches along in his heavy boots."



own internal distractions. But the French have, in spite of some dark exceptions to the contrary, exhibited the gradual organization of a Christian state, and the slow development of Christian science, for upwards of ten centuries, and they are as young now in valour and spirit as they were when Clovis held the sceptre and bowed his haughty head before St. Remy at the font, upon his conversion to Christianity, supposed to have been granted to the prayers of his sainted wife, the fair Clotilda.\*

Such are the opposite characters of the two nations that have lately confronted each other in the field, or during the weary siege. When gun was pointed at gun, and trench was dug, and rampart raised against counter rampart and counter trench, how little did the well-disciplined officers who headed the charge, defended the breach, or led the assault, fancy, as they dropped at the cannon's mouth or fell pierced with the sword or bullet, think that they were only fulfilling the destiny of nations, and exemplifying the distinction of races. Their fate will serve to illustrate some curious questions in ethnology, or settle a worn-out date in a doubtful point of history: Sebastopol fell on the 8th September, 1855, and a treaty of peace was concluded at Paris, March 30th, 1856.

In the journals of the day, relating to the peace, there is an air of languor that reminds us of a person that has been over-fatigued. It seems to be a feeling of relief at having been allowed to lay aside a burden beyond his strength. Nor is this sentiment peculiar to this country, for, although expressed in a different manner, it is perceptible on the other side of the channel. The eagerness with which the first proposals of peace were met by the Continental powers is, if possible, more undisguised than

\* *Times*, March 7, 1856:—

"But in France government is neither founded on prescription, as with us, nor on superstition, as in Russia. The qualities which secure obedience in France seem now to be purely personal, and little is gained by birth, unless it be united with those qualities which conciliate the respect and compel the obedience of mankind.

"The lessons of history on this subject are so exceedingly striking and appropriate that it is impossible for an impartial writer to consider such an event as the present without alluding to them. And yet, if we were permitted to dwell in the land of hope rather than in that of reality, how gladly would we believe that in the birth of this infant, at the very moment that gives renewed peace to Europe, we find a pledge for the termination of those incessant convulsions which, from the assembly of the States-General under Louis XVI., have, at longer or shorter intervals, never failed to agitate the Government and people of France! Happy indeed will be the destiny of Louis Napoleon if he succeed, not only in founding his own power on a secure basis, but in transmitting it unimpaired to a son who may inherit the talents of his father, while free from the difficulties and dangers which beset his early path, and raised him only after long suffering and severe discipline to a position in which he has upheld the material interests of France with one hand, and nobly asserted her dignity and pre-eminence among the nations of Europe with the other."



the want of enthusiasm on our part. The English were alive to the fact of their resources being equal to a second, or even a third, campaign, and of the strong probability of their coming out of the last battles far more victoriously than from the first. Nevertheless, they were willing to decline any further contest, and were content to retire in full force behind the bulwarks of their own defences. But it is, also, evident that Russia was exhausted, if not used up, and France, from whatever cause, only too eager for peace. But whether on their side or on ours, two short years of warfare have been enough to damp the warlike ardour of the combatants. It is useless to plead the milder temper of the present age: the truth is, the burden was too enormous to be borne any longer without danger to the whole of Europe.\*

The next power is that of the Turkish Empire, whose interests we have espoused, and with whom we have enlisted ourselves. But it is not the first time that the Turks and Christians have fought together. They were united in the reign of Justinian, in the sixth century, and in that of Heraclius, in the eighth; and then there was the famous alliance of the Sultan Solymán with Francis the First of France, in the sixteenth. But none of these alliances lasted long. Even the cunning treaty of commerce entered into by Venice with Mohammed II., which brought down upon the Venetians the hatred of Christendom, was of a very brief duration. The disciples of Mahomet do not approxi-

\* *Times*, April 2, 1856. Correspondent from Paris:—

“We have already learned by the telegraph how the news has been received in London. I believe I am not in the slightest degree mistaken when I state that the best feeling prevails here among all classes, and almost all parties, at the conduct of England throughout. No one knows better than this people that if there ever was a time when England was prepared to carry on war with vigour, and with all the elements of success, it is the present; that her army is in courage, discipline, experience, and resources such as it has seldom been, and that her maritime force is unexampled, even in her own history. They know, too, now that passion has calmed down, that England has not entered into the present, or rather late war, for selfish motives, and that she was prepared to continue it, not out of any inordinate love for war, any more than for any projects of ambition, but to obtain an honourable peace, which, as the Emperor very properly said, does not inflict humiliation on any one, while it secures for a long period the tranquillity of Europe and the independence of every European state. They know too that the feeling which influenced England was a far purer and a higher one than the vain longing for military glory; and that, while they are proud of having drawn the sword in a just and noble cause, they are wise enough to know when that cause is saved, and moderate enough to be content with having saved it. When, after all, one reflects for a moment on all that Russia once demanded, and all that she has now given up, the peace that has just been concluded can hardly be pronounced other than glorious in its results; and on a calm consideration of all that has occurred since the British and French flags first floated in the Euxine, the man must, in my opinion at least, be unreasonable indeed if he be dissatisfied. Here it is not anticipated that such will be the case, but that in England, as in France, the peace that has been concluded will be found honourable for all concerned, and, because honourable, satisfactory.”

mate to the followers of Christ in any one of their relations. They never have agreed, they never can, and they never will. They are inherently inimical to each other. Our institutions, laws, marriage, mode of government, course of civilization, style of thought, modes of intercourse, habits, dress, and behaviour, are diametrically opposite. As a people, they are immiscible, unapproachable, and antagonistic with ourselves. *We* cannot change, neither can *they*. *They* are Asiatics, *we* are Europeans. We are all energy and adventure—they are all apathy and fatalism. They are to-day precisely what they were in 1454—that is to say, a Tartar camp pitched on the borders of Europe. Hence it has happened that war between us and them is but a matter of course, while peace is a diplomatic fiction, which can continue only so long as it serves the nonce.\*

Had the policy which dictated the Crusades been persisted in for one century longer, not a turban nor a scimitar would have been left on this side the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. They who suppose that the Crusades were nothing more than a Quixotic exploit for the purpose of gratifying an unmeaning spirit of devotion and chivalry, know but little of history. The Crusades, as far as they went, were the salvation of the West; their only fault is that they did not go far enough. The cause that produced them was a stern necessity of the last importance to mankind; and as the late expedition to the Crimea has checked the inroads of Russia upon Europe, so the Crusaders effectually repulsed the invasions of the Saracens and Turks from the East. As far back as the ninth century the Saracens nearly made themselves the masters of Rome and the whole of Italy. Had they succeeded in their attempt, resistance would have been in vain, and the ascendancy of Islamism in the Western hemisphere would have been complete. The Crusades were the only means left for turning the enemy's flank, by descending upon Asia

\* *Times*, April 5, 1856:—

"By the war of 1853 all former treaties with Russia were abrogated. More than one of those treaties had defined the position of the Principalities. The suzerainty of the Sultan—the administration by Hospodars, in the last instance chosen for a term of seven years—the protectorate of Russia—the restriction on the entry of Turkish troops, were all laid down in treaties commencing in the last century, and coming down to the modern days of 1812, 1829, and 1849. All former customs were abolished by these documents, so that it seems probable that, according to Grotius and his brother writers, the Sultan must, now that the treaties themselves are abrogated, resume his rights, 'pure and simple,' with absolute authority. It is this important matter which still remains to be decided by the wisdom of Europe. The Principalities, as the debateable land of the East, with a rich soil, the finest water-carriage in Europe, and a population unwarlike, and capable of being made industrious, is just the prize for which military monarchies are likely to contend. Moldo-Wallachia is now free from the Russian protectorate; it must shortly be withdrawn from Austrian occupation. What is then to follow is the problem for statesmen to resolve."

itself, and carrying the war into the heart of *their* land, instead of suffering them to invade *ours*. The Crusades, therefore, were the result of a policy the most enlightened and far-sighted of its kind, and it was well nigh brought to a triumphant close on the 7th of October, 1574, when Don John destroyed the Turkish fleet in the Gulf of Lepanto. That immortal day broke the Ottoman pride, and undeceived Europe, which fancied that until then the Turkish fleets were invincible.\*

And now as to ourselves. The proverb says it is easy enough to praise the Athenians at Athens; and if we extol our native land, where is the patriot who shall blame us? But let us be candid. Let us look down upon our country from the highest point of sight, and scan its merits, if not its demerits, with the eye of an impartial philosopher.

In the present state of public opinion, with a Reform Parliament, and the great principle of religious toleration no longer a question in abeyance, but a positive agent alive and alert in the bosom of the Cabinet itself, it is impossible that any ministry, formed upon whatever conditions it may be, can hold together for any length of time, unless it act in accordance with these popular and acknowledged data in politics. Trade and intercourse with foreign nations is no longer on the same footing that it was only twenty years ago. Monopoly is at an end;—the free trade with China shows this. Commerce cannot be any longer shackled and restricted by fetters, which, while they gall the many, aggrandize the few. Public opinion is not to be passed over as a mere sentiment of no force, except when it coincides with the policy of cabinets, the prerogatives of princes, or the maintenance of national egotism. The opinions of many are the voice of one—the mind of the ignoble and the pauper is as energetic as that of the wealthy and the noble. The handicraftsman owns a private judgment and a free will as clear and discerning as that of the statesman. The private interests of the world are common property, which can no longer be molested with impunity, nor excluded without opposition from a fair participation in their proper share of the public welfare. The prime minister of the present day must have the courage to face the whole world, and the wisdom to discern that, while it is his first duty to serve his sovereign, it is, at the same time, his most obvious policy to answer the requests, to meet the wishes, to supply the wants, and to ameliorate the sufferings of the totality of mankind. Party is

\* Cervantes was wounded in the battle of Lepanto. (*Don Quixote*, part 1, ch. xxxix. Madrid, 1799, 16mo, tome iv. p. 40.) In the opening of the 2nd part, Cervantes recurs to this famous battle (*ibid.*) with expressions of the greatest warmth. Lord Bacon, in the dialogue *De Bello Sacro*, wonders that Don John was never canonized.



at an end. The watchwords of Whig and Tory have lost their meaning. A new designation is wanting to signify the precise character of Great Britain's line of conduct at the present epoch. During the last quarter of a century the British constitution has undergone a revolution, bloodless indeed, but not less portentous to her future destinies, than was the Reformation by Henry VIII., or the invasion of these shores by William the Conqueror.

The entire repeal of the Corn Laws was but the touchstone to a set of ideas that must eventuate in free trade altogether, just as the Reform Bill was but the overt act of another train of ideas respecting popular liberty, which must eventually end in a modified republic. And so, likewise, the removal of religious disabilities was the act of a great-minded people, proclaiming that a change had passed across the spirit of the age, and put itself at the head of civilization; it dispersed the darkness of the middle ages by acclamation, and showed that it could be religious without bigotry, and right-minded without superstition. It was a noble deed that penetrates to the inmost recesses of the heart. All these questions have come upon us with giant strides, and it is already manifest that their issue is, as far as it has gone, entirely beneficial to the well-being and advantages of the people by whom they have been brought about. Their intelligence and good sense is known to all the world; and our stability in the midst of the revolutions of 1848 is a solid proof of this. England must go forward, for she cannot go back; nay, more, she *is* going forward, and *will not* go back.

Her position as a maritime power, both naval and commercial, is the mightiest the world has ever yet seen. Her colonies are distributed all over the globe; her trade is settled in every port; her flag flies on every sea; her personal bravery is undisputed; her navigation unrivalled; her liberty, both national and individual, large and secure; and the freedom of her press uncompromised, *uncensored*, and unabused. There is no doubt that a population of this description must be powerful, because of its intelligence, and cannot be conquered, because it is not only free itself, but also seeks the freedom of all others. Such is the fourth power recently engaged in the war.\*

\* *Times*, April 2, 1856. Correspondent from Paris:—

"In my letter of yesterday I mentioned that immediately after the signing of the treaty of peace at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the plenipotentiaries proceeded to the Palace of the Tuileries, to communicate the important fact to the Emperor in person. His Majesty received them in the Salon des Ambassadeurs, attended by the officers of his household. When the news was announced, the Emperor is said to have expressed his thanks to the plenipotentiaries for having come in person to him with such agreeable tidings. He observed that the result of their labours during the conferences was the complete realization of the speech delivered by Lord Clarendon in the House of Lords, and that the peace which the allies were determined on concluding was one which carried with it no humiliation to Russia,

The little kingdom of Sardinia, which has played so heroic a part in the contest, ought not to be passed over in silence, without receiving its due meed of praise; and the mention of Sardinia leads us to think of mismanaged Italy, whose fortunes are now trembling in the balance.\* Another congress may have to determine questions whose explosive elements may ignite at a touch, and set the whole of Europe once more in a blaze. It is an instinctive feeling of uncertainty concerning points of this import which cannot be included within the proposed peace, that hangs heavily on thoughtful and foreseeing men, besides the deep and universal consciousness that peace is not the ordinary state of affairs, any more than health is the usual condition of life, or prosperity the rule of fortune, but that, on the contrary, prosperity is liable to be interrupted by reverses, health by disease, and peace by war.

And, after all that has been done, what have we gained by our huge exertions? After the waste of half a million of lives, a hundred millions of money, the destruction of our foe's choicest strongholds,—Sweaborg and Sebastopol,—the sinking of his ships, the capture of his small craft, the petty marauding of his coasts, and the display of our own prowess, what good have we accomplished for ourselves or for the world? Is the world advanced one inch nearer to happiness, freedom, and stability? Is Europe wiser and better than she was two years ago? Is France a greater country, England a more flourishing community, or Russia a less formidable adversary? We pause for a reply; but time only can answer these questions. A story is told of Talleyrand, when he was old and confined to his easy chair, listening to a popular tumult in the streets of Paris. To the sound of the tocsin and the discharge of the musketry he beat the tattoo on the table before him, murmuring to himself the words "Nous triomphons!" "Who is victorious?" asked those

and which did not compromise the dignity or independence of any one; it was, in fact, such as a great nation might propose or accept without degradation, and it therefore had all the elements of solidity and durability; and he added, that so favourable a result was, in a great measure, owing to the conciliatory spirit and moderation which marked the policy of England, and which was particularly felt in the course of the present conferences."

\* *Times*, April 8, 1856:—

"To a reported exclamation of the French Emperor, of 'What can one do for Italy?' Count Cavour has answered by a memorial which states the principle grievances of Italy in general, as well as of the individual States. The Milanese and Venetian territories, the Papal States, the kingdom of Naples, all suffer from different forms of the same malady.

"Taking it for granted that there must be for a long time to come a struggle between the liberal and absolutist principles in Europe, Sardinia is anxious to range herself and her sister States on the side of freedom, as represented by France and England. Austria she considers as only temporarily and by chance the opponent of the Czar."

about him. "Never mind who," replied the wary diplomatist; "never mind who wins or loses—we shall learn that to-morrow!" And this is the gist of the whole matter; for, in the course of ages, it is of little consequence whether this emperor is defeated or that emperor conquers, or this people is supreme, for the space of a year, a lustrum of years, or a brief century. The end is the same:

"They strut and fret their hour upon the stage,  
And then are heard no more."

But no great event ever happens without a cause proportioned to its greatness. What was the cause, then, for which we so liberally opened our purses, and so resolutely ventured our lives? It was simply to hinder one neighbour from breaking into the house of another neighbour, and robbing him of his goods. So far as this was the case we have succeeded in our plans, and, considering what the chances of success are, this is affirming a great deal. But something more was aimed at beyond the object we started with the intention of reaching; and should this ulterior point of sight have been, in fact, reached, and should its attainment prove to be a permanent one, it was certainly worth the blood and treasure expended upon it.

If there be anything real in this world it is the spirit of Christianity. The mutual fellowship of mankind upon an equal footing, and subject to equal laws, is the rule of government, the end of civilization, and the climax of humanity. There is no doubt that the late conflict has achieved a grand desideratum in this respect. It has already led to kindlier feelings between the eastern and western nations, a reciprocity of rights, a concession of prejudices, and a toleration of creeds. This sentiment is also expressed by Russia herself, and evinced in some of her late acts; and it cannot fail to be pressed still more closely upon her attention by the force of circumstances, that speak with too loud a tongue not to be listened to. An easier intercourse with countries, hitherto all but hermetically sealed against our entrance, is another necessary result of the past contest, together with a greater freedom of thought, a quicker circulation of ideas, an exchange of literature as well as of more substantial commodities, and last, though not least in the order of society, intermarriages, fresh blood, new connexions, new manners, new customs, and new things. These benefits will be felt by all for a season at least, if not for a continuance; and Russia, in particular, will be more known to us than she has been before, and we to her in return. A better understanding among all parties must ensue, and a new order of affairs arise out of the old. It is but a repetition of the effects of more extensive emigrations we read of in



former times, such as those of Sesostriis or Cyrus, Cæsar or Pizarro. It is a passing panorama replete with imagery, and we ourselves are taking part in one of those striking scenes in the drama of nations, which will remain emblazoned on the page of history to all generations.

And here we must rest. The sun is declining calmly over the waters of the Black Sea, and shedding its oblique rays on the remains of what was once Sebastopol. The waves that heave upon its coast, or ripple upon the surface of its placid harbour, are reflecting the golden hues of evening. Everything is still, and the more solemn from the quietude that covers the dead, the ruins of the fortress, the long-cherished hopes of the czars, the camps of the allies, and the outposts of the Russians along the opposite heights. All is still: not a gun nor a rifle disturbs the deep repose; only a bittern booms from the sedgy ground\* of the Tchernaya, or a vulture hovers over an unburied skeleton in the valley of Inkermann, or a stray dog bays at its own shadow against yon broken wall. It is the stillness of death. They who fell in action have long since passed to their last account; and the

\* *Times'* Special Correspondent, April 4, 1856:—

"Further back in the sedgy ground are lynx-eyed duck-hunters, plunging through the wavering bulrushes, and knocking over the flat billed swimmers with an incessant pop which puts one in mind of the old sounds from the rifle pits on a quiet day in the trenches. Some of these grey-coated gentry—the Ruskies, not the ducks—are wonderful shots, and may be seen carrying away strings of wild fowl over their shoulders towards Mackenzie's Farm. The French, on our side, are as assiduous, but by no means so successful in pursuit of game, which, indeed, is scarce towards the western bank, and now and then, to the indignation of our more scrupulous and better disciplined sportsmen, they cross over the river and wage with the Russians a common war against *anatidæ*, *scolopidæ*, and *gallatoræ*. When I say 'better disciplined,' I mean only to imply that the severities of our chiefs, who threaten any officer who may be found out of bounds with the penalties of a court-martial, deter them most effectually from taking the liberties in which our allies so gracefully indulge. 'Have you killed anything?' said I to a gallant young Guardsman, knee-deep in slush. 'No; these confounded — frighten them all to the other side, where they are so thick they can't be missed, and then they go over and shoot them like sparrows, while we poor devils are kept here and will be broke by old C——y if we follow them.' However, wild ducks have been killed and eaten by us, and the pintail and the teal, the golden-eyed pochard, the widgeon—his tufted brother, the little grebe, and some other varieties, have undergone the trying operations of the British *cuisinier*. As we ride along, lo! a fusillade springs up in the marsh, and grandly through the sky, in dazzling relief against its azure, sail two milk white swans, with outstretched necks and black bills, cleaving their way against a strong east wind, and jerking a wing now and then in acknowledgment of some high-flying bullet that has just gently tickled the feathers of their snowy mail. Then up rises a train of herons, or a noisy comitatus of brent geese, or a flight of mallard and duck, with whistling wings, or heavy bitterns, or agile snipe and cloudy streaks of plover, and distract the attention and the aim of the excited pot-hunters. For several long miles this active chase goes on under the solemn brow of Inkermann, past the deep gorges of these blood-stained ravines, by the deserted City of Caves, the dwelling-places of mystic and forgotten races, till the Tchernaya, expanding as it flows, gains on the yielding earth, and eats its way with many mouths through the fat *marais* into the blue waters of the roadstead of Sebastopol."

largest army\* that England ever counted in the field is preparing to return, crowned with laurels, to its native land. May the peace that they, together with our allies, the gallant French and the brave Sardinians, have achieved for us, be as lasting as their valour has been unfailing and their arms triumphant. We linger in fancy over this remote corner of the earth, where lie buried so many whom we loved and honoured, and from whence has sprung that glorious end for which alone they fought, bled, and conquered!

## ART. II.—PSYCHOLOGY OF LEIBNITZ.†

BY PROFESSOR HOPPUS, LL.D.

THE speculative science of the Germans must be regarded as dating from LEIBNITZ. The name of Puffendorf, indeed, is generally placed first among those writers who have contributed to the formation of an indigenous German philosophy; but he cultivated only one branch—jurisprudence. Leibnitz was in every sense universal. Our limited space obliges us to condense to the utmost as plain an account as we can give of the main psychological and metaphysical speculations, sometimes vagaries, of this great master-genius.

Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibnitz was born at Leipzig in 1646. He was contemporary with Newton, Clarke, Locke, Spinoza, Malebranche, and other celebrated men; and he was not eclipsed amidst the splendour of such a constellation—*micat inter omnes*. The period was favourable to the influence of such a mind: former polemic heats were allayed; and there was a growing taste for research, and for scientific intercommunication; witness the efforts, to this end, of Wallis in England, and Mersenne in France. Germany was prepared to take her part in this favourable crisis; and, in that country, Leibnitz's influence may be traced in almost every branch of speculation down to recent times. He, alone, is to Germany what Locke and Newton are to England. But his fame is European; and it is well remarked by Dugald Stewart, that his "best eulogium is furnished by the literary history of the eighteenth century." At school he was ardently devoted to classical learning; and he afterwards entered the University of Leipzig, in which his father was professor of

\* *Times*, April 8, 1856:—

"We have to keep that army in efficiency, if not in full numbers, and, should it suffer any decay, should it crumble into regiments, should it disappear in country quarters and colonial stations, and have no aggregate existence except in the monthly list, showing whereabouts in the world each hundredth part of the army happens to be buried, we are sure that the Government of this country will be held responsible for the calamities certain to fall on us in the next great war."

† "Leibnitzii Opera Philosophica quæ extant omnia." Berlin. (By Professor Erdmann.)



jurisprudence. Here, though he studied for the law, he applied himself intensely to almost every branch of knowledge, but especially to mathematics and philosophy; and, in pursuit of the latter, he devoted much time to Plato and Aristotle. He early formed the project of laying the foundation of a new and improved system of knowledge, in the attempt to combine whatever he could harmonize in the views and methods of these ancients, with those of Descartes. His prodigious memory enabled him to retain and recal his immense reading, but did not damp his ardour for new discoveries, and for intercourse with all the great men of his day who came within his reach. Almost fabulous statements are made of his vast industry; but, no doubt, in this, as in other things, he surpassed ordinary mortals, though it must be an exaggeration to state, as Fontenelle does, that he "did not leave his study-chair, day or night, for weeks together." So anxious was he for knowledge of all kinds, that he was ready to identify himself, for the sake of it, even with pretenders or fanatical devotees to science. When still in his youth, he joined a society of alchemists, at Nüremberg; into which he craved admission by writing a letter to the adepts, which was so appropriately obscure and mystical as to induce them eagerly to elect him as their secretary. His more public literary and scientific career may be dated from the time when he was persuaded to withdraw from this confraternity by the Baron von Boineburg, chancellor of the Elector of Mentz, and whose valuable patronage he now obtained.

The amount of Leibnitz's writings is immense; yet throughout all his speculative pieces one idea reigns—that of a *prima philosophia*, a science of first principles, which is to be the basis of all systematic knowledge. But though his aim was thus one and unique, his writings were for the most part inspired by occasions, and were miscellaneous, often of a fragmentary character, found in reviews and detached pieces, or in his extensive correspondence. All are constantly marked by the same tendency to general principles and fundamental truths, and to the harmonizing of previous and apparently discordant systems, ancient and modern—by the fertile and inventive character of his imagination, and by his inclination to introduce mathematical ideas into general subjects. By adopting demonstrative methods in the psychological and moral sciences, he sanguinely hoped to put an end to controversy. In thus maintaining that the methods and spirit of mathematics should be carried into all other studies, he symbolized with Descartes and Spinoza, however much he differed from them in other respects. He first distinguished himself in 1664, on taking his Master's degree, when about eighteen years of age, by his inaugural thesis *de Principio Individuationis*, in which he



shows an accurate acquaintance with certain phases of the scholastic philosophy, and takes the side of the nominalists in regard to the question of universals. He also here claims a real positive existence for individual objects, contrarily to the views of Spinoza; and sustains his opinions by appealing to Aureolus, Gregory Arimensis, Gabriel Bird, Durandus, and others, whom he either quotes or refers to. We must not attempt to give a particular account of his treatises, which now followed each other in quick succession; and which, from first to last, compassed almost the entire circle of human knowledge. We can only touch on a few of these pieces—chiefly those which bear more closely on psychological matters. His "*Ars Combinatoria*," 1666, and his posthumous fragment entitled, "*Historia et Commendatio Linguae characteristicæ universalis*," both relate to an idea which he conceived when 16 years of age, of framing an alphabet of human thought, which should comprise the most simple elements of our ideas, and express their combinations. There was some analogy between this scheme and some recent methods\* which propose to reduce reasoning, or even thought in general, to an algebraical calculus. Leibnitz was astonished, he tells us, that such a method had escaped Aristotle and Descartes: but he never followed it out into the actual construction of a universal language. It is curious, that about this time, our philosopher employed his logic to persuade the Poles to choose the Prince of Neuburg to their elective monarchy; but though he brought into the field a phalanx of sixty propositions, bristling with axioms rigorously applied, his logic was not strong enough to seat the prince on the throne.

Leibnitz was now rapidly rising to honour, and he was made a councillor and chancellor of justice to the Elector of Mentz: but he still thirsted after knowledge; and his next project was an Encyclopædia of learning, on the basis of that of Alstedius: however, this, like many other gigantic enterprises which he conceived, was never realised. Amidst his other works on law, politics, history, philosophy, and two on mechanical principles—which latter were rejected by men of science as resting on no solid basis,—we see a "Defence of the Doctrine of the Trinity, on the principles of Logic"!† Soon afterwards we find Leibnitz inventing an arithmetical machine, intended as an improvement on that of Pascal, and which is still to be seen at Göttingen. He rejected, about this time, the place of Pensioner of the French Academy, as it would have involved his professing the Catholic religion; yet this discursive, and sometimes eccentric genius, in a work on German diplomacy, actually propounded a

\* Particularly by Professors De Morgan and Boole.

† "*Sacrosancta Trinitas per nova argumenta logica defensa*," 1670.

scheme for making the pope the head of the Protestant as well as the Catholic Church in the west, the German emperor being the co-ordinate civil ruler. The idea was that of a general government for Europe. Leibnitz actually corresponded with Bossuet on the subject of a Catholico-Protestant union, on the principle of mutual concessions. A year or two afterwards we have a new phase of our author in his "*Protogæa*," a work on the formation of the earth, and of which Dr. Buckland has recorded that it contains germs of the most enlightened speculations of modern geological science. In 1710 appeared Leibnitz's celebrated work, "*Essai de Theodicée*," in which are contained his doctrines of pre-established harmony and optimism. It is, in short, a defence of the wisdom of God, viewed in connexion with the existence of evil; and it was aimed against the atheism of Bayle. His "*Monadologie*" was posthumously published, and was composed for Prince Eugène of Savoy. Just before his death, Leibnitz was engaged in the celebrated controversy with Dr. Samuel Clarke, on freewill, the reality of space, and other knotty points, which were all discussed in a series of letters, in 1715 and 1716; in which great learning is exhibited on both sides, with occasional sharpness of retort on the part of our philosopher. His important work, "*Nouveaux Essais sur l'Entendement Humain*," was not published in his life-time. It was written as early as 1704, in answer to Locke's *Essay*; but Leibnitz did not publish it, on account of Locke's death: "for," (said he in a letter to Remonde) "I cannot bring myself to publish refutations of deceased authors."

The fame of Leibnitz during his lifetime was perhaps rarely equalled. Even crowned heads did him honour. The German Emperor awarded to him a pension of two thousand florins, with the dignity of Baron of the Holy Roman Empire, and Aulic councillor; and the Czar Peter conferred on him the title of privy-councillor with a pension, in return for his advice in regard to the civilisation of the Russian people. His talents were undoubtedly great, and his ambition was greater. He even tried his hand at poetry; but, like Cicero, he did not find the muse propitious, and he gained no laurels by her inspiration. He wrote a piece\* in recommendation of the study of his native tongue, but he composed very little in it. Frederic Schlegel remarks that "it is a pity that he did not write his philosophical works in German: it would have been impossible to have left so many divinely illuminated thoughts to swim in such a sea of sciolism (*halbheiten*) as, alas! has often happened in the barbarous scholastic Latin, and in French."† It was half a century

\* Vid. "*Collectanea Etymologica*," Dutens, vi. p. 651.

† "*Einleitung zu Lessing's Gedanken*."



later before German assumed the position which it now holds among the languages of Europe. Some of Leibnitz's remarks show that he himself was not fully aware of its resources and its flexibility.\* His Latin style is not generally elegant or pleasing, and it often contains Gallicisms. It was not, on the whole, such as to expose him to be beaten by the angel, as was said of one of the Fathers, for writing with the pen of Tully. It is less remarkable that his French prose should occasionally fall into Germanisms; but his French style is not wanting in simplicity and force, and it is often marked by a great combination of life, point, and beauty.

There has never, that we are aware, been a complete edition of Leibnitz's writings. Probably no one has ever waded through all the vast heterogeneous matter that has actually seen the light. Dutens's edition (Geneva, 1768) is in six quarto volumes, of from 600 to 1000 mortal pages each; but it is far from containing all. Raspe published an important collection, entitled "*Œuvres Philosophiques de feu M. Leibnitz.*" In 1805, Feder added a selection of letters never before printed. In 1840, Professor Erdmann, of Berlin, published "*Leibnitzii Opera Philosophica quæ extant omnia,*" in one volume, which is a much more complete collection of his pieces on speculative philosophy than is to be found either in Dutens or Raspe. In 1845, M. Jaques published a selection from Leibnitz's philosophical writings, at Paris. Our author has had many biographers, of whom the most recent is Guhrauer, who has made valuable additions to our knowledge of this great man. We have some curious autobiographical fragments, in which Leibnitz describes the development of his own mind. He here tells us how he invented for himself an original method of studying Latin. He began by "devouring Livy, and the Chronological Thesaurus of Calvisius." The latter he easily managed, because he had a German book on the same subject; but Livy required to be "devoured" *secundum artem*. He at first chiefly pored over the words immediately under the wood-cuts, and, at all events, missed everything which seemed obscure and difficult. This operation he repeated several times, and every time understood more and more, till at last almost all was plain, and this "without a dictionary."

He also informs us how his master wanted to check his ardour, on pretence of regulating his studies, but really on account of his own ignorance; how he read Latin pretty well, knew some Greek, and made verses, at twelve years of age. Logic seems to have been next attacked, and our author says

\* "*Œuvres de Leibnitz,*" Dutens, v. 331.



that while others were horrified at this study, he was delighted with it. He tells us that his

"Stature was of the middle height, and graceful; that his face was pale, his hands generally cold, his sight keen, his voice shrill rather than powerful, and that he found some difficulty in pronouncing the guttural letters, but especially the *k*; that he went late to bed, and greatly preferred night studies; that he read much from childhood, and thought more: that in most things he was self-taught (*αὐτοδιδάκτος*); he was endowed with an excellent invention and judgment, and found no difficulty in transferring his attention rapidly from one subject to another, successively reading, writing, and speaking, and investigating any matter to the very bottom: he was neither very sad nor very merry, alike moderate in joy and grief, and he more frequently smiled than laughed."

Leibnitz died in 1716, in his seventieth year.

Ludovici and Hanscius have severally attempted a digest of the philosophical opinions of Leibnitz, but neither of their treatises is to be found in our British Museum. Such a work, if well executed, would be of great value in abridging the heavy toil of the student. The Protean forms which the genius of Leibnitz assumed, the fragmentary manner in which he has treated many subjects, and the immense accumulation of materials and of reflections on them which abound in his writings, are often quite bewildering, as it is necessary to pursue his opinions on some topics over so vast a field, in order to do them justice. After all, the reader must often content himself with general principles and germs of thought, which the author, impelled onward by his ardour to embrace everything within the sphere of human knowledge, did not allow himself time fully to systematize and digest. Like Descartes, he aimed at a philosophy which should embrace the first principles of all truth, by a method as nearly as possible like that of mathematicians. This was his ruling idea, and he was ever seeking, by means of it, to give a certain unity to the ever-changing and kaleidoscopic phases of his invention. With Spinoza he set out from Cartesianism; but, from the first, Leibnitz holds more of the objective than Descartes, whose dualism did not satisfy him, though he preferred the ideal tendency of this great modern founder of more speculative intellectual inquiry to the Lockian principle that we, in some way or other, owe all our knowledge to experience. "Descartes," said he, "has not led us into the innermost apartment of truth, but he has led us into the antechamber."\* He praised Descartes' work "*De Methodo*," and his "*Meditationes*," as being in the spirit of Plato, withdrawing men's minds from sense to thought, usefully reviving

\* Op. ii. p. 263, Dutens.

the ancient academic scepticism or caution ; but he justly charged Descartes with speedily departing from his own principles, and quitting doubt for hypothesis. Leibnitz, therefore, aimed at a more consecutive and consistent method. We must seek for its illustration, and for the opinions of the great Coryphæus of German speculation in general, through the mass of his occasional papers, such as his contributions to learned societies and his correspondence, as well as in his fuller and more systematic treatises, as his "Nouveaux Essais," and his "Theodicée," though even here we look in vain for a formal and complete detail, or even an outline of a system of philosophy. We are therefore compelled to frame to ourselves some order in which best to view his opinions, and to exhibit them briefly in their connexion and mutual dependence.

It is proper to glance first at his doctrines relating to the NATURE, ORIGIN, and CERTAINTY of HUMAN KNOWLEDGE, as these points closely involve the prime psychological and logical operations of the mind ; and, as in all the great writers who have influenced philosophy on the side of psychology, their main respective views on the grounds and method of knowledge, have always been characteristic and fundamental. Thus Bacon laid the basis of knowledge in experience by intuition. Descartes began with doubting, and placed certainty in that of which we could not doubt. Spinoza identified human and divine thought, and held them to be the ground of knowledge. Malebranche reduced all truth to "vision in God." Berkeley found certainty only in our ideas,—all else was illusion. Hume held no higher truth than association ; with him causation involved no positive and universal necessity. Locke traced certainty to the agreement of our ideas, as derived from sensation and reflection. Hobbes, Gassendi, and Condillac based it ultimately on sensation alone. Leibnitz, like Descartes and Spinoza, endeavoured to reduce the form of truth and knowledge to rational axioms, though he tested them in a different way. His views on the nature, origin, and certainty of our knowledge may be gathered from his tracts and fragments, entitled "Meditationes de Cognitione, Veritate, et Ideis," "De Veritatibus Primis," "Definitiones Logicæ," "Difficultates quædam Logicæ," "Schreiben an Gabriel Wagner vom Nutzen der Vernunftkunst oder Logik," "Réflexions sur l'Essai de M. Locke," "Discours touchant la Méthode de la Certitude," "Nouveaux Essais sur l'Entendement Humain," and elsewhere. All the above, with the exception of the "Nouveaux Essais," are brief pieces.

Leibnitz's theory of knowledge is in its spirit Cartesian, or, as he himself would say, Platonic, as aiming at the *à priori* method rather than that of experience. The fact is, that neither method

should be attempted alone ; they should correct and limit each other. Of the two, however, we doubt not that the “high *à priori* road” is the most dizzy and dangerous. It easily led Pythagoras to *number* as the essence of all things ; it conducted the Eleatic school to Pantheism : Plato into the mystic region of the Supersensibles ; Descartes to his plenum of vortices : it led Malebranche to transfer the objectivity of our perceptions from the sensible world to the Deity ; and Spinoza was conducted back by it to a semi-eleatic pantheism, and this by the march of what has been called a “pitiless logic,” though with a sufficiently *pitiful* result. The difficulty is to distinguish, in axiomatic assumptions, what is rational and necessary from what is merely egoistic and fanciful. Though Leibnitz had some admirable notions on first principles and axiomatic truths, he also fell a victim to dogmatic hypothesis,—witness his romance of “Monadology,” which he appears really to have believed. The *à priori* method, unrestrained by the modesty of reason and the due sense of the limitation of the human faculties, has in subsequent times produced the vagaries of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, and other popular systems in Germany. Granting, as we do, the value, importance, and necessity of fundamental or unprovable truths, in their proper sphere, we only mean that the greatest possible caution is necessary in the details. Leibnitz himself, with all his genius, was eminently at fault in his appreciation of the legitimate scope of the human faculties.

In the outset, however, of this theory of knowledge he is more cautious than his predecessor Descartes, who held that everything is true which is represented to us with perfectly clear ideas. Leibnitz calls for such a test of this clearness as can be relied on for truth ; and finding none, he prefers the rules of logic as more suited to be a criterion. What he means by logic, he distinctly tells us in his letter to Wagner. He would not limit it to the testing of truth, but would make it include methods of discovery ; in other words, he would embrace within its sphere both deduction and induction.\* Leibnitz distinguishes the qualities of our ideas as *clear*, when we can ourselves distinguish them ; *distinct*, when we can accurately describe their difference to others ; and *adequate*, when all the distinctive marks are equally capable of being described. The three marks are found together in but few of our ideas ; for we rarely know for certain that we have reached their final elements in the analysis. When, however, this is the case, our knowledge is *intuitive*, or *à priori* ; it is derived, says Leibnitz, not from the

\* “Unter der Logik, verstehe ich die Kunst den Verstand zu gebrauchen, also nicht allein was fürgestellt zu beurtheilen, sondern auch was verborgen ist zu erfinden.”—Schreib. an Wagner.



senses, but from the intellect itself. He instances our ideas of number, as capable at once of a clear, distinct, and adequate (perfect) analysis, and as therefore intuitive.\* He also would say, that when we can thus attain to perfect knowledge, we have a "*real* definition;" in all other cases only a "*nominal*" one.† The pure mathematical sciences are the region of these adequate and intuitive ideas. It is impossible for us here to dwell on the vexed controversy of *logical definition*; we merely state in brief Leibnitz's distinctions. Again, an idea is "*true*," as such, when it is *possible*; "*false*," when it involves a contradiction. Possibility is known *à priori*, when the ultimate elements of our ideas contain no incompatibilities. "Pure intuition of the primary possibles, by the resolution of ideas to their irreducible elements, is the source of all absolute and demonstrative truth." In plainer language, logical truth depends on the compatibility of the hypotheses which lead to it; but the Cartesian, Leibnitzian, and other continental speculations regarding "*possibility*" and truth, we hold to be often fanciful and mystical, and not always intelligible. We know possibility, *à posteriori*, on the other hand, continues Leibnitz, by actual existence; for if a thing exists, it must be possible. The above distinctions were partly brought forward by way of amending Descartes' principle, that "*whatever I clearly and distinctly perceive of anything is true*,"—a principle, like most others, far from being exempt from licence and abuse, though designed to be final. Leibnitz's attempt to rectify or supplant it, though somewhat more critical than the principle of Descartes, equally takes for granted that all the criteria brought forward can always be depended on, and precisely and strictly applied by human sagacity. But the infirmity of reason was not one of those facts which were most apt to dwell on the sanguine and adventurous mind of Leibnitz: he was far more habitually influenced by a conviction of the importance, in some way or other of hitting upon a remedy for the imperfection of the existing methods of philosophy; and his reigning idea, as to this panacea, was the reduction of all our knowledge by means of the *à priori* process, as found in mathematics.

It may be well to observe, that our author's general views respecting the nature of "*ideas*" were perfectly simple, and untinged with any infusion of the ancient idealism, or of its relics in later times. He was not more a Platonic or mystical idealist like Malebranche, or a spiritualistic idealist like Berkeley,‡ than he was an idealist of the Peripatetic school; he distinctly rejected

\* "*Meditat. de Cognit.*;" "*Nouv. Ess.*"

† Ibid. "*Reflections sur Locke.*"

‡ Vid. our account of Berkeley's Psychology, in this Journal, July, 1855.

all sorts of images, and all their shadowy resemblances, and he pronounced our ideas to be nothing more than certain affections, or modifications of our minds. Descartes also had clearly maintained that no material analogies can explain thought; his "ideas" were, in like manner, only conditions of our minds; but in proposing to deal with ideas, according to mathematical procedure, he differed from Leibnitz, inasmuch as he greatly neglected logic as the source and type of deductive truth. It was by way of facilitating the application of strictly logical processes to our knowledge that Leibnitz attempted so much to elaborate a theory of ideas. To this end he brings his views to a point, when he lays down, as an *à priori* test of all deductive truth, the principle of *contradiction*; which Aristotle had long ago termed the "most certain of all principles" (ἑξαιροτάτη τῶν ἀρχῶν πασῶν,) and announced in the form: "a thing cannot be and not be at the same time." A familiar instance of this principle of contradiction is found in Euclid's Problem, "to find the centre of a given circle," which is solved by *reductio ad absurdum*, as the principle of contradiction is commonly termed when applied to mathematics. But there is another principle, that which embraces the real and the actual—all the things among possibles, says Leibnitz, which the Deity has caused to pass into positive existence. This is the principle of the *sufficient reason*; and it includes the law of fitness or order, the law of causation, and of final causes: these are only various expressions or formulæ of the general principle.

Leibnitz describes the two principles in his "Monadologie," first published from the original French manuscript by Erdmann, in his recent edition of Leibnitz's philosophical writings; the Latin translation of this manuscript being entitled, "Principia Philosophiæ," in the edition of Dutens. "By the principle of contradiction we judge to be false what opposes the true, and true that which opposes the false: and by the principle of the sufficient reason we consider that no fact can exist without some sufficient reason why it is so, and not otherwise; though the reason itself may most frequently escape our knowledge." The first principle relates to the truths of *reason*, which are necessary, and their opposite impossible, as involving a contradiction; the second principle relates to the truths of *fact*, which are contingent, and their opposite hypothetically possible. In analyzing mathematical deductions, we come at last to primitive or identical propositions, the opposites of which contain contradictions; as in the case of  $(a+b)(a-b) = a^2 - b^2$ ; respecting which kind of propositions Aristotle directly taught that equality is identity (ἐν τοῦτοις ἡ ἰσότης ἐνότης). But while rational truths may be reduced to identities, and their denial involves contradiction,



facts, or contingent truths belong to the principle of the sufficient reason. "There is," says our author, "an infinity of movements and inclinations, present and past, which enter into the efficient cause of my writing at this moment; but there must be a sufficient or final reason or cause of it, out of the series of contingencies; and this is God." Ultimately, Leibnitz reduces even the principle of contradiction to that of the sufficient reason, and with more propriety, as appears to us, than Wolf, his successor sought to reduce the latter to the former; for it is certainly a sufficient ground for believing demonstrated truths, that their denial involves contradiction. We doubt, however, the propriety of Leibnitz's extending his idea of the principle of contradiction to those axiomatic truths which Kant afterwards termed "synthetic judgments *à priori*," as for instance, *every change must have a cause*; for we can hardly reduce the denial of this to a logical contradiction, as in the case of Kant's "analytical judgments," in which the predicate is only an exposition of the subject, not a new idea. To deny that *all matter is extended*, no doubt involves a contradiction in terms; for matter means extended substance; but we believe in causation simply because we cannot help it, whether this be held to be a "sufficient reason" or not.

As to the principles themselves—that which can be reduced to identity is true, and cannot be contradicted without absurdity—and everything which happens in the universe of mind or matter, involves some adequate cause (sufficient reason) why it did not happen differently, whether we *understand* that reason or not—our author justly regarded these two principles as requiring no proof, being the spontaneous dictate of human intelligence. We think him right, also, in maintaining that, without the principle of the sufficient reason, we could not arrive at the proof of the existence of God.\* It is equally plain, he adds, that "every part of mathematics may be demonstrated on the principle of contradiction or identity; and that in Natural Theology, and Natural Philosophy (so far as the ultimate principles of dynamics are concerned) we find the sphere of the sufficient reason. It was only thus that Archimedes, in his book 'De Equilibrio,' could account for the fundamental property of the balance."

The principle of the sufficient reason was the starting point of Leibnitz's controversy with Dr. Samuel Clarke; and it was mixed up with the question regarding the determination of the divine will. Clarke admitted that nothing *is*, without a sufficient reason why it is as it is; but, he added, that the mere will of God is often the only sufficient reason, in such a sense, that unless the will of God is capable of acting without a predeter-

\* "Recueil de Diverses Pièces."



mining cause, his power of choosing would be reduced to mere fatalism. Leibnitz replied, that Clarke only granted the principle in words, but in reality denied it, and involved the conclusion that God wills some things without a sufficient reason for so doing. The dispute was, in fact, the old one about liberty and necessity—one which we apprehend will never be settled satisfactorily by argument. In this controversy many of Leibnitz's theories on other subjects came incidentally forward; among the rest, his definition of time and space as things merely relative, the former being the "order of succession," and the latter, the "order of coexistence." And this surely is all that can be said, *objectively*, of these two mysterious substrata of all our knowledge. His doctrines of monadology and pre-established harmony also incidentally appear in this controversy.

With regard to the relation of the Divine Mind to truth, Leibnitz maintained that all *possible* truth dwells in the understanding of God, and is, like himself, necessary and eternal; *actual* truth, or that which *is*, depends on his will. Matters of fact are contingent, like the laws of nature, on which they depend: they might have been different from what they are; or at all events they have only a moral necessity, that of order and fitness—a necessity arising only from the certainty that God will make the best possible choice, and not to be confounded with absolute mathematical and metaphysical necessity, which attaches only to the truths of reason. The sphere of absolute necessity includes metaphysics, logic, ethics, and mathematics; the sphere of actuality and reality includes physics in all its branches. Hence two modes of inquiry; logical deduction on the one hand, and experimental induction on the other.

An important point of our author's general theory of knowledge relates to the question of the *origin of our ideas*. Different schools are characterized by their respective views on this subject. In regard to a vast mass of our ideas, there is and can be no controversy. Kant on the one hand, and Locke on the other—not less than the materialists, who exaggerated and metamorphosed Locke's doctrines, as the German Pantheistical idealists did Kant's—agree that experience alone can teach us the properties of things around us. But it is evident that we have knowledge which transcends all experience, otherwise we could never believe irrevocably in the necessity and universality of causation. We shall not repeat here what we have said on the subject of "innate ideas," in our notice of the "Psychology of Descartes" in a former number.\* "Innate ideas," and "innate principles," are unfortunate expressions, intended by the school of Descartes and by Leibnitz, to mean nothing more than ideas and prin-

\* Vid. "Psychological Journal," January, 1855.

ciples which are only *occasioned* by experience, but which really emanate from the constitution of the human mind itself. We have further explained this subject in the "Psychology of Locke," in another number of this journal.\* Locke evidently did really admit the very doctrine which he appeared to deny, when he argued at length against "innate truth." He was only combating, throughout, an exaggerated form—we may almost say a caricature, of the Cartesian view of "innate truth;" and he did not sufficiently distinguish between logical propositions, of which the "children" and "savages" whom he adduces "know nothing," and those psychological impressions, activities, and tendencies (Leibnitz would term them, "virtualities") on the basis of which they exercise their mental faculties without being aware of it. There is every reason to believe that, had Locke survived—who died just at the time when Leibnitz was about to publish his "Nouveaux Essais," in which he follows Locke's Essay throughout, in its divisions, chapter by chapter—a most instructive controversy would have arisen between these two great psychologists, equally useful to them, mutually, and to the world at large. We have no doubt that the issue would have been a far greater agreement of opinion on the subject than the uninitiated reader of Locke's dissertation on "innate ideas" would have supposed possible. There are not a few passages in the "Essay" which might very well have been penned by Descartes or Leibnitz himself; for they admit, in reality, all that these two philosophers would, on explanation, have contended for, though in a less technical—perhaps, in some respects, a less objectionable, phraseology.† Lord Shaftesbury, in his "Characteristics," put the question in the right light, when he said: "Is the constitution of man such, that, sooner or later, certain ideas will infallibly, inevitably, necessarily, spring up in him?"

Leibnitz, however, like the Germans generally, and like some of our own countrymen who, without sufficient caution, follow in their wake—failed to apprehend the scope of Locke, when he represented him as maintaining the scholastic principle, *nihil est in intellectu quod non fuerit prius in sensu*. This charge is strictly applicable to the sensational theory of the "ideologists," as well as to that of the decided materialists: it answers as a description of the tenets of Gassendi, Hobbes, and Condillac; but it certainly does not fairly apply to Locke, who distinctly held that there was "another great source of ideas besides sensation, namely, *reflection*, by which the mind furnishes the understanding with ideas of its own operations."‡ Nor did Leibnitz very cleverly *mend* the aphorism of the schools by

\* Vid. "Psychological Journal," July, 1854.

† Vid. "Essay," Bk. iv. chap. 11 and 13.

‡ Ibid. Bk. ii. chap. 1.



appending to it "*nisi ipse intellectus*," as though, in any tolerable sense, the understanding could be "in itself." What he meant, however, was plain; and Locke better expressed it by saying, that reflection must be added to sensation as a source of knowledge; for, admitting fully the doctrine of primary truth as a general principle, it is, after all, only by self-conscious reflection that we come to notice the *à priori* constitutional tendencies and operations of our minds. Leibnitz's views of the origin of human knowledge were essentially taken from the stand-point of Descartes; and his theories on the subject were so much cast in the Cartesian mould, that it is no wonder he should, on the first reading of Locke's unfortunate chapters on "innate ideas and principles," feel disposed to speak very disparagingly of the Essay, as he does in his short tract on it, in 1696. Scarcely any two men could be supposed with more differently constituted minds than Leibnitz and Locke. In this tract, the former saw no difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that the soul *must* ever be active, and "always *think*." Locke, with his usual caution, did not deny this; but only said, that as we are not conscious of it, we want the evidence of it. Leibnitz, too, spoke more familiarly of the "infinite and the absolute" than Locke could do; and this fashion has been very current among the later Germans of the ideal school, and some of the French eclectics. M. Cousin would seem to have almost entirely got over the difficulty of comprehending the "infinite," if we may judge from some of his strange assertions with regard to our knowledge of the Deity. In the "*Nouveaux Essais*," Leibnitz speaks with great respect, and even eulogy, of Locke, and in a tone little in harmony with the flippant remarks on him which have escaped some of the Germans and French, and even some of his own countrymen, who ought to have understood him best. We have no doubt that Leibnitz was right in maintaining that certain ideas, such as cause, existence, etc., are elicited only, but not *formed*, by experience; and that certain truths, as the axioms of geometry, for example, are universal, necessary, and constitutional to the human mind, *psychologically*, previous to their being framed into logical propositions. Locke observed that the given ideas arose in connexion with experience, and that the alleged truths were not *logically* familiar to all minds; and, therefore, he hastily rejected, altogether, the theory of what are (by a term very liable to be misunderstood) called "innate" principles, in the modified and unobjectionable sense of Descartes and Leibnitz. Yet Locke really did admit these very principles, in fact, apparently without heeding it, as we have shown in our notice of Locke's psychology already alluded to. Leibnitz sometimes appears delighted with Locke's state-



ments, quoting them at length, or alluding to them, as closely approximating in substance to his own views of "innate" truths, which he sometimes terms "natural virtualities." "It appears," says he, "that our able author (Locke) assumes that there is nothing virtual in us: but we must not take this rigorously." Leibnitz again remarks: "I am inclined to believe that, fundamentally, his sentiments on this point are not different from my own."

In respect to our idea of God, Leibnitz's views are Cartesian. But, here, we must observe that he appears to have fallen into a singular contradiction on this subject. He makes Théophile, who always represents his own opinions in the dialogue, say to Philalèthe: "I have always held with the innate idea of God as Descartes maintained it; and I am still of the same opinion.\* But Philalèthe, having occasion, afterwards, to name the principles which Lord Herbert of Cherbury laid down as innate, says that some persons denied them. To this Théophile replies, that while he takes all necessary truths to be innate, he maintains that "these propositions are not innate, for they may be proved."† Now, one of Lord Herbert's "innate propositions" is, that "there is a Supreme Deity." We find no clue to any solution of this inconsistency of statement into which Leibnitz has fallen. We must not dwell further on this remarkable incongruity: we can only add, here, that, in our view, it is more accurate to say that the idea of *causation* is innate, than that the idea of God is so; though the necessity of causation, which is the same thing as adequate causation, evidently leads us, by one single step, to an Author of the universe. We hold that what are distinguished, technically, by the Germans, as the "ontological," "cosmological," and "physico-theological" arguments for a Deity,‡ are, in fine, only so many forms of the argument from causation.

Having given some account of the views which may be found, respecting the theory of human knowledge, scattered over various parts of Leibnitz's works, we shall now briefly sketch his MONADOLGY; which was written at the desire of Prince Eugène, and first published under the title of "*Principia Philosophiæ*." Agreeably to the Baconian ideas, so much in harmony with the English mind, our distinguished countryman, Locke, indulges in no speculations as to the nature or essence of soul or mind; and we may add, the nature or essence of matter. Leibnitz, on the other hand, brought for the solution of both these questions a

\* "Vous savez, Philalèthe, que j'ai toujours été, comme je suis encore, pour l'idée innée de Dieu," etc.—"Nouv. Ess." chapit. i.

† "Je vous avoue que ces cinq propositions ne sont pas des principes innés, car je tiens qu'on peut, et qu'on doit les prouver."—Ibid. chapit. ii. 15.

‡ Vid. Kant's "*Kritik*." (Rosenkranz, 1838), s. 462, seq.

bold and we may say fanciful theory, of which he appeared much enamoured, though his followers have disputed respecting the meaning of not a few of the dogmas which he lays down; and some have gone so far as to assert that he intended the whole as only a flight of imagination. Of this, however, we have met with no evidence, and we see no reason to doubt his sincerity, though very much cause for more than doubting his judgment, in propounding this philosophical romance. His monadology, however, stands in very close connexion with his views of the nature of knowledge, and especially with its *à priori* aspect. For if he had not exaggerated the power of the mind to seize on truth intuitively, and to arrive at it by abstract thinking, he never would have been so far led away as to suppose that reason could construct all the elements of a universe by diving into the depths of consciousness. In this and some of his other theories, Leibnitz shows, by anticipation, the true general type of that idealism which has so largely been exemplified in the modern German mind. We do not mean to say that no truth is mixed up with his monadological speculations; we speak of the theory as a whole, and of the gratuitous assumptions which are often admitted into it, without any proof, or the possibility of proof to the capacities of man: yet our sanguine author boldly marches forward through all difficulties, and where to the eye of ordinary mortals there seems no road or clue to any safe conclusion, he easily finds one, and pioneers his way like a giant striding through forests and over mountains, as readily as other men can walk on plain ground.

The simple, says our philosopher, is that which has no parts—therefore no extension, therefore no form, therefore no divisibility. Such is each *monad*; and monads are the true atoms, unities, and elements of all things, whether material or intellectual. At first Cartesian in his views of matter (as essentially so in other respects, in his method) he identified matter with extension. But now he argued strenuously against this most defective theory of Descartes, as may be seen in various of Leibnitz's treatises.\* Even resistance ("antitypie") added to extension does not, says he, explain motion; we must also have a force of elasticity. He traces the pantheism of Spinoza (which he terms a "detestable doctrine") and the hypothesis of "occasional causes," as held by Geulincx and Malebranche, to this dogma of Descartes—that matter and extension are one and the same: for, "if so, all things are but fleeting manifestations of one permanent substance, the Deity, as identified with nature;

\* "De Verâ Methodo Philosophiæ;" "Epistola ad Thomasium;" "Commentarius de Animâ Brutorum;" "Lettre à Foucher;" "Epistola ad Des Bosses;" "De la Nature en elle-même;" "Lettre à Bourguet," etc.



and as mere extension is incapable of action, we must at once have recourse to the agency of God as the immediate source of all motion. There must therefore be a *force* in things. The mere succession of phenomena does not meet the case; we must suppose a dynamic power—a cause or force, which we conceive of by an irreducible (“innate”) idea. We are compelled to this view by the principle of the sufficient reason.” But our author went farther: each monad is a force existing not in *posse* only, but also in *esse*. It is always more or less acting, like a bent bow or a suspended weight; indeed, we find, in these very cases, that the monads are always striving to change their condition, because each is a force, *ἐντελέχεια*, a term used by Aristotle for an efficient cause. Extension is the basis of geometry; force of dynamics. Matter, however, has not only this active power or force—it has also that passive power of resistance which Kepler called *inertia*. Leibnitz identifies *inertia* not very clearly with the “mass of a body,” which he calls “*primary matter* ;” force added renders it complete, and then it is “secondary matter.” He traces the *origin* of our notion of force—rightly, we think—to ourselves as forces, the *moi* or *ego* being a self-conscious force, and giving us our first distinct notion of cause. Leibnitz is always more of a metaphysician (in the German sense) than of a psychologist—he reasons more than he observes; he is impatient of anything but results, or what he thinks are such; and he seems generally to care more to show what *must* be (as he supposes) than what *is*. Yet he did not fail to mark the psychological origin of the idea of force, as actually known in consciousness; and he justly makes self-consciousness our final appeal in all that concerns our mental history and experience,\* for we know and feel that we are *causes*. But having greatly improved on the method of Descartes, by bringing prominently forward the idea of *force*, Leibnitz made a use of it which landed him in a theory as gratuitous as that of Descartes’ vortices.

The *monads*, he tells us, were created all at once, by a single “fulguration” of the divine power, and will last for ever, if not annihilated by the same power. His argument for their being infinite in number is a curious example of the wildness, or at least hastiness, of some of his *à priori* reasonings. “It is possible that the monads should be infinite in number; and if they were not so, it would argue a defect in the divine resources; therefore they are thus infinite.”† No two monads can be alike in all respects, for if they were, they would be identical; they must differ in the kind and degree of their inward activity.

\* “De la Nature en elle-même. Considérations sur la Doctrine d’un Esprit universel,” (first published in Erdmann’s edition).

† “Epist. ad Des Bosses.”



This is Leibnitz's "*principium identitatis indiscernibilium*," which Kant has so ably criticised.\* These monads are not atoms of quantity (*atomi molis*), but of "substance"—"not material, but formal." They are forces, activities, souls (*âmes*.) The *materia prima* of body is merely passive and inert—it is not a complete substance till it is endowed with a form analogous to *soul*,—an original spontaneity of action, (*ἐντελέχειαν τὴν πρῶτην*.) Our author even uses the word *spirit*, (*corpus constare ex materiâ et spiritu*.)† All these monads have more or less of perception and appetency. They are elsewhere described as metaphysical points, substantial forms, true unities, indivisible forces, without figure, without parts. Every created monad has its own activity always within itself; no other monad can originate any changes in it.

There are four sorts of monads. God is the primary monad (*monas monadum*). Next are finite spirits, including human souls, which are distinguished from the monads below them by reason, and the power of grasping necessary and eternal truth. Next in order are the souls of brutes; these have not reason, but only memory, perception, and volition. The lowest order of monads "possess merely the monadic life," a sort of impulsive force, without those faculties which even brutes possess; and this order includes vegetables and inorganic bodies. The essence of all *matter* consists of these monads of the lowest class; and even these are endowed by our imaginative philosopher with life and sensibility, as well as activity. They are all living, active beings, and are always struggling blindly to change their condition, and they have all some kind of "feeling or perception." Furthermore, one monad of the second order surrounded by an organized mass of monads of the lowest order, constitutes a human being. One monad of the third order surrounded by a similar aggregate, constitutes a brute animal. Though these monads are harmoniously accommodated to each other, they have no mutual influence or agency on each other; and mankind are deceived in the vulgar supposition that there is such a reciprocity of action always going on in the universe; this, as we shall presently see, was one great peculiarity of Leibnitz's system, leading to a further theory—that of pre-established harmony. Every monad, moreover, is a "mirror of the whole universe;" the whole universe is reflected in it, and is different from what it would be had any one single monad of the whole number not existed. As the monads have different degrees of perfection, so "each monad has a right to existence according to the perfection which belongs to it." An infinite number of these monadic universes were pos-

\* Vid. "Reflexion's-begriffe. Kritik der rein. Vernunft."

† "Acta Erudit." 1698, pp. 434-6.

sible, but only one could exist; and the sufficient reason which determined the Deity to the choice of the actual one was, that it was the best. Hence another of Leibnitz's theories,—that of optimism.\*

But enough of this ingenious philosophical romance—a speculation which seems to have originated very much in Leibnitz's anxiety to penetrate into the nature and all the relations of force, and was based on the strange and inconsistent notion that logical possibility led by a short road to truth. We need not wonder that the charge of darkness and mysticism should have been so widely brought against this extraordinary scheme, or that it should involve within itself many inconsistencies, and even contradictions—as when, in one place, he tells us that the monads of which matter is constituted are simple substances of the lowest order,† and elsewhere asserts that matter is not a substance, but a “*substantiatum*,” which he explains by the expression, “well-founded phenomenon” (*phenomène bien fondé*);‡ language, this, which would seem much nearer to the subsequent German idealism than his reduction of the essence of matter to force.

Leibnitz's doctrine of monads involved that of PRE-ESTABLISHED HARMONY.§ The monads had no real agency on each other, but were mutually isolated and independent. Besides, “how could the higher monadic spirits act on the blind though living forces which constitute the lowest order of monads.” This objection was as old as Empedocles, of the Italic sect—perhaps earlier. It was his maxim that “*like has no action on unlike*,” a dogma which was fertile in producing the ancient idealism, founded on the supposed necessity of something intermediate in perception, holding both of object and subject. It is surprising that Leibnitz did not see the consequences of this doctrine, which, if legitimately carried out, would render even the divine agency in all created things impossible, for how could the infinite spirit act on materialism! But our sanguine theorist was very slow to realise the humiliating truth of the limitation of the human faculties, and to take it in connexion with another—namely, that “facts are stubborn things;” and he was still slower to make such considerations a main basis for philosophy. He totally denied that there was any reciprocal agency whatever in the universe, either between material things or between them and mind. The soul acts precisely as it would do if there were no bodies, and the body as it would if there were no souls. Leibnitz

\* Vid. “Monad.” 54.

† Ibid. *passim*.

‡ “Lettre à M. Dancicourt.”

§ Vid. “Monad.,” “De la Communication des Substances;” “La Nature en elle-même;” “Nouveau Système de la Nature,” etc.



employs three hypotheses to account for the apparent agencies and harmonies of the universe. Two clocks exactly agree. This agreement may be supposed to arise from some reciprocal influence, or from the constant intervention of an artisan who regulates their respective movements every moment, or from the skill of the maker, who has so arranged the clocks at the beginning, that they cannot vary. The common theory with regard to soul and body is the first: they are supposed mutually to affect each other; the second theory—that of the continual intervention of the Creator—is the “*occasionalism*” of the Cartesians, termed by Descartes himself *assistentia* and *concursus*; the third, which Leibnitz adopts, is that of a harmony of all nature, pre-established by the Creator, and having the same effect as though there was the actual interagency which mankind imagine to take place between things. Our author rejected the first hypothesis on the Empedoclean principle; the second, as involving a perpetual miracle; and he adopted the third, as avoiding both difficulties, and as also best agreeing with another of his theories—namely, that there is always in the outward universe not only the same quantity of force, but also the same directions of motion. Descartes had said that there was always the same quantity of *actual* motion; this Leibnitz denied; but, as the monads were created all at once, “their forces, when summed up, would always be the same;” still, though apparently the soul could change the direction of motion at its pleasure, as Descartes had said, yet this variation, according to Leibnitz, could only take place by a pre-established harmony of all the directions of motion. Dr. Samuel Clarke, in his controversy with Leibnitz, evidently adopted the second hypothesis in preference to the third, though not, it would seem, to the exclusion of the first. The difficulty of drawing a line between the limit of divine agency and that of second causes (which Leibnitz, characteristically, seemed scarcely to appreciate) has induced modern writers of celebrity to maintain, without hesitation, that God must be supposed to be not only the author, and in some way the upholder, but the constant *actuator* of all the laws of matter and of mind; the only limit being in the moral agency of accountable beings, who are themselves *causes*, with an independent power of doing right and wrong.

Omitting other phases of Leibnitz’s doctrine of pre-established harmony, we must yield to the temptation of quoting Dr. Thomas Brown’s graphically popular, though somewhat exaggerated illustration of the main principle :

“The soul of Leibnitz would, though his body had been annihilated at birth, have felt and acted as if with its bodily appendage,—studying the same works, inventing the same systems, and carrying on,



with the same warfare of books and epistles, the same long course of indefatigable controversy; and the body of this great philosopher, though his *soul* had been annihilated at birth, would not merely have gone through the same process of growth, eating and digesting, and performing all its other ordinary functions; but would have achieved for itself the same intellectual glory, without any consciousness of the works which it was writing and correcting,—would have argued with equal strenuousness for the principle of the sufficient reason, claimed the honour of the differential calculus, and laboured to prove this very system of the pre-established harmony, of which it would certainly in that case have been one of the most illustrious examples.”\*

This ludicrous mode of treating the subject may at least serve to relieve a necessarily dry discussion; though we apprehend that Leibnitz himself, whose general good humour would most likely have made him laugh with the rest could he have read it, would have replied, very obviously, that there could be no “harmony” at all where one of the terms of correlation was supposed wanting.

Leibnitz’s extension of his theory of pre-established harmony to the “kingdom of God,” by which he means, in general, the moral world, led immediately to his OPTIMISM. Conceiving that *à priori* reasoning, as explained in his views already given regarding the nature and certainty of human knowledge, led by a direct road to truth, he found little difficulty in supposing that, in his “monadology,” he had solved the question relating to the nature and essence of substances. The pre-established harmony easily accounted for all the dynamics of the universe, and the actions of animal and moral beings; and now the result of the whole is, among all that were possible, the *best possible world*—that which contains the “greatest possible reality, unity, and agreement of the manifold in all its parts.” But as evil, physical and moral, is a great and mournful fact of this world, it was our author’s aim to point out the harmony of evil with the doctrine of Optimism. His work entitled “*Essais de Theodicée, sur la Bonté de Dieu, la Liberté de l’Homme, et l’Origine du Mal*,” was published in consequence of the discussions on those subjects in Bayle’s Dictionary.† Bayle had asserted that philosophy and theology were at variance; nay, that even reason was inconsistent with itself; and that it was impossible to reconcile the evil which exists, with the idea of a wise, just, and good author and governor of the universe. The Queen of Prussia, Sophia Charlotte, a lady who substituted a taste for learning and philosophy for the frivolities with which most personages of her rank are content, was aware of Leibnitz’s views on several articles of the “Dic-

\* Lecture XXXI.

† “Dictionnaire Historique et Critique,” 1697.

tionary," and she desired him to publish on the subject. Hence the "Theodicée," of which our account must be very brief. The leading idea is, that as this world is the world which God has chosen, it is, notwithstanding its sin and its misery, the best of all possible worlds. Whatever discrepancy may appear between philosophical and theological truth in any point of their comparison, it is not real; therefore there can be no actual collision between reason and revelation. There are many things which we cannot comprehend; but we may sustain them against objections, provided they do not, *à priori*, involve logical contradiction, and are based on credible evidence.

In treating of evil, Bayle and Leibnitz set out in opposite directions. The former boldly maintains that the world is imperfect, and cannot come from such a being as Christians understand God to be; and that the old Manichean doctrine of two opposite principles, one *good*, the other *evil*, offers the only solution. Leibnitz sets out from the idea of the Deity, and maintains that such a Being must have constituted the most perfect possible world. He distinguishes between metaphysical, moral, and physical evil. The first is mere imperfection, the second is sin, the third is suffering. The first is wholly inseparable from the creature, for a being that is in all respects perfect must be God: there must be this distinction between the Creator and all creatures. And as to moral and physical evil, had they been excluded from following on that which is purely metaphysical, more imperfection would have accrued than by their admission. "Everything was foreseen, and everything that would possibly happen contributed ideally something to the divine determination to make the whole real." "It is true," says Leibnitz, "one might imagine possible worlds without sin and without suffering—romances and Utopias; but these worlds would be inferior in good to ours, since God *has* chosen this world as it is."\* He goes on to show that the creature, as necessarily subject to limitation, (metaphysical evil) "cannot know everything, and may err." "God is not the author of this evil, which consists originally in privation or negation." He "produces in the creature all that is positive and good; but imperfections and defects in action come from the original limitation of the creature as such."† Leibnitz maintains fully the freedom of man's actions, and that God's foreknowledge does not interfere with it. By a distinction between the "provisional" and the "absolute" will of God, our philosopher thinks he reconciles the permission of evil with supreme goodness. He further adds: "We must conclude that God wills all good *antecedently*, and the best *consequently* as an end: he wills physical evil sometimes

\* "Theod." Par. I. 16.

† Ibid. 30-33.



as a means ; but he only wills to permit moral evil on account of the *sine quâ non* or hypothetical necessity which allies moral evil with optimism (le meilleur) ; therefore the *consequent* will of God, which has moral evil for its object, is only permissive." But we cannot pretend to do anything like justice to the learning, devout feeling, ingenuity, metaphysical acumen, and praiseworthy desire to vindicate religion from gainsayers, which are manifested in the "Theodicée ;" we are obliged to confess, however, that the grand and ancient question which it involves, (πόθεν τὸ κακόν,) the origin of evil, is left by Leibnitz, as far as we can see, just where he found it. Pfaff of Tübingen, indeed, endeavoured to prove that Leibnitz did not believe his own doctrines, but agreed really with Bayle. This we hold to be a libel wholly without foundation, entirely disproved by the sincere tone of the "Theodicée," and by our author's general character and writings.

For further light on some of the views of our author which we have introduced to the reader, we must refer him to the letters which passed between him and Dr. Clarke, and which originated in a communication from Leibnitz to the Princess of Wales of that day, in which he passed an unfavourable judgment on the existing state of philosophical opinions in England. The enlightened Princess handed over this letter to Dr. Clarke, and a controversy began respecting the agency of the Deity in the universe, the principle of the sufficient reason, time and space, and other points, including certain views of Newton and Locke. On most of these topics there was evidently not all the difference of opinion which at first sight appeared, due allowance being made for the difficulty of adjusting the meaning of terms, and the different points of view from which the same subject is often apt to be regarded by different individuals. Leibnitz himself was fond of trying to accommodate differences, when possible, in this way ; he especially aimed to diminish the points in controversy between himself and Locke, and expressly asserted, and with justice, that, fundamentally, their differences on some important topics were much less than appeared.

We can only touch on a few remaining speculations of our indefatigable and prolific genius. It was an old axiom, *natura non operatur per saltum*. Leibnitz called this principle the *law of continuity*. It is this same law by which variable quantities, passing from one magnitude to another, go through all the intermediate magnitudes, without passing over any of them abruptly. Leibnitz not only applied this law universally to nature with Boscovich, he extended it beyond the province of mathematics and physics, to mind itself. He proves, by its means, that the soul can never wholly cease to think, even in a swoon or in



sleep ; and that the souls of brutes cannot be so much unlike those of men as is supposed, because there cannot be *discontinuity* between the two. On the same principle, he tells us, there cannot be, in strictness, such a thing as the death of an animated being. Might he not have proved, by the same law, that the interval of being between the created and the Creating mind must necessarily be filled up by insensible gradations ; so that there can be no chasm between the finite and the infinite mind ? But what a contradiction ! Leibnitz, however, did nothing by halves. He had a principle—a law—and it must be necessary and universal ! Of his physical and mechanical speculations, some estimate may be formed, when we state that he retained the Cartesian vortices of subtile matter, with a plenum ; while he admitted Newton's principle of gravitation, though he has nowhere harmonized the two systems. Again, on the other hand, we find him writing to Dr. Clarke, that “ in the time of Mr. Boyle, and other great men of Charles the Second's reign, no one would have dared to broach such whims as some of Newton's.”\* Was it that the world was not large enough for two such great men ? He even strangely pronounced that Newton's views respecting the necessity of the conservating or regulating agency of the Creator in the universe had an impious tendency, by arguing imperfection in his works. Our author also engaged in a controversy with the Cartesians respecting the measure of force ; the former maintaining that it is proportional to the square of the velocity ; the latter that it is as the velocity—a dispute which arose from the apparent difference in the numerical quantities of different effects. Laplace has ingeniously shown, by experiment, that we ought to consider force as directly proportional to the velocity of the moving body.

After all the gigantic labours of the mind of Leibnitz, as seen in his speculative writings, which contained so many fertile germs of thought, destined to be developed by his successors—it is unquestionably as a mathematician that his fame rests on the most solid basis. The controversy respecting the discovery of the *Differential Calculus* has been almost national ; the Germans having been as anxious to award that honour to Leibnitz, as the English to Newton. Dr. Guhrauer, the most recent biographer of Leibnitz, contends that the two discoveries were different ; but for this opinion there is no foundation. It seems now admitted by all competent and impartial inquirers, that the two distinguished men both came independently to the same result : by somewhat different methods, Newton representing by the flow of a point at the extremity of a line, what Leibnitz

\* “ On n'aurait pas osé nous débiter des notions si creuses,” 5<sup>ème</sup> Écrit de Leibnitz.

represented by successive increments. But, on this subject, and on the relative merits of the two philosophers in regard to their respective developments of the method, it is sufficient to refer to the brief statement of Professor De Morgan.\*

As a metaphysician and moralist, Leibnitz is best represented in his "Nouveaux Essais," (in which he criticises Locke,) and in his "Theodicée"—works which all should well study who desire to come into immediate contact with the mind of this extraordinary man. The latter is his most complete work, and a signal monument of his learning and genius. In these, and in many of his more fragmentary writings, there is much that has given law to philosophical opinion in subsequent times; though it must be admitted that the illustrious author frequently attempted unsuccessfully to transcend the real limits of human thought, apparently without knowing it. His principle of "contradiction" is invulnerable throughout the whole domain of logical truth. We must, however, contend that he carried his other principle of the "sufficient reason" too far, as a solution of difficulties connected with our contemplation of the moral universe. His doctrine of the "identity of indiscernibles" has been ably criticised by Kant, and shown to be untenable.† His notions of *à priori* truth, as a guide to theory, were obviously extravagant; in proof of which it is enough to refer to many parts of the "Monadology," which, agreeably to the remark of Brucker, are so perplexed and obscure as to confound his most admiring disciples. In regard to a pre-established harmony of the universe, no doubt there is a sense in which this is true; for, as has been beautifully said—here, even "all discord is harmony not understood" by mortals. But of Leibnitz's views on this subject, so far as they are an attempt to explain the phenomena of perception, or to solve the mystery of the mind's intercourse with the body and the outward universe, it may safely be affirmed that no theory was ever more gratuitous or baseless; and it did not survive Wolf, his successor and expounder, who himself much restricted its applications.

We have already seen that our author's "Optimism" followed consecutively from his doctrine of monads, and of pre-established harmony. The idea was originally Plato's; but Leibnitz's theory is generally accused of being more fatalistic than the Grecian, though he himself would not admit it. In the "Theodicée" he makes use of an allegory from Laurentius Valla. It relates to Sextus Tarquinius, and the outrage which caused the expulsion of his family from Rome. Leibnitz takes up the allegory where

\* "Differential Calculus," pp. 33, 34.

† "Der Satz des Nichtzuunterscheidenden, u. s. w.;" Vid. "Amphibolie der Reflexionsbegriffe," s. 229; "Kritik der rein. Vern." (Rosenkranz).



Valla leaves it, and makes Theodorus, the high-priest at Dodona, ask Jupiter why he had not given another *will* to Tarquin? Jupiter sends the priest to Athens, to consult Minerva, who shows him the palace of the Fates, in which there were representations of all possible worlds, each containing a Sextus Tarquinius, with a different *will*. In the last and best of these worlds, the high-priest sees Sextus, such as he is, with his existing will and propensities. Minerva is made to say:

"You see, it was not my father that made Sextus wicked. He was wicked from all eternity, and he was so voluntarily. Jupiter has only bestowed on him that existence which he could not refuse him in the best of all possible worlds. He only transferred him from the region of possible to that of actual beings. But what great events does the crime of Sextus draw after it—the liberty of Rome—a government fertile in civil and military virtues—an empire destined to conquer and civilise the earth."

Theodorus returns thanks to Minerva, and acknowledges the justice of Jupiter. This is truly Leibnitzian: but, ingenious as it may be, we suppose that our readers will think it far enough from being a special proof that the present is the "best of all possible worlds." We may add, here, that our author's avowed theory of moral necessity appears to have been essentially that subsequently maintained by the great American metaphysician and divine, President Edwards.

Religion, no doubt, compels the conclusion, that whatever the Supreme Being does or permits, is done or permitted for the wisest possible ends. This is probably the full extent of optimism that it is given to man to realise; and it satisfies devotion. But Leibnitz went further, and evidently regarded his "*Theodicæa*" as claiming to be a more specific solution of the origin of evil. We wish we could go more fully into his reasonings; but we should not, by so doing, throw any further light on the subject. The main idea is, that this must be the best possible constitution of the moral as well as physical universe, because God, as the perfect Being, could only have chosen such a world. Whatever general sense, we repeat, this statement is capable of, the difficulty consists in its application, in detail, to the phenomena and aspects of evil; nor could the subject even be entertained at all, without theological discussions hardly suited to our pages. After all, our author proves that evil in the universe is a *good*, only by the fact of its existence. As to any independent argument, this great genius has failed, like all others who have attempted the question; for his solution amounts, in reality, to a *petitio principii*. It offers no satisfactory answer to the many questions which might be asked as to a possible universe



viewed in connexion with a power, a wisdom, and a benevolence to which everything must be regarded as possible, but a logical contradiction.

There can be no doubt that, with all his genius, Leibnitz was eminently deficient, as compared with Bacon, Newton, or Locke, in that practical, inductive (we had almost said English) habit of mind, which some branches of truth especially demand. He has even been accused of extreme credulity. He tells us of a dog which he had heard speak several French words; among others, *thé, café, chocolat, and assemblée*.\* Dugald Stewart thinks that the dog's master imposed on Leibnitz by means of ventriloquism. One thing is certain—that his genius enabled him easily to frame theories; and, when once enamoured of them, he no less easily could find in them harmonies with the principle of contradiction, or the sufficient reason, or some other favourite axiom; and he was then ready to maintain them with a zeal and a profusion of learning and argument worthy of the most renowned leaders of the middle ages. However unfinished many of his projects were, he seems never to have abandoned the expectation of accomplishing them. This remark applies to his vast scheme of a universal language, to his calculating machine, and a variety of dynamical inventions. Bailly says of him :

“As daring as Descartes, as subtile as Bayle, perhaps less profound than Newton, and less cautious than Locke, but alone universal among all these great men, Leibnitz appears to have embraced the domain of reason in all its extent, and to have contributed the most to diffuse that philosophical spirit which constitutes the glory of the present age.”†

We close with a passage not less appropriate, from Miéville. The allusion is to the monument of Leibnitz, at Hanover, inscribed with the words *Ossa Leibnitzii* :

“Approach this tomb, and contemplate the man whom it contains. Observe the works deposited with him—his writings on theology and metaphysics, his letters on toleration, his profound researches on international law, the mass of his physical and mathematical solutions, and a variety of other intricate disquisitions, which combined to give him the character of the most general scholar of his age. He had the honour of sharing the invention of the Differential Calculus with the immortal Newton. An historian, a civilian, a metaphysician, and a poet, Leibnitz may be said to have embraced everything. The treasures of ancient learning were his, and he had the ambition to attempt a knowledge of the most abstruse subjects. He was thus led into bold speculations, from the pursuit of which he was sometimes recalled by the

\* Vid. “Rapport de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, à Paris,” 1706.

† “Eloge de Leibnitz.”

admonitory lessons of history, while, at other times, he ventured beyond his powers, and allowed the guiding-thread to escape from his hold, but proceeded, unconscious of his loss, and bewildered himself in the illusions of system. He then no longer argued—an ardent imagination created for him an assemblage of fantastic beings; dazzling hypotheses deceived his reason; and when he hoped to succeed in laying open one labyrinth, he was entangled in another.”\*

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### ART. III.—NOTES OF A VISIT TO THE PUBLIC LUNATIC ASYLUMS OF SCOTLAND.

BY JOHN WEBSTER, M.D., F.R.S., AND F.R.C.P.,

*Physician to the Scottish Hospital.*

(Concluded from page 202.)

#### ROYAL ASYLUM OF ABERDEEN.

THE remaining establishment to which I propose directing attention, is that of Aberdeen,—the oldest Asylum in Scotland, with the exception of Montrose. Having been founded originally in 1800, upwards of half a century has elapsed, during which many benefits have been conferred upon afflicted lunatics belonging to the northern counties: since it was then, as now, the only large institution of the kind within these districts. The Asylum is situated in the immediate vicinity of Aberdeen, towards the north-west: where it occupies a pleasant, open, and airy position. The site lies somewhat low, with moderately elevated ground in the rear; nevertheless, it is considered salubrious. Having gradually increased from an hospital intended originally for about 50 patients, to an average now of about 350, the present structure displays correctly, in stone and lime, the progressive advances of the idea entertained by most persons regarding a receptacle for lunatics during the past half-century; and, as such, or historically, it amply merits examination by psychological antiquarians.

Various courtyards are attached,—fourteen in number,—ten of which being large, they supply ample means for classification. There are, besides, smaller courts for seclusion; so that, when it becomes necessary to separate any patient from other inmates, this can be accomplished out-doors, and in the open air, instead of placing the lunatic in a dark, confined, and often ill-ventilated, objectionable apartment, which I have sometimes noticed elsewhere: of course, the above proceeding becoming only advisable during suitable weather. The absence of long noisy galleries for day occupations at this Asylum, and the various suites of

\* “Tombeaux du dix-huitième Siècle.”



sitting-rooms, likewise merit approval ; the only galleries used at present being bed-room passages, or corridors, which are never occupied during daytime, but constitute merely chambers of communication. It should further be mentioned that, the second-floor of this institution is solely appropriated for sleeping-rooms, or private apartments : whilst there is no third story, unless in a very small division of the building. Again, noisy and dirty patients sleep in those parts of the Asylum which are single-storied, but not sunken, or lower than neighbouring constructions.

Some disadvantages should, however, be noticed in the oldest portion of the structure, which is built on a plan not properly admitting of extension ; and whereby the kitchen, for instance, seems to have been stuck upon, rather than developed from, the original centre. The dormitories in some parts, also, are not admissible of being always conveniently classified, through proximity to the day-rooms occupied by that particular section of patients, to which these apartments are specially attached. Hence, inconvenience occasionally occurs when the inmates are retiring to bed ; whilst this arrangement tends, likewise, to separate the attendants' sleeping-rooms from those of their patients. Besides such minor defects, I might add that, the earlier additions made to the building do not appear to have been conceived with much prospective sagacity. They seem badly placed, have an inferior appearance, and are on a lower level than the main structure : whereby, these succursals have formed rather an obstacle to, instead of an advancing step towards, subsequent improvements. Having been now so long in operation—since the Asylum was first opened—as also from the ordinary effects of time and constant use, a censorious critic might say, there is rather a want of smartness in some portion of the house furnishings, which looked as if the worse of wear, and would be improved by modernizing. However, several appendages are really of a superior description ; and various extensive alterations, with improvements, being now in active progress, very soon the institution will possess additional accommodation for fifty more patients.

A new chapel has likewise been recently finished. Farther, the bathing apparatus is excellent, and much superior to similar appliances I have sometimes observed elsewhere. The separate sleeping-rooms are numerous, and by no means so large as the dormitories usually met with in other places : six to eight beds being frequent, but never more than eighteen occupying one apartment ; whereas, in some similar apartments previously visited, twenty-four and twenty-six beds seemed not uncommon. All the sleeping-rooms for patients are upstairs : the ground-floor being, as already stated, appropriated solely as work-rooms,



apartments for meals, or recreation. The whole appeared clean and well arranged. Hyper-critics might doubtless object to such dormitories upstairs being in any way intersected by a narrow passage running along the middle of a wing, or main building: the rooms for sleeping being on each side. Ventilation must certainly then be rather difficult to effect in apartments so arranged, whilst noise or disturbance may be thus more readily produced. Still, to my apprehension, this arrangement did not appear a really serious defect; and seeing much more accommodation was thereby obtained,—always an important object in reference to paupers, or those who pay a moderate sum for accommodation,—the plan had various advantages.

Although not altogether a professional question, some allusion to the financial condition of this Asylum deserves, at least, a passing remark: the facts being somewhat different from statements occasionally made in other quarters. Notwithstanding the low rates at which lunatics of the pauper class are kept in the Aberdeen institution,—viz., 15*l.* per annum, for every charge—board, lodging, clothing, and bedding,—there usually appears a balance at the end of each year. For example; upon an income of 5564*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* during 1854, the treasurer reported that 305*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* remained above the expenditure. Hence, this Asylum is self-supporting; whilst, it should be further remembered, such results occur without the assistance of annual subscriptions, donations from public bodies, or any appeal whatever to general charity, being thus quite different from what often occurs in England.

One important feature in the general arrangements of this establishment deserves special approval,—namely, the invariable rule which prevails throughout, of leaving the doors of every day-room, communicating with its appropriate airing-court or flower-garden, always *open* during day-time. Consequently, inmates have always free access to the one or other, as their feelings or wishes may incline. In this way, no appearance prevails of confinement; and patients may sit in the room reading, can walk about in the open court, or quietly repose in the shade, as best pleases each individual. There is no opening of door-locks, at particular times, to allow occupants to walk out, as if at drill: but obliged soon afterwards to retrace their steps, like some squad of prisoners. Nothing of the kind here exists; and I must repeat, this system of real non-interference seemed both beneficial and highly commendable. Of course, attendants were always present: whilst the judicious classification of patients became essential, in order to carry out this excellent scheme successfully. Somewhat similar arrangements are pursued in several French asylums I have visited: and partially, also, in

some British institutions; but at no institution for lunatics, to the best of my recollection, was this plan of never locking-up lunatics within their own day-rooms, or airing-courts, so systematically adopted, as in the Aberdeen Asylum, for which the managers deserve much praise. Truly, so good an example ought certainly to be followed in other insane establishments.

When perambulating various precincts, the inmates generally appeared orderly, quiet, and clean in their outward aspect. The females seemed even less violent than usually noticed in similar establishments: where they are often noisy, and always got more excited on seeing strangers, compared with men placed under similar circumstances. The physical health of residents was reported very good, and few were confined to bed by bodily illness, especially among male patients: the actual number of sick persons being two males and five females, of whom only two had become seriously indisposed. Five males were placed in temporary seclusion within their own apartments, besides one female; and two others were likewise separately confined, or rather kept, for a time, in an open court, solely appropriated to excited patients: both being then exceedingly violent. One male lunatic was also similarly treated; but none of these individuals suffered under any kind of bodily restraint; their limbs were free, and they could walk about, lie down, or sit, as best suited; whilst, the weather being fine, and the courtyard airy and open, whatever exercise they might then take proved beneficial. Non-restraint characterised the system here pursued, and the strait-waistcoat was unknown.

During my last visit to this asylum, along with Dr. Macrobin, the physician, who kindly conducted me everywhere, and to whom my best thanks are justly due for his courtesy, both then and on the previous occasion, I was somewhat astonished, but after an explanation, rather amused, on finding two unexpected occupants in the seclusion court appropriated to excited male lunatics. How the parties got there, or who they were, at first seemed mysterious, as no one could speak respecting their individuality; and the two lads—for such they were—being so frightened, they could scarcely give an account of themselves. Thinking they might find fruit on the inner wall—which looked like that of a garden—the culprits had scrambled up to seize their anticipated prize, but tumbling over, thus got caught, as if in a trap, without any chance of escape. Lunatics sometimes run away from an asylum, but sane persons seldom break into such establishments, being always more anxious to remain outside, than to get within such enclosures. Henceforward, it will be so with these reckless youths, whom we released from durance vile, after a suitable admonition, carefully to avoid falling again into



similar scrapes, lest they might be next time treated less mercifully.

Owing to the deficiency of accommodation for lunatics, in the northern counties of Scotland,—there being at present only a small establishment at Inverness, with another at Elgin, for pauper lunatics,—and from the frequency of mental derangement, especially throughout Highland districts, applications for admission into this asylum are always numerous; more so, indeed, than the executive can conveniently receive. Last year, for example, while sixty-five new cases were admitted, about forty had to be refused: solely on account of wanting the requisite accommodation, at the time of application; and even although some temporary dormitories had been erected, in order that the public convenience might be secured by every means possible.

At the time I visited this asylum, the aggregate lunatics amounted to 279: of whom 133 were male and 146 female patients. General paralysis comprised 4 males and 2 female inmates; the dirty cases amounted to 32, the sexes being equally divided; and lastly, several were complicated with epilepsy—the female victims of that intractable form of disease being, moreover, least numerous. Like other similar establishments, the various examples of amentia, mania, dementia, monomania, and melancholia became easily recognised. Hence, the patients actually under treatment presented nothing very unusual, many cases exhibiting the average type met with in most institutions for the insane; whilst a number were of such a chronic character, and had been so long afflicted by their mental malady, that any prospect of ultimate recovery was considered almost, if not utterly, hopeless.

Amongst the females noticed during my inspection, one patient particularly attracted attention, in consequence of her un-feminine appearance. In fact, she looked rather like a man than a woman, although dressed in female attire. Indeed, persons of a fanciful imagination might have even considered they then saw a Crimean heroine, as her face was decorated with large whiskers, beard, and moustaches—the last full grown! Having quite the masculine aspect, and being altogether a more curious specimen of the kind, than I had ever previously remarked, an inquiry was consequently made respecting her history. This maniac first became an inmate in 1845, being then aged about 45, and married, but without any family. Previous to admission, she had been ill nearly a year, and gradually become insane. No exciting cause was assigned, but domestic unhappiness had been presumed. At first, she laboured under melancholia, and then attempted suicide by cutting her throat. After admission, the patient appeared to entertain high religious fancies, having ideas about seeing Christ, with similar delusions: but at present, is fond of dressing in imi-



tation of royalty, and often calls herself the "king," the "queen," and so forth.

This unfortunate creature being a parochial lunatic, sent from a distant part of Scotland, and as no friend or relative now ever visits the asylum, it became impossible to obtain farther information than the above meagre details here given respecting her former condition, or hereditary features. Nevertheless, so well marked an example of a bearded female at least deserves record, on account of the great rarity of similar hirsute women.

On the last visit I made, in order to get better acquainted with the varied arrangements, and excellent system pursued at this well-managed establishment, every favourable impression previously received was confirmed, rather than shaken, by farther acquaintance. The following memoranda, then written, will indicate my opinion upon that occasion: "Arrangements are good, and system pursued is generally excellent. Many efforts appear made to improve the institution, as also to ameliorate the condition of its inmates. In the court-yards and day-rooms numerous tranquil patients were waiting to frequent chapel—to-day being Sunday. Altogether, I think more favourably of this asylum than previously, and it seems to improve by farther examination." Such were my observations then recorded; and they are here quoted to express the sentiments I entertained on that occasion.

During the twelve months, ending the 31st March last—comprising the official year of this establishment—65 new patients were admitted, 21 being males and 44 females, or almost two-thirds of the whole; thus indicating greater prevalence of insanity amongst that sex, than the opposite. The number discharged cured were 11 males and 28 females, or 39 altogether; which gives a ratio of 60 per cent. to admissions. The deaths amounted to 19; consisting of 14 male and 5 female inmates; hence making the rate of mortality 29·23 per cent. similarly calculated. It should, however, be mentioned, as rather remarkable, the proportion of deaths amongst male patients greatly exceeded that of females: the amount in the former sex being so high as 66·66 per cent.; whereas, the latter ranged 11·36 per cent. or about one-sixth.

Respecting the forms of disease manifested by patients when admitted, mania appeared the most common; almost half being of that category. Dementia and melancholia ranked next in frequency; both these varieties having each supplied nearly one-fifth, respectively. Three cases were complicated with epilepsy—all females; and 2 males, labouring under dementia, also suffered from general paralysis. Amongst the causes assigned as exciting insanity, intemperance occupied a prominent influence: which,

unfortunately, too often proves the case elsewhere ; the sexes being about equally divided. Hereditary predisposition embraced upwards of 38 per cent. : which seems a high proportion, but is influenced, doubtless, by the circumstance that many new patients belonged to Highland districts, where hereditary taint seems often transmitted ; and lastly, a rather larger proportion of the female patients, than is sometimes observed, had become insane through childbirth and nursing. Amongst the 19 deaths recorded, 12 of the whole number, or nearly three-fifths, were examples of dementia, only 2 of these being females ; whilst it is important to add, paralysis proved the immediate cause of death in half the fatal cases last specified. Of the patients cured, mania constituted by far the highest proportion : 26 recoveries being of that description, of whom more than half had not been attacked by their mental malady beyond one month prior to admission ; thereby demonstrating the great advantage of early removals to an asylum, and thus obviate many sad results which so often arise from detaining recently affected insane patients at their own homes. An opposite proceeding is always much to be deplored, especially amongst pauper lunatics. Knowing the erroneous notions which may often prevail upon this point, in some districts, through ignorance, prejudice, and even interested motives, on the part of parochial authorities, the above important fact, in reference to early treatment, cannot be too extensively promulgated, seeing it coincides with the uniform experience obtained at all public institutions for the insane. This gratifying result should be more particularly disseminated throughout Highland counties : where intelligence appears lower, and prejudices stronger, upon this question, than among more southern or commercial communities.

Amusing and occupying the patients are assiduously carried forward. These it is unnecessary to specify in any lengthened paragraph : the proceedings in this respect being satisfactory, and similar to other well-regulated asylums. The females find ample and varied occupation in domestic routine, or in other employments. Many male patients are generally engaged under the direction of gardeners, and the superintendence of attendants, throughout the enclosed grounds appertaining to this institution, which altogether contains about twenty-four acres—nearly six being covered by its different buildings, or appropriated as airing courts. From nine to ten acres are cultivated as gardens, mostly for kitchen produce : whilst about eight acres—now let on lease—or occupied by constructions not forming part of the institution—are capable, in most part, of being brought within the hospital enclosure.

Notwithstanding the above appliances, it is considered de-



sirable, in order that out-door occupation may continue adequate to the increasing number of field and garden labourers, that the extent of ground available for their operations should be enlarged. It is wished likewise, further to augment the means of in-door employments amongst male patients, which becomes usually more difficult of accomplishment than with most female inmates of lunatic establishments: particularly, where patients belonging to the middle or upper classes of society are admitted; this being much more frequent in the public asylums of Scotland than elsewhere.

The extension of various buildings and alterations, at present in progress, have curtailed materially the personal comfort of residents. Despite all these interferences with the ordinary movements of such an institution, no untoward circumstance has, however, resulted, excepting that recently, a convalescent female patient—abusing the trust placed in her recovered sanity—took advantage of an imperfect barricade, and escaped to her friends; who chose, instead of returning, to retain their relative. With reference to the extensive improvements in course of completion, I cannot do better than now transcribe the following paragraph from the recent Annual Medical Report, which says:—

“The compensating advantages that will immediately result to the residents themselves from these operations will be more than adequate to the discomfort undergone; for while the external appearance of the establishment will be improved, and its extent considerably enlarged, an inferior description of apartments will have been re-placed by rooms more in harmony with the newer portions of the building; several additions made and alterations effected admitting a more detailed classification of inmates, a better style of accommodation afforded to private patients, and various desirable improvements carried out in domestic arrangements.”

The medical officers of this asylum consist of Dr. Jamieson—resident physician and superintendent, with Dr. Macrobine as consulting physician: the latter being non-resident. Besides these able and accomplished practitioners, whenever any grave surgical disease supervenes in a patient, further assistance is always procured. This occurred recently, when Dr. Keith—senior surgeon to the Royal Infirmary, and distinguished for his practical knowledge—was called upon to give valuable assistance in two cases of importance. Another excellent feature characterising this asylum also deserves much praise—namely, medical pupils are admitted to attend the physicians, in order to obtain information and clinical experience respecting the treatment of mental diseases. In pursuance of this principle, and to make the attendance of professional students more useful, Dr. Jamieson gave a course of lectures on the medical jurisprudence of insanity. These



he afterwards published : and all were, I can add, very favourably received by the profession. Consequently, whether the benefits conferred upon suffering humanity, or the diffusion of sound knowledge thus promoted be considered, much credit is unequivocally due to the staff of this establishment : and therefore I would say, with much sincerity :—

O! si sic omnes.

### GENERAL REMARKS.

Reviewing the aggregate statements contained in previous pages, it there appears that, at the period of my visits to the different asylums, during the months of August and September, the total population then resident in the six public establishments inspected was considerable. To place the whole under one view, as likewise to show the general movement of patients, throughout the past twelve months, at these institutions, I have constructed the following table, to which attention is now requested :—

*Table showing Population and Movement of Inmates, at Six Public Asylums for the Insane in Scotland, during Twelve Months. Compiled by Dr. Webster.*

Asylum.	No. of Patients.			Admitted.			Discharged cured.			Deaths.		
	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
Edinburgh	273	283	556	98	114	212	28	66	94	24	27	51
Glasgow	199	182	381	123	117	240	60	56	116	32	30	62
Perth . .	77	64	141	23	13	36	6	11	17	7	8	15
Dundee .	94	113	207	26	25	51	12	9	21	6	5	11
Montrose	96	133	229	39	52	91	18	19	37	11	10	21
Aberdeen.	133	146	279	21	41	62	11	28	39	14	5	19
Total . .	872	921	1793	330	362	692	135	189	324	94	85	179

According to this document, it appears the total lunatic inmates amounted to 1793, the majority being females : of whom the number was 921, against 872 males. However, when the western districts of Scotland are compared with the eastern, the portion of each sex labouring under insanity seems very different. In the Glasgow Asylum, and that of Perth : which, although occupying a central position, is still more western than otherwise, in reference to the patients admitted, it will be perceived male residents were most numerous : seeing, these two institutions then contained 276 males and 246 females. On the other hand, at Montrose and Aberdeen the reverse prevailed : their population being 229 males to 279 females. At Edinburgh, also, on the east coast, females likewise preponderated. Again, in reference to new admissions, mental diseases seemed certainly to occur oftener among men, belonging to the western counties of

Scotland, than to the eastern: where 146 new male patients were admitted, against 130 females; whereas, 60 males to 93 females—all being recent cases—were received at the Montrose and Aberdeen Asylums. From such data, it may be fairly inferred that madness prevails more frequently in the western counties of Scotland amongst males: whilst, on the east coast, females oftenest become afflicted with mental alienation.

Another interesting feature should also be noticed in this table—viz., more females than males were cured; whereas, the deaths amongst male patients exceeded in amount those recorded throughout the other sex: thus showing that insanity proved more curable and less fatal in female, compared with male lunatics. These results are instructive: and should they be supported by further experience, especially if illustrated by a large array of additional facts, psychological physicians could then deduce important conclusions respecting the comparative frequency and prognosis of mental maladies when affecting the two sexes, with much greater confidence than heretofore.

Recent investigations having proved that the total lunatics and idiots now chargeable to parishes exceeds 3600: besides numerous private patients, of whom many are at present inmates of public asylums; it consequently appears, there is by no means adequate accommodation for the large number now afflicted with mental disease, especially in the northern counties. Hence, both at Montrose and Aberdeen, petitions for admission have been for some time back much more numerous, than these institutions could accommodate. When I visited the above asylums both were more than full, every exertion having been made to receive urgent and recent cases, wherever the executive could admit such sufferers. The patients refused admission during last year were considerable; and during my second visit to the Aberdeen Asylum, it was found impossible to take charge, even temporarily, of a sailor lad, who had become, only a few days before, furiously insane. Such statements demonstrate the urgent necessity for another asylum in the northern counties of Scotland: more imperatively, as from thence many applications are constantly made for admission into the two institutions just named. The authorities and landowners, both of the north, and in the western islands, ought therefore to bestir themselves in order to remedy this deficiency: particularly, when they know how important it becomes to place insane patients immediately under judicious treatment. As these advantages cannot be obtained at home—certainly by poor Highlanders—and seeing madness unfortunately prevails to a considerable extent within the districts mentioned, such want of proper accommodation consequently becomes more lamentable, and urgently demands an efficient speedy remedy.



Besides previous cursory observations respecting public Asylums for the Insane in Scotland, I would add some remarks in reference to their present management, as also on several points which deserve discussion. These are neither of magnitude nor importance: since most Scottish institutions deserve commendation in many essentials, and have kept pace in the onward march of improvement, fully commensurate with modern civilization. Nevertheless, all cannot be held up as models for imitation in every respect. Nay, according to my humble judgment, some appeared open to criticism in one or two phases, which consequently require amendment. The observations about to be made will, however, I hope, be received in the sense they are intended—namely, like mere suggestions expressed solely with a view to renovate, as it were, those defective movements which are occasionally observed in old physical constitutions, or antiquated corporations.

However, before entering upon the points subsequently mooted, I must premise that, the medical officers of every institution visited, seemed all actuated by the utmost zeal to promote the welfare and comfort of those afflicted human beings committed to their superintendence. Should defects exist, it is not their fault if these continue unremedied. Errors of construction are not easily amended. Mistakes in legislation, or erroneous rules relative to general management, they cannot always correct; seeing laymen sometimes improperly interfere, even with medical questions. Still, it would be unjust to deny that, generally, Asylum-managing committees are actuated by the same benevolent motives influencing resident officers,—namely, to advance by every possible means the material comfort of inmates, and to improve the institutions under their control, by adopting judicious amendments.

Regarding the official staff in lunatic establishments, it struck me, however, when considering the matter, that at several, some change in their position might be made most advantageously. For instance, the resident medical superintendent should have more administrative power than he often possesses, and should be better remunerated than sometimes happens. He ought to exercise *paramount* authority in everything appertaining to the management, and moral, medical, or physical treatment of patients. He should likewise attend all meetings of managing committees, although without the privilege of voting—from being a salaried officer—in order that he might give his opinion respecting the admission of new patients, or upon any professional questions which then arose: as also to prevent any future misunderstandings. The matron—who is sometimes too highly salaried, in relation to other officials and her actual position—appears frequently not



sufficiently subordinate. This objection has been felt elsewhere; and in France, for example, where they manage many things often so well in lunatic asylums, a lady matron is almost unknown. Throughout Scotland, as also in England, sufficient attention is not invariably paid to their qualifications in the character of housekeepers, head attendants, and as sick nurses; when the governors select for appointment this occasionally rather too self-important personage.

Some institutions have consulting physicians; but other establishments are without such medical attendants. The system should be uniform: and there ought invariably to be both a consulting physician and surgeon, whenever possible. These officers should be called in consultation respectively, at the discretion and request of the medical superintendent: for which duty they ought to be remunerated liberally. There should further be always two resident medical officers in every asylum; one being the assistant, and subordinate to the resident physician. Besides which, but particularly at large establishments, there ought to be resident pupils, or "internes," as usually prevails in France. This constitutes one of the many good features characterising various public insane asylums of that country.

Every building for the reception of lunatics should be disconnected with any other public establishment, whether infirmary, dispensary, or poorhouse. Even in lay management, it is desirable there should be no kind of union: much less any physical conjunction. Wherever this system exists, it ought to be altered as unsuitable; from being apt to become, in various conceivable ways, disadvantageous to the lunatic institution so situated.

The two departments for private and pauper patients—very common in the public asylums of Scotland, as likewise the accommodation supplied in each of these divisions, should be properly distinguished, and always separate. Farther, the classification of inmates ought to be made, in the first place, more with reference to the phase of their mental malady, and less as to the pecuniary allowance received. This desirable object may not be always possible in limited or old constructed dwellings; but henceforward, at every new asylum, which shall admit patients belonging to various social grades, special attention ought to be directed towards attaining separate buildings, like those now at Morningside, having gardens attached: instead of making—which occasionally happens—a common class, composed of the poorest private patients and pauper inmates. In truth, the educated and refined should never be indiscriminately mixed with the debased and unpolished, when afflicted by such a calamity as poverty, conjoined to mental alienation. I would further remark, that the impression produced on my mind,

whilst visiting particular asylums was, the distinctions adopted amongst patients sometimes appeared too much based on a system of money classification—each inmate deriving advantages according to their respective payments. Hence, individuals paying similar rates, although in a different mental condition, were often associated together, irrespective of their nosological peculiarities.

At an asylum I lately visited abroad, a totally opposite method was adopted: but which, however, carried the treatment too far the reverse. Patients in that establishment were usually classified according to their diseased mental condition, so that inmates paying a high board became associated with those of a lower scale; the chief advantages obtained by the higher-paying classes being a better kind of fare, in the same dining-hall with the others, and from having superior furniture in their private apartments. This mode of classification, though better in some respects than the Scottish system, has, nevertheless, a tendency to depreciate the condition of the upper class, by making them live, while in a similar mentally weak condition, with persons often of inferior education, of different habits, and varied acquirements. Both plans seem disadvantageous; but a combination of the two would be followed by fewer objections, in comparison, with the one usually adopted in North Britain.

At those Scottish asylums, where an inmate's board is paid quarterly, and in advance, some relaxation ought to be made in regard to the stringent rule now in operation, with reference to these money questions. It may be often very proper, when a new patient enters, that the first payment should be anticipated; but it looks rather like sharp dealing, if not implied injustice, wherever a rule exists like the following:—

“When any patient is removed, or dies before the close of a quarter, the committee shall have power to decide whether any, or what portion, of the sum advanced for board may be refunded.”

Such legislation seems, at least, unworthy of all respectable institutions: and in these cases an equitable proportion ought to be refunded as a matter of right, without, of course, any petition or formal application by relatives—especially if they are in poor circumstances.

So much of all pre-paid boards as did not seem fairly required for the time passed in the asylum, up to a patient's death, should be returned if demanded. Carrying into effect the proviso now quoted, sometimes proves very annoying to officials and others, who come in contact with the friends and connections, especially of deceased patients; whilst in some cases it may cause—as, for example, with convalescents—the patient being removed too quickly, owing to the arrival of quarter-day. Besides, it



may even occasion a longer residence than is desirable, in consequence of three months' farther board having become payable.

Instead of the above proceeding, an invariable regulation should prevail, that a patient's discharge may take place at any time thought advisable by the resident medical superintendent, without pecuniary loss arising to the party, but not according to the practice now prevalent: namely, at the end of each term. The board of private patients should likewise be paid as it is charged—viz., by weeks, and not quarterly.

Prior to admitting a lunatic into any public asylum, some relation or friend entitled to perform such acts, must present a petition to "The Honourable" the sheriff of the county, wherein the asylum is situated, or to his substitute, which "humbly sheweth," the afflicted person there named is in such a state of mental derangement, as to require treatment in a lunatic institution. This document must be accompanied by one medical certificate. Having considered such petition, the sheriff may at once order the party's admission. In short, this formality—for it is virtually nothing else in most cases—treats the maniac like an accused pannel on trial, instead of a suffering invalid afflicted by mental disease, requiring medical aid and benevolent superintendence: certainly, not a judicial decision thus promulgated as if by some legal tribunal. Unless in reference to delinquents contravening the laws of property or persons, similar applications to sheriffs should never be required. Proper medical certificates are all that is necessary, in ordinary cases of insanity: and upon these managing committees should alone decide.

When any criminal lunatic is consigned to a public asylum, then a judicial warrant becomes essential: but otherwise it seems superfluous, and may be discontinued. In England no authority of this description is essential; where, it cannot be asserted any evil consequences ever ensue, because lunatic patients are admitted, for instance, into Bethlem Hospital, without the sanction of a judge, or even the police magistrate. As controller and official visitor of every lunatic establishment, within his own jurisdiction, there could not be a more appropriate supervisor than the sheriff: who, being the highest legal authority in every county, ought therefore to possess that power to its fullest extent. Such supervision becomes most beneficial. Nevertheless, believing the sheriff's warrant unnecessary, excepting in criminally accused lunatics, I consequently think there should be invariably *two* medical certificates, stating far more minutely than at present, not only the opinion of the gentlemen signing, but the chief symptoms inducing them to conclude the party is insane: and that not so much from mere belief, as actual personal knowledge. These particulars every medical practitioner should certify like an ordinary



declaration, and in common language, not "*on soul and conscience*:" which words the printed form used for that purpose constantly contains. Feeling great repugnance to employ similar expressions, when writing medical opinions, and thus taking an oath, whilst performing only ordinary professional duties, I would strenuously advise the phrase now quoted to be expunged by future legislation: considering it both misapplied, and highly objectionable. This opinion refers quite as strongly to ordinary certificates, which physicians or surgeons are sometimes called upon to give, respecting the health of persons they may attend professionally: since these documents must likewise contain the phrase "soul and conscience." In such cases it ought to be sufficient, if the person signing certifies any fact, like a man of honour and a gentleman. He always expresses truth on every occasion, whether simply by word of mouth, or in *litera scripta*.

My chief object being, when drawing up these Notes, to give a brief account of the asylums inspected and their present condition, rather than to discuss minutely the laws affecting lunatics, it may perhaps therefore appear somewhat out of place now to enter into any lengthened disquisition upon the latter subject; still, in the early portion of this communication, having enumerated the Acts of Parliament by which these establishments are governed, and how the insane should be treated, speaking in a legal sense, there is one point in reference to single lunatics deserving consideration. I here allude to the clause in the statute of George IV., whereby it is enacted that "no person, *except a relative*, shall receive any one insane patient without a sheriff's order and certificate." According to this enactment, relations may retain lunatics at home, and thus exempt them from legislative interference. To show the manner this exemption occasionally works, one interesting case that recently occurred in a rural district of Scotland may be mentioned, and of which I am cognizant, having myself seen the individual. The subject referred to was a young man, in whose family insanity seemed hereditary. Having become attacked with mania, the relatives sent him to an asylum: where, after a short residence, his attack became much ameliorated, and ultimately the improvement appeared so decided, that he was removed home. There, however, having soon got worse, his father and brother being unable to control this now furious maniac, and at the same time to attend their own out-door occupations, generally tied the poor fellow with ropes, then laid him on a bed in an empty room, and often on his back in the garden, where he remained until they returned in the evening. This cruel proceeding becoming notorious in the neighbourhood, a benevolent gentleman took up the case: but he encountered great difficulty in persuading the parent and brother either to alter their conduct, or to send the

unfortunate lunatic again to an asylum. No law could compel these parties. No stranger, nor even a medical man, possessed the right to interfere. This patient had never committed any criminal act; and none of the local magistrates were made aware of the circumstances. In short, nothing could be done without meeting many obstacles: until at last, both by persuasion and even threats on the gentleman's part—already mentioned, this ill-used, most violent, and dangerous maniac was again replaced under proper management in a public institution. Were the laws more stringent respecting single patients, painful cases like the above would then be more easily remedied, than at present seems possible, according to legal formalities.

Other cases illustrating the baneful effects of too early removals of insane patients from asylums might be mentioned, but it appears supererogation. However, before leaving the subject, I would observe, that such proceedings are much more frequent than seems advisable; as may be shown by the following statement obtained from one of the institutions previously passed under review. During a period of nearly two years, 45 males and 50 females—altogether 95 patients—were discharged from the asylum in question. Of these, 26 male and 29 female inmates were dismissed in accordance with the medical superintendent's advice; while 19 male and 21 female patients were removed contrary to his recommendation. Amongst the former class—55 in number—6 were transferred to other institutions, being only improved; whereas, the remaining 49 appeared cured—using the term as merely indicating their greater or less ability to perform ordinary duties of life. The results of those discharged as convalescent were thus reported. Not known, 9; returned, 7; but of whom some were relapses, having been in the house more than once previously; and 2 males were marked as doubtful, in reference to their recovery. Consequently, there remained 14 males and 17 females, or actually 31 cases out of 38, whose ultimate history could be accurately traced: making 81 per cent. who became perfectly cured. Again, of the 40 patients removed contrary to medical advice, 13 were discharged under protest, and 27 through the influence of persuasion. Amongst the latter description, most were parties who then seemed either convalescent, but not sufficiently tested: or those who, from the form of their mental disease, appeared safe and manageable. However, with reference to many of these individuals, the entreaties of relatives, or inspectors of poor, became much more readily listened to, in order to diminish over-crowding, and to make room for the more clamant cases.

Respecting the 27 patients reluctantly discharged through persuasion, 10 seemed convalescent, and 17 were in various stages of improvement. Of the above number, the result stood thus:



6 remained unknown, 6 continued improved, 7 were considered convalescent, and 8 soon became much worse: of whom 3 died, and 2 returned to the asylum, while 3 still enjoy their liberty. Amongst the 13 patients removed under protest, only 1 could be considered as really convalescent: though all the others, except 1, had made more or less improvement. In these cases the following results were reported: 2 could not be ascertained, 4 remained the same, while 5 soon got worse; and lastly, 2 died—1 being by delirium tremens. This fatal case constituted an example of dipsomania in a well-educated young man, who came under treatment as a suicidal melancholic. Nevertheless, he was removed from the institution, about a month after his entry, in opposition to most earnest entreaties and warnings respecting consequences. Thus, of the parties discharged contrary to advice, and whose subsequent history is known, none have improved: whilst the majority afterwards either became worse, or ended fatally. These facts are instructive, and indicate conclusively the injurious results frequently attending premature removal of lunatic patients from asylums, when only approaching a state of convalescence.

Notwithstanding the brief remarks made in a former page, apparently censuring some regulations now in force at particular institutions: readers should, however, always remember that it was in Scotland where one of the earliest public asylums for the reception of lunatics, and improved treatment of mental diseases, was first founded, throughout the entire United Kingdom. Besides this creditable distinction, when contrasted with other countries, it should likewise be recollected that of late considerable progress has been made in their management, highly honourable to many official functionaries. Indeed I can justly add, in addition to occupying, amusing, and physically treating insane residents, in a manner very superior to the system pursued in former times, the intellectual culture of such patients—often previously much neglected—has been materially advanced: not only greatly to the lunatics' present comforts, but also their future advantage, when discharged from the asylum. Hence, these proceedings reflect considerable credit on the gentlemen by whom such praiseworthy tasks—often most beneficial—are undertaken.

Believing some remarks upon the regulations whereby public asylums for the insane throughout France are at present governed, and on the laws affecting lunatics: as likewise, the proceedings which become necessary prior to any patient being admitted into such establishments, before concluding these Notes, one or two brief observations will, it is hoped, be neither considered out of place, nor irrelevant to the legal questions I have discussed, in various paragraphs of this communication.

Therefore, I would now observe that, according to the Act of



30th June, 1838, each department of France is obliged to provide a public establishment, especially destined for receiving and treating lunatic patients belonging to the district ; or to arrange, under the Minister of the Interior's sanction, with a public or private asylum in the same or a neighbouring department, to admit their insane paupers. It is, however, permitted in certain cases to appropriate a separate division, in civil hospitals, for lunatics, should there be sufficient accommodation for not less than fifty patients. As every lunatic establishment is now placed under the direction of the Préfet of the department, the President of the Tribunal, the local Procureur Imperial, Judge of the Peace, and Mayor of the Commune, and as the institution must be visited by the Procureur of the Arrondissement, at least every six months (in addition to visits made by the Préfet, with any other official persons delegated by him, or the Minister of the Interior), there is some guarantee the asylum will be properly conducted. Besides these regulations, before an establishment can be opened for the admission of insane patients, all rules for their internal administration must be approved by the Minister prior to being put in force. By another clause of the same Act, it is expressly forbidden for any person to establish, or even to superintend a private insane asylum, without government authorization ; besides, in such cases, it is also enacted that, every house—intended for the reception of lunatic patients—should be entirely separate from any private establishment receiving inmates affected with other diseases. Lastly, the Procureur of the Arrondissement must officially visit every private asylum in the district : at least once in three months, at undetermined periods.

According to King Louis Philippe's ordonnance, of the 18th December, 1839—which regulates many details not comprehended in the previous Act of 1838—it is ordered, that every public asylum for the insane shall be administered under the authority of the Minister of the Interior and the Préfet of the department, assisted by a commission, acting gratuitously, of five members, and appointed by the Préfet. The Director of such establishment, as also the Physicians—both chief and assistants—in the first instance, are nominated by the Minister ; but if vacancies afterwards occur, the Minister appoints from a list of three candidates proposed by the Préfet. However, some modification has been recently made respecting these employments, although in effect the chief patronage still remains with the Minister : since he may add certain parties, of his own free will, to the list of candidates, and then nominate his favourite to any vacant office. Besides, as the Minister may revoke all appointments of director and physicians, upon the report of the Préfet ; as he settles the salaries of officers ; and farther, seeing the Préfets

are only Government servants, by whom they are appointed, and at whose pleasure they retain their offices, the Minister of the Interior becomes, in fact, the sole dispenser of every important appointment attached to the public insane asylums in France; much in the same way as the Minister of Justice possesses legal patronage. Although the chief physician must reside, according to this ordonnance, within the asylum, he may nevertheless, through favour, obtain a special permission from the Minister, to live elsewhere. In that case, however, he ought to visit the lunatics confided to his care, at least once every day: and, if prevented, this duty must be performed by a resident physician.

The above constitute some of the chief regulations respecting public insane asylums. But when any person is desirous of obtaining a licence to open a private establishment, such applicant must petition the Préfet of the department in which the proposed institution is situated, to whose satisfaction it should be proved that, he is twenty-one years of age, and in the enjoyment of all his civil rights: that his conduct and morals have been good during the three previous years—as shown by the certificate of the Mayor of the Commune in which the party has resided; and lastly, that he is a Doctor of Medicine. However, in cases where the petitioner does not possess that qualification, he may then produce an obligation from some physician who engages, with the Préfet's approval, to undertake the medical duties of, and to reside in, that asylum; but as the Préfet can at any time revoke this nomination, it is not likely the treatment of the patients will be much neglected. To these details respecting the constitution and ordinary government of public and private insane establishments throughout France, I will only add that, besides the official persons previously mentioned, there are also two Inspectors-General of all the lunatic asylums in the empire, with one adjoint Inspector: whose special duties, amongst others, are to visit and report to the Minister of the Interior, in reference to the management, or otherwise, of the insane; and everything of importance connected with these establishments.

By the present lunacy laws of France, there are two classes of patients in establishments for the insane: namely, 1, voluntary; and, 2, those designated *d'office*. Regarding the former, or voluntary patients, prior to being admitted into an asylum, a petition is presented to the authorities by some near relative of the party considered a lunatic. This document must be accompanied by the certificate of *one* legally qualified medical practitioner, who states the patient is insane, and requires confinement in an asylum,—the characteristic features and chief symptoms of the mental malady being specially mentioned. Besides these essential requisites, the medical certificate ought not be of longer date than fifteen days previously; and it will not be received, if signed



by any relation of the patient : or, where the party signing is a medical officer in the establishment, to which the lunatic will be consigned. This document, however, may be dispensed with in very urgent cases, where the individual's safety, or that of the public is compromised : if remedied by subsequent proceedings. After the patient's reception, every paper respecting the case in question must be transmitted, within twenty-four hours, to the Préfet of the department.

In reference to judicial lunatics, or those technically classed *d'office* cases, the Préfet, and certain public officers, may order the admission into an asylum of any interdicted or non-interdicted person, considered as actually insane, in order to receive proper treatment. He may also similarly confine an individual, whose mental condition, or state of alienation, compromises public order, or the safety of the community. Further, in cases causing imminent danger to the public peace—provided the fact is attested by an authorized medical practitioner, or even from general notoriety—a commissary of police, or the mayor of an arrondissement, may place such dangerous lunatics under restraint ; but these examples must be immediately afterwards reported to the constituted officials, who make additional inquiries, if deemed necessary, and act accordingly.

Such are the proceedings considered essential when consigning lunatics to an asylum. Previous, however, to that step being taken, some remarks respecting the procedure usually adopted with regard to private patients alleged to be insane, may not appear altogether supererogatory on the present occasion.

When any individual is suspected to labour under an attack of mental disease, especially if moving in the middle or upper classes of society, instead of proceeding as in England under similar circumstances, a *Conseil de famille* assembles, who see the party implicated, examine the whole case, and then draw up a *procès verbal* of the facts, for the *Procureur Imperial*. This judicial authority now orders two medical practitioners, authorized to perform such duties, to visit the party separately, take evidence, and afterwards forward him their opinions. On these documents that magistrate pronounces his judgment : when the patient is either sent to an asylum, or otherwise treated, as he may decide.

Although the above mode may be usually followed in ordinary cases, sometimes more summary measures become necessary with persons, in whom an attack of insanity has suddenly supervened. For instance, should a legally qualified medical practitioner think any patient, then under his care, is actually insane, and dangerous to others or himself, he may at once convey the party to a *maison de santé*, and there leave him along with a certificate of insanity, containing full particulars. The proprietor of the insti-



tution thus selected immediately forwards a statement of every fact therewith connected to the Inspector-General of Lunatics, who subsequently sends two physicians to examine the patient separately, and to report specially respecting the case, with its attending circumstances: upon which that officer makes his decision.

To illustrate the application of this latter form of proceeding, I subjoin an outline of three cases which actually occurred to a professional friend of mine practising in Paris. 1. A British peer called one morning to consult that gentleman respecting his health. Having described various symptoms, it became very evident the party had lost his reason. This suspicion became fully confirmed by the Noble Lord producing a bowie-knife, with which he threatened to kill an individual then named. After some parley, the physician induced his Lordship to take a drive, as if for recreation, and thus carried him off to a *maison de santé*, where he was safely lodged with a proper certificate. The inspector-general having been speedily informed of the occurrence, ordered two sub-inspectors to investigate and report their opinions. Every legal formality being thus complied with, and as the nobleman so confined was found to be unequivocally insane, he remained under treatment until discharged convalescent. 2. This instance occurred in an Irishman, who had taken the pledge to abstain from intoxicating drinks in Ireland. To quiet conscience, and not to violate his promise, a visit to Paris was undertaken. There, however, the individual lived so freely that delirium tremens ensued, which soon required medical attendance. As no doubt existed respecting the attack, or its appropriate management, my medical informant speedily transferred his patient, much in the same manner as the previous person, to a *maison de santé*, in which he was placed with a certificate of insanity properly filled up, and there he stayed till recovery. 3. The third example also occurred in the "*clientelle*" of the same practitioner. One evening he was sent for to a neighbouring café to see an Englishman, then labouring under delirium tremens, and very furious. Fortunately, Mr. Forrester, the London police officer, was also in the house: who, being accustomed to manage physically dangerous customers, seized this party under the physician's directions, pinioned him in such a manner as to prevent further mischief, and afterwards transferred him, then raving mad, to a *maison de santé*. There he also continued till cured: the proper formalities having been complied with, as in the other two cases just quoted.

No difficulty was encountered, nor did injurious delay occur in any of the three patients whose history has here been briefly related, to describe the procedure which can be legally adopted in France, when insanity suddenly supervenes: or, wherever persons so affected have become dangerous either to themselves or

the community. In this way, no time is lost before placing similar examples under judicious superintendence. Consequently, in these cases, or when a *Conseil de famille* has assembled to investigate the condition of any alleged lunatic, whose mental affection appears doubtful, or seems of a more chronic character, much advantage often accrues from adopting either measure specified. Neither friends nor attendants are certainly so apt to suffer personal injury, where furious maniacs can be in this way easily, yet legally, transferred to places of safety, and thereby receive right treatment. Such proceedings prove, besides, always highly beneficial to the patient. Further, public scandal, and all unpleasant discussion respecting the private affairs or strange conduct—often originating from disease—of individuals, especially if moving in the upper classes of society, will be effectually obviated. This undesirable result rather frequently supervenes in England, when an investigation *de lunatico inquirendo*—the more likely if about a party possessed of property, or occupying an elevated station—becomes instituted before ordinary legal tribunals. Therefore, should alterations in existing lunacy laws be proposed, the above instructive facts well deserve mature deliberation.

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#### ART. IV.—ON THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PHENOMENA OF DREAMS AND APPARITIONS.

[No. I. of a Series.]

MAN is regarded as a living microcosm. The organic machinery which regulates his bodily and mental functions are of two kinds:—

Firstly, those which induce the involuntary functions of animal life, as the heart and other organs associated with the circulation of the blood, and the lungs, by which its vital quality is preserved; besides which there are the various organs of secretion and excretion, by which the body and its different parts are kept in repair, or which are essential to remove poisonous matter from the vital fluid itself, which supplies the material for this renovating process.

Secondly; the voluntary functions, which are essential to conserve to the wants of the individual—animal, moral, and intellectual, or which conduce to his relaxation, refinement, and elevation, as the highest in the scale of created beings, and which conjointly constitute him an organic entity with social, domestic, responsible, percipient, and reflective powers, and through which he preserves his relations to both the outer and the inner world.

It is the voluntary powers, or those which are appreciated



by consciousness, that must occupy a few brief remarks, as essential to comprehend the views to be submitted in this Essay.

Before we can explain the phenomena of dreams, it is important to understand what is the final cause of sleep. We may premise, that the machinery of our complicated body is worked by a certain *stimulus*, which we call, for practical purposes, nervous fluid, or *vis nervosa*, and which, from evidence to be submitted, seems to depend on the brain for its elaboration.

This fluid, in a healthy person, is supplied to all the organs essential to digestion, assimilation, locomotion, and so forth. And when the body and mind are in a normal condition, the distribution of this vital principle will be in the due proportion to the requisite wants of every organ essential for the functions indicated.

Yet it is a matter of experience, that the nervous fluid may be exhausted by too great mental occupation, in which case the digestion is enfeebled, and the organic functions seriously deranged; or if this important stimulus is appropriated in too great proportion by the muscular system, as in excessive exercise; that in either case exhaustion is induced, and nature has rendered the sense of fatigue, consequent on such conditions, to be followed by a desire for repose.

Let us trace the obvious and salutary results. During the absolute rest of the organs of volition, and the nervous centres by which all actions are performed, there is what is called profound sleep. The brain ceases for a time to be the instrument of thought or emotion, although, as a great galvanic battery, it seems to be elaborating a fresh supply of the vital power (nervous fluid), and, by means of its continuous conductors—the nerves—distributing it to every organ of the body. And thus, when the sleeper awakes, he is refreshed and invigorated.

But if the sleep is imperfect and partial, these results do not follow, and there is experienced a sense of lassitude and discomfort. It is in such unsound sleep that dreams occur.

That there is nothing speculative in these opinions as to the actual condition of the brain, in sound and in partial sleep, we cite a case quoted by Dr. M'Nish in his "Philosophy of Sleep," as furnishing conclusive evidence on these interesting phenomena:—

"Dr. Perquin, a French physician, records the fact now quoted. It fell under his notice in one of the hospitals of Montpellier, in the year 1821. A female of the age of twenty-six had lost part of her scalp, skull-bone, and dura-mater, under a malignant disease (syphilis), which had been neglected. In consequence of these injuries, a portion of the brain had been exposed, and admitted of being inspected.

"When she was in a dreamless sleep, her brain was motionless, and



lay within the cranium. When her sleep was imperfect, and she was agitated by dreams, her brain moved and protruded within the cranium, forming a cerebral hernia. In vivid dreams, reported as such by herself, the protrusion was considerable. And when she was perfectly awake, especially if engaged in active thought or sprightly conversation, it was still greater. Nor did the protrusion occur in jerks, alternating with recessions, as if caused by the impulse of arterial blood. It remained steady while conversation lasted.”\*

This fact, and other similar ones, prove that during profound sleep the active condition of the mental functions ceases; although it is most probable that the base of the brain may continue to supply nervous energy to the heart and lungs. But during the dreaming state, some of the mental powers indicate their activity by motions in the cerebral organs on which they depend for their manifestations.

This knowledge furnishes some data for our subsequent opinions on the philosophy of dreams and ghosts, and which, if rejected, leave these subjects more curious than of any practical advantage to comprehend a true philosophy of mind; for, without such information, there is a liability to form the most discrepant theories, as may be verified by examining the attempted explanations of these phenomena by many previous writers.

Thus Addison regards “dreams as the soul’s relaxation after she is dismembered of her machinery, and that she is then the theatre, the actor, and the beholder.”

And Dryden furnishes not any better solution when he says,—

“Dreams are the interludes which fancy makes;  
When Monarch Reason sleeps, this mimic wakes;  
Compounds a medley of disjointed things—  
A mob of cobblers, and a court of kings.  
Light fumes are merry, grosser fumes are sad,  
Both are the reasonable soul run mad;  
And many monstrous forms in sleep we see,  
That never were, nor are, nor e’er can be.”

Dugald Stewart’s theory of dreaming is, that in sleep we have lost, or nearly so, all volition over the bodily organs; but that those mental powers which are directly important for our volition may retain a certain degree of activity.

\* We may incidentally remark, that if there were but this one solitary instance on record, its importance in connexion with the subject under consideration is as valuable to the student of the philosophy of dreams, as the accident narrated by Dr. Beaumont, of America, (cited by Dr. Andrew Combe, in his work on Digestion,) has proved in reference to gastric phenomena. In both instances there is furnished important demonstrations of the respective functions of the brain and stomach; and the means of confirming or correcting the speculations of physiologists who had previously written on both subjects.

The writer of the Article *Dreams* in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," asks—

"What parts of the human being are active, and what dormant, when he dreams? Why does not he always dream when asleep? Or why dreams he at all? Do any circumstances in our constitution, situation, and peculiar character determine the nature of our dreams?"\*

Abercrombie speaks of four varieties of the dream: 1st. Wrong associations of new events. 2nd. Trains of thought from bodily associations. 3rd. Revival of associations. 4th. Casual fulfilment of a dream. We do not essentially differ from these divisions, but do not recognise the last. Nor does this author give any lucid elucidation of the predisposing causes for these various phases of dreaming. And if we look for more definite notions among ancient writers, including Plato, we shall be greatly disappointed. Certainly the latter has treated on these phenomena, and speaks of many kinds of dreaming, from the imagination half asleep, to those more painful kinds which he terms *ephaltes* (night-mare). And an anonymous writer says of dreams:—

"These nocturnal phantasmata, which disturb the soft embraces of Morpheus with their playful and visionary forms, are suggested often by pain, by sounds, and various bodily sensations, in the same manner as are trains of waking thoughts."

The apparent solution to what seems otherwise a mass of ambiguities, can only be found in a number of well-observed cases, based on the clear and lucid difference of physiological and psychological phenomena; and this result can only be ensured when we are guided by a sound system of mental philosophy in harmony with man's organization. And the first essential for the absolute comprehension of our subject is to admit the rationality of Gall's theory of the brain,—that it is not a single organ, but that its different portions are the instruments by which are manifested feelings, emotions, perceptions, and so forth.

If, on the contrary, we retain the earlier views of physiologists, and deem the whole brain essential for every sentiment or intellectual operation, we have not any definite data to aid us in our investigation, or to comprehend the various *phases* of temper, and disposition, and mental capacity which exist in different individuals, and mark them so perfectly during the waking state, and which preserve many of their specialities in dreams. And, without an admission of the compound nature of the mental

\* We shall, in the course of this essay, answer these questions; or, in other words, our solution to these mental riddles, will, in a measure, reply to these queries.



machinery, little could be practically done in the treatment of many forms of insanity, which are proved to result from abnormal states of the brain.

It is, therefore, important for our purpose to offer certain presumptive evidence in favour of Gall's theory, as furnishing preliminary data for analysing the phenomena of dreams, and the examples which will be subsequently submitted as illustrations.

We need not cite the mass of indubitable evidence of "stubborn facts," which have led to the inductive inference that the brain is a compound organ,—that its various functions act purely in obedience to physiological laws, and yet there is nothing in these views which are opposed to our intuitive notions of a soul. All that is affirmed, then, by these views is simply that so long as there exists a connexion between the body and the soul in this life, the attributes of the latter must be manifested through the organization. Or, in other words, that the soul uses the brain for mental purposes, just in the same way that it uses the eyes to see with, and the muscles for volition. And finally, that its *unity* is not implicated because we speak of various feelings, sentiments, perceptions, and so forth, any more than is that of the body because its operations are compound, and the results diversified.

There is, however, additional evidence that the brain and its parts perform different and distinct functions, from its anatomical structure and great complexity in man. This complexity may be demonstrated by a comparison with the brains of other animals, which are less so, in different degrees, in a descending scale; or if we commence with the simplest form of the nervous system, and ascend in a regular series. Thus, the worm has not a nervous centre (a brain), and we perceive that its functions are purely automatic. And as we rise in the scale of being, even when but few instincts are manifested with volition, there is found a simple brain, and the cerebral mass increases in complexity more and more, in the ratio of the number of the mental functions each class of beings have to perform, until in man this complexity is the greatest, and his superiority is commensurate.

The mental faculties of man are divided into four genera—1st. The animal propensities essential to man's terrestrial wants. 2nd. The moral attributes, which are of an elevating and refining tendency, and control any overt acts of selfishness. 3rd. The external senses. 4th. The intellectual faculties.

The *senses* are regarded as the *media* between the world without, and inner or spiritual world within, whilst the mind alone gives us consciousness of our actual existence.

There is also an anatomical fact in reference to the brain,



which is too important to be unheeded, as it is essential to comprehend some of the mental phenomena we shall have to refer to in explaining certain peculiarities in the dreaming state, and in ghost-seeing—that the brain is double, and like the nerves of sense, possesses an important purpose. The final cause may be, that if one set of organs are fatigued, the other may exercise their respective functions. And in injuries from accident or disease in one hemisphere, the mental operations may be carried on by the healthy one; in the same manner as when an eye is destroyed by some casualty, the other may continue the function of vision.

With these preliminary considerations, we may proceed to discuss the views to be submitted in this essay. And, assuming that we have made it evident, that when the external senses and the brain are in a state of that comparative negation which we designate by a condition of perfect rest, sleep the most profound is the certain consequence. But if only parts of the brain rest, and the external senses are easily excited by their respective *stimuli*, then dreams are almost a certain result. And their coherence or incoherence will depend on the number, more or less, of those faculties which are, in the waking condition, essential for obtaining clear perceptions, independently of any accidental association.

“Lulled in the countless chambers of the brain,  
Our thoughts are linked, by many a hidden chain,  
Awake but one, and lo! what myriads rise,  
Each stamps its image, as the other flies.”

That these views are in accordance with accurate observation, we may confirm by noticing the effect of an over vigilance of the mental faculties, that in such cases sleep is banished, and the converse phenomena take place of those which occur from a normal result of certain healthy exercises. The vigilant condition is thus graphically described in Henry the Fourth's beautiful soliloquy on *Sleep*.

“O gentle sleep!

Nature's soft nurse, how have I frightened thee,  
That thou no more will weigh my eyelids down,  
And steep my senses in forgetfulness.”

The predisposing causes of dreams may be various, but they are all invariably referrible to some conditions of the body—its position, irregular or excessive circulation; or to some conditions of the brain, or the external nerves.\*

\* Although we refer dreams to cerebral phenomena, yet we think with an anonymous writer that this doctrine does not invalidate the proof of the prophetic use God may have formerly made of them; for Omnipotence may excite material organs in a definite manner, so as to convey true prophecies. The phantoms them-

Wolfius and Forney supposed that dreams never arise in the mind, except in consequence of some of the organs of sensation having been previously excited. But these views are only part of the truth, unless by a latitude of speech, the cerebral organs are included.

We shall consider the subject of dreaming under four heads—

1st. When the primary impression is made on the sense of sight, smell, taste, touch, and hearing, as the first division of what we may term suggestive causes.

2nd. Physical sensations, as cold, heat, currents of air, et cetera, as inducing a second form of suggestive causes.

3rd. When the mental faculties are some of them in a state of activity, from some abnormal condition of health.

4th. When a similar, or aggravated condition exists, from narcotics, or stimulants, with an active temperament.

And, lastly, we shall indicate some curious conditions of the muscles, either as inducing dreams, or as resulting from some circumstance connected with them.

We have collected a number of interesting instances which clearly prove that when the mind is in the transition state between sleeping and wakefulness, that during this period of imperfect consciousness, if any strong impression is made on the organs of the external senses, such impression is a suggestive source of some form of dreaming. But then there must be some susceptibility to be easily influenced by the respective stimuli, as in profound sleep the "senses," like the brain, are steeped in forgetfulness. A few examples will better explain our meaning than any mere theoretic views.

**BLIND MAN OF BARNSELY.**—Mr. —, a retired tradesman, at whose house the writer resided for a brief period, was totally blind, except being sensible of the difference of a light or a dark apartment. He had lost his sight for some years, but it was after his children had, most of them, grown up to be young men and women. During the previous portion of his life, he had been in the habit of taking active exercise—hunting two or three times a week. When at his house at the time now mentioned, he was doomed to remain within doors, or sit, during fine weather, in the garden. The circumstance to be related occurred on a beautiful morning in October. He had had a chair placed for him with his face in a southern aspect, the bright sun shining on him. And there he sat in deep thought, smoking his pipe, musing o'er his past existence. He, however, soon fell

selves may be referrible to motions of the organs of the brain, like ocular spectra in the retina, or the imaginary sounds and noises that some nervous people hear. But the coincidences between the dream and the event which it seemed to predict, constitute the astonishing part, and render them miraculous.



into a sound sleep, just as we entered the garden. He continued so for some time, and moved himself, whilst his expression then became more pleasing than usual, and it was manifest that he was dreaming, and we watched with great interest the varying changes of his well-formed features. Instead of his ordinary appearance of discontent, or a merely blankless expression, he appeared to be agreeably excited. At length we observed tears flowed from his sightless eyes, and trickled down his face, and he soon awoke to all the reality of his situation. He sighed like one who experienced great mental agony. "You have been dreaming," we said. "Yes, sir, and I felt more happy than I have done for years, for I thought my sight was restored; and that I once more beheld the faces of my dear wife and family." He paused, and then continued, "Would that this sleep had continued, for now the contrast of my painful condition makes me most miserable!" And the poor old gentleman cried in a most piteous manner.

It is evident that the bright rays, with their genial warmth, had suggested the dream we have narrated. If, however, he had been altogether incapable of being affected by the stimulus of light, this could not have occurred; and whilst it confirms a physiological law, it induces certain reflections on psychological phenomena, inasmuch as he had a perfect consciousness of a condition of mind he could not realise from any memoretic effort.

On the SENSE OF SMELL, as a suggestive cause, we cite the following, from many in our note-book. It was furnished by the dreamer. "On one occasion, during my residence at Birmingham, I had to attend many patients at Coventry, and for their accommodation I visited that place one day in every week. My temporary residence was at a druggist's shop in the market-place. Having on one occasion, now to be mentioned, a more than usual number of engagements, I was obliged to remain over night, and a bed was procured for me at the residence of a cheesemonger in the same locality. This house was very old, the rooms very low, and the street very narrow. It was summer time, and during the day the cheesemonger had unpacked a box or barrel of strong, old American cheese. The very street was impregnated with their odour. At night, jaded with my professional labours, I went to my dormitory, which seemed filled with a strong cheesy atmosphere, which affected my stomach greatly, and quite disturbed the biliary secretions. I tried to produce a more agreeable atmosphere to my olfactory sense by smoking cigars, but did not succeed. At length, worn out by fatigue, I tried to sleep, and should have succeeded, but for a time another source of annoyance prevented my doing so—for in the old wall



behind my head, against which my ancient bedstead stood, there were numerous rats gnawing away in real earnest. The crunching they made was, indeed, terrific; and I resisted the drowsy god from a dread that these voracious animals would make a forcible entrance, and might take personal liberties with my flesh!

"But at length 'tired nature' ultimately so overpowered me, that I slept in a sort of fever. I was still breathing the cheesy atmosphere, and this, associated with the marauding rats, had so powerfully affected my imagination, that a most horrid dream was the consequence. I fancied myself in some barbarous country, where, being charged with a political offence, I was doomed to be incarcerated in a large cheese. And although this curious prison-house seemed most oppressive, it formed but part of my sufferings. For scarcely had I become reconciled to my miserable fate, than, to my horror, an army of rats attacked the monster cheese, and soon they seemed to have effected an entrance, and began to fix themselves in numbers on my naked body. The agony I endured was increased by the seeming impossibility to drive them away, and fortunately for my sanity, I awoke; but with a hot head and throbbing temples, and a sense of nausea from the increasingly strong odour of the cheese."

It is worthy of a passing reflection, that although the whole dream adventure was altogether improbable, yet it must be remembered that all the auxiliaries were present to the waking thoughts of the dreamer, and hence the exaggerated and painful associations were induced, in all probability from the *odour* and *gnawing* being still appreciated in some degree in the feverish and partial sleep.

That the SENSE OF HEARING may be also suggestive of a dream we have many examples, but shall merely quote one instance. The celebrated sculptor, Mr. P—— H—— once related to us an amusing instance: "His brother dreamt, just before rising in the morning, that he had to see a Mr. Jones, and that, in order to do so, he walked up a flight of steps leading to a very large house, intending to inquire for him, but as soon as he asked the servant if his friend resided there, a little pert, dwarf-like figure suddenly started up on one side of him, and asked, in a shrill, squeaking voice, 'What Jones? What Jones?' Vexed at this impertinent intrusion, the dreamer determined to be more cautious, and going up to the next house, he repeated his question in a lower tone, when the same rude, ugly dwarf, repeated his questions, 'What Jones? What Jones?' And instead of noticing this officious fellow, he turned away in anger, and awoke! when he heard some one passing under his window, calling out 'Hot rolls! hot rolls!' And his partially awaked faculties having

caught these sounds, he had in a brief period produced the incidents of the dream just related."

We could narrate many curious dreams induced by some unpleasant effect on the SENSE OF TOUCH, and as an example, by way of illustration, select the following. A gentleman, of a nervo-bilious temperament, was much out of health from too much mental employment, and was ordered by his physician to take a pill, and in attempting to swallow it he did not succeed, but lodged it on the rim of the pharynx, and caused him great annoyance. He tried to dislodge it by putting his fingers down his throat, but he could not succeed. So, after repeatedly coughing, until he was tired out, he fell asleep. Soon after he had done so he had a most painful dream. We shall relate it in his own words: "It appeared to me that I was in some large town on the Continent, and a perfect stranger to every one; that I had strolled out from the inn, although the night was dark and the streets ill-lighted; and when I attempted to retrace my steps and return, the farther the inn seemed from me. At length, hearing footsteps, I followed, hoping to gain some information or assistance. And, to my horror, I found myself in a narrow court, without any thoroughfare. After calling to the invisible being, he seemed to stop, and before I could ask a question, he seized me by the throat, and produced a sensation of pain. I attempted to speak, when the inhuman wretch thrust his hand in my mouth, and nearly choked me; but in the agony of my situation I made a desperate effort to bite this fleshy plug, and made the cowardly wretch scream out as he felt the dental incision, and this scream awoke me. The pill remaining in its position, the irritation of which and my own previous experiment to dislodge it, had induced the painful train of thought of my short and feverish dream, which could not have lasted more than a few minutes."

That the SENSE OF TASTE is suggestive of dreams might be proved by many examples. But we may merely remark that this, like those already examined, acts as a predisposing cause, or as suggestive of dreaming. For instance, if a person goes to bed hungry, there is a craving for food, and the probability is that he will dream of feasting. And most likely the repast will consist just of such viands or drinks as are most agreeable to the palate of the individual during his perfect consciousness. And by a reflex action of the cerebral organs actively exercised, the sense of taste will be affected with similar perceptions of flavours as are in reality experienced during the process of mastication and deglutition. A friend of ours, who was particularly fond of soups, went to bed hungry, and dreamt he was eating some rich preparation of meat, the smell of which induced him to eat it rather quickly; when he dreamt that some of it went "the wrong



way," as it is called, and almost choked him; and he awoke, actually coughing. The latter spasmodic effort, with his feeling a want of food, induced the kind of dream; but which confirm the previous observations incidentally made, that he still fancied, though only for a brief time, that he smelt the savoury stew or soup, which in his dream he had so much enjoyed.

We cannot conclude this section without observing that none of the latter forms of dreaming must be confounded with *epi-haltes* or *incubus*, as we shall, when speaking of the latter, prove that there are so many phenomena connected with the *incubus*, as clearly distinguish it from those trains of thought induced by those partially disturbing influences which result from some of the external senses being affected by their respective *stimuli*.

In order to preserve some connexion in the subject under consideration, we shall offer a few brief observations on the second section—viz., that the physical sensations of cold and heat are suggestive of dreaming; and although we have more interesting phenomena to explain in the course of this essay, yet as external agents which affect the circulation of the blood, we could not reject them, and hence this is the fitting place to fairly discuss them.

It is obvious, on the slightest reflection, that if *cold* or *heat* sensibly affect the body, their effects must be cognized by the mental faculties. For in many abnormal states of the brain, insane persons have had portions of the feet burnt off without any apparent consciousness of pain.\* But if the mind retains its ordinary functions, whatever affects the body will suggest trains of thought, even in partial sleep, and which dreams will be fashioned and connected with the physical agent which was the suggestive cause. We must premise that neither the heat or cold must be experienced in any extreme degree, or else it may produce a sedative effect on the brain, and there may be great danger, without any consciousness of it.

There are many cases on record of heat and cold inducing dreams, mentioned by writers as early as Macrobius; and some of our modern physiologists have made observations of a similar kind. A literary man, who had a most sensitive organization, related a rather amusing instance of the effects of cold, in suggesting a most annoying adventure to one of his thin-skinned tendency. He thus describes it: "The other morning my wife rose very early, and being unwell, I decided to take another turn, and soon fell asleep, but so imperfectly, that a succession of dreams haunted my imagination. One of them I submit to you

\* One instance is so remarkable that we cannot resist mentioning the circumstance. It occurred in Bedlam, some years since. A man laid his feet on the fire, and kept them there until they were perfectly carbonized, without apparently suffering any inconvenience during the ignition.



as an interpreter of these phantasmata. Methought that the butcher had sent a joint different from the one we required, and that I determined to go back with it myself, when, to my horror, a number of persons followed me, and seemed discussing the point whether or not I was demented. 'Surely,' said one, 'he must be so, to go out without stockings this bitterly cold, frosty morning!' 'Has he been drinking?' said another; 'for a more robust man than he is could not be guilty of such an act with impunity.' Great was the sense of shame which oppressed me, and I hurried on, not daring to face my censors, and thought to escape them, when I heard some little girls and great girls titter, and then laugh most heartily as they exclaimed, 'What indelicacy, et cetera.' This second adventure pained me so much, that I awoke, and found the bed-clothes off my legs, which were almost painfully cold, having a tingling sensation from suppressed circulation." In this instance, and others we could cite, the predisposing cause was the cold, worked up into an adventure by the half-waking mental faculties.

A gentleman whom we knew told us that he had had a long walk, and had eaten a hearty supper. The night was cold, in consequence of which he had a number of blankets put on the bed; and which rendered him heated and feverish. These physical conditions gave rise to the following curious dream. He said that he fancied that he was walking on a summer evening, and felt a sense of suffocation, as there was not a breath of air; that the clouds had gathered in dense masses, and that whilst suffering from the oppressive heat, some large brown "cockroaches" flew against him with such force, as to induce severe pain wherever they touched. To avoid them he hurried to bed, but even there these tormentors pursued him, and at length they swarmed in such quantities, as literally to cover the pillows. In a state of terror and disgust he awoke. He was lying on his side, in an unnatural heated condition. This, he remarks, suggested the phenomena in reference to the weather, in which all unities were kept up, but highly exaggerated. The "cockroaches," however, puzzled him, until he recollected that, prior to his going to bed, one of his daughters read out a portion of the Memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini, in which he had described his journey from France, that he and his party were overtaken in a storm, in which the hail-stones were the size of lemons! His mind had retained the marvellous account, and in his dream he had changed the gigantic hail-stones into the unnatural-sized "cockroaches," as more in harmony with his sensations.

We may allude to physical agencies again, in the section on vivid reminiscences in dreams.

*(To be continued.)*

## ART. V.—ON THE CONNEXION BETWEEN MORBID PHYSICAL AND RELIGIOUS PHENOMENA.

BY THE REV. J. F. DENHAM, M.A., F.R.S., ETC.

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IN several former papers of this series, references have been made to the subject of INTROSPECTION; as being both an effect and reacting cause of bodily disease; and as being combined with morbid religious and even moral phenomena, and as the indirect cause of such phenomena. This subject will also be still more largely referred to in future papers; and especially in the next of them, Introspection will be considered as one of the chief proximate causes of moral evil. I beg, therefore, to offer a complete explanation of my views of it on the present occasion, distributed under the following particulars:—I. The definition of introspection. II. Proofs that it is not the normal condition of the mind, but the effect of bodily disease, and that the indulgence of it augments bodily disease. III. A description of the morbid religious phenomena with which it is frequently attended. IV. A specification of the chief mischiefs resulting from it. V. The suggestion of some means for its prevention and cure.

I. Definition. By introspection is meant, as the etymology of the term imports, the act or habit of looking within; and it is now to be understood as the attention of the mind being turned inward upon itself; or, to the contemplation of its own real or supposed phenomena, and especially of what are commonly called its own feelings. It is briefly, the state of the mind's *positive consciousness of itself*.

II. The following proofs are offered in support of the conclusion that introspection as now defined is (1) not the normal condition of the mind; but that (2) it is a result and reflex cause of bodily disease. The most natural, and therefore the best condition of the mind, and in reference to its *entire* agency, is that of subconsciousness, or of a consciousness which although constantly possessed, and accompanying all the mind's present operations,\* is not perceived by the mind itself; does not rise so high as to obtrude itself on the mind's own attention. This normal condition of consciousness, I shall beg leave to call the negative state of the faculty; and, on the contrary, to affix the name of positive consciousness to that state of it in which it becomes so active, or rises so high, as more or less to occupy, and therefore to embarrass, the mind's attention.

And with regard to the intellectual part of our nature, all persons

\* Stewart's "Outlines of Moral Phil." Edin. 1829. Sec. 1—9.



are aware that all their best mental operations are conducted during the negative state of the consciousness ; when, to use popular language, " we have become lost," or " have forgotten ourselves," in our subject or object :—that is, when our consciousness, though still alive, is not so active as to be perceived by us, and therefore, does not clog the operation of any of our faculties or powers. Thus, we never think or write, or speak so well, as when, along with a sufficient acquaintance with our subject, we have ceased to be aware that we are so employed. We even learn best when we are least conscious that we are learning. Every teacher knows the importance of inducing self-forgetfulness in the pupil, because no progress can be made until this oblivion of self is established. With regard also to our moral powers, we are never so virtuous and truthful as when we speak and act without having a distinct idea that we are virtuous and truthful. The same remarks apply also to our religious and pious capabilities. On the contrary, if we become conscious that we are thinking upon any subject, the process of thought becomes instantly perturbed, or suspended—if that we are speaking, we hesitate—if that we are acting in a just and upright manner, our moral fabric undergoes a tremor—if that we are pious, our piety partakes of formality and effort. These observations may be extended to our most habitual, and even to our automatic actions. Thus, if we become conscious of the action of breathing, nictitation, walking, &c., these become either suspended, or performed in a less regular and efficient manner. Even in regard of our bodily existence in general, or of any of its particular parts, it is well known that the highest state of health is that of a negative consciousness—or when we do not find our attention called to the existence or action of any portion of our frame—but that, on the contrary, whenever we become aware that we have a head, heart, stomach, foot, &c., that is, whenever a positive state of the consciousness in regard of any of our members, &c., begins, it is a certain intimation of some injury, weakness in them, diseased state, or disordered action. It would seem, then, that the most perfect action of all our intellectual, moral, and religious powers, as of our physical, ever goes on in a degree below our consciousness of it ; and that, on the contrary, a state of positive consciousness, by whatever means produced, indicates a wrong action of that portion of our nature to which it belongs. In fewer words, excellence of all kinds is unconscious of its own existence—a maxim that may be illustrated in all the various departments of talent, beauty, virtue, piety, &c. In still fewer words, self-consciousness spoils action.

I crave permission to introduce, at this stage of my observations, the fullest and best reference to the subject of introspection that



I have met with, taken from a work\* which I may quote without thereby involving an entire acquiescence with all its contents, by the Rev. Chauncy Hare Townshend, A.M., late of Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

"Consciousness is susceptible of various developments, which have never yet been properly distinguished into their several grades. Metaphysicians have done no more than enumerate the simple consciousness of the moment, and remembered consciousness. They have omitted a third action of this faculty—namely, reflective consciousness, or internal observation, which is one of the operations of consciousness; and, not being identical with its parent, should not be involved with it in one common definition. Simply to feel, or simply to pass again through a succession of former feelings with a sense of their relation to one personal identity, is not the same as to be self-regardant and watchful of our sensations as they arise. Under the last circumstances the mind is manifestly in another state and tone of feeling. Its state is then, that of introspective consciousness—or the mind's action when self-regardant. It has *ourselves* for its object. It varies in degrees, from the constant self-scrutiny, both mental and physical, that some persons carry on in society, when they observe their every least word, fearful to utter aught amiss, and their own least gesture, lest they should commit an awkwardness—to the unmixed and simple consciousness of reverie. Would we find man's distinguishing stamp of mental superiority, we must seek it in that abstraction in which the pure intellectuality reigns alone, and almost free from any disturbance of the introspective consciousness, which being of itself an act, annihilates, *pro tempore*, all other acts. Were we perpetually to exercise the reflex act of the mind—and to pause upon our thoughts with self-observation, our train of ideas would halt, and fall to pieces for want of connexion.

"But this is not all. Any admixture of the introspective consciousness detracts from the perfection of one's acquired and habitual motions, as much as it spoils the freedom and bold expansion of our thoughts. Of this we may soon convince ourselves. Though generally insensible of the act of breathing, we may, by attention, become aware of the process. What follows? An immediate sense of uneasiness, and interruption of that regular motion which seems to go on so well of itself. Again, that winking of the eye, whereby the organ is healthily preserved, becomes a torment if we think about it. Again, too, every musician must have felt that, when he has learnt to play a piece of music by heart, if he *thinks* upon the direction of his fingers, he is apt to play false. Let him trust to the simply memorial consciousness of his physical being, and he does not err. Again, the operations of memory are impeded by the introspective consciousness, as Darwin, in his *Zoonomia*, observes,—'We frequently experience, when we are doubtful about the spelling of a word, that the greater voluntary exertion we use, that is, *the more intensely we think about it*, the further we are from regaining the lost association, which readily

\* "Facts in Mesmerism," &c. Second edition, 1844, p. 201, &c.

recurs when we have become careless about it.' Introspective consciousness, then, appears equally to mar our liberty and our memory, both of thought and action; and consequently it should seem that, in proportion as we can be exempted from its interference, we must attain a higher state of intellect, and of corporeal activity. This we may surmise; but proof is not wanting to confirm it. The state of the philosopher who solved the problem of the universe, was avowedly a state of abstraction, and of self-forgetfulness; and it is equally well known that natural sleep-walkers who can never be supposed capable of self-scrutiny, will achieve feats which would be the horror of their waking hours. They will stand, self-balanced, on the ridge of a house, where, under the usual conditions of consciousness, they could not preserve their equilibrium for a single moment. They will cross a roaring torrent on a single plank—but if suddenly awaked to a contemplation of themselves, or their situation—they will lose their footing or perhaps die of alarm. Are these examples too far removed from general experience? We will, then, bring the matter at once home to every man's personal feelings. What is it that accompanies and adds to the awkwardness caused by timidity? An overwatchfulness, a care that mars itself—in fine—the too predominant presence of the introspective consciousness. The shy scarcely ever forget themselves, as it is called—make them do so, and their deportment is at once improved. In proportion as introspectiveness is annulled, the powers of thought and motion are developed."

It seems also deserving of notice that the evils of introspection are recognised in the instinctive language and ideas of the uneducated classes, when they speak of "thinking too deeply about things," "brooding over our thoughts," &c., "letting things take hold of one," "the thoughts preying upon themselves," "laying things to heart," "falling down upon oneself;" and when they advise those suffering from such a state of consciousness to "divert their thoughts to other things," to "look outward rather than inward"—which last advice is often given, from necessity, by that class of religious teachers whose instructions chiefly tend to awaken positive consciousness in their hearers, in order to prevent the formidable consequences sometimes resulting from such instructions from reaching a disastrous extreme. It is also worthy of remark that the frequent comment of the healthy-minded portion of the community on the victims of morbid religious feelings is, that such persons are "always thinking about themselves."

If the foregoing proofs, &c., be deemed sufficient to render probable the position that introspection, or positive consciousness, or that state of the mind in which it is self-regardant, or its attention is directed to itself, to its own existence, perceptions, feelings, &c., is not the normal condition of the mind, because it suspends, or perturbs, or perverts the mind's action—



the conclusion seems to follow that (2) such a condition of the consciousness is the result of disease; and since, further, it is the opinion of the highest medical authorities that the state of our intellectual functions depends chiefly upon the condition of the nervous power,\* the inference seems safe that a tendency to introspection originates in some kind or other of bodily disease immediately or ultimately affecting the brain,—and thereby the mind,—whether the disease be constitutional or self-induced, whether chronic or temporary, and whether originating in ideas first addressed to the mind, such as erroneous religious instruction acting upon an infirm or morbid temperament, &c., or in the indulgence of introspection as a morbid gratification, or the cultivation of it as a mistaken religious duty. The proof of the morbid physical origin of introspection might indeed be rested on our experience or observation, from which we learn that neither ourselves nor others are prone to this state of mind, except along with some conscious disease or disorder of the vital organs.

I would here beg to resume a principle frequently propounded in my preceding papers—that the body—the entire physical constitution—may be the origin or source, according to its particular state in regard of health, not merely of corresponding feelings, &c., but also of conceptions, ideas, and trains of thought, and that a morbid physical state or action, and especially of the brain, heart, stomach, liver, bowels, &c., excites, perhaps primarily through morbid sensations, a corresponding set of morbid thoughts, perceptions, reasonings, and imaginations, in all their alternations and variety—or, to use the words of Gaubius, “the mind perceives differently according to the various conditions of the body to which it is joined, and she may be disturbed by the body in her operations, and at some times be hindered from thinking as she would, and at other times be compelled to think as the body commands.”†

III. It is now proposed to describe the morbid religious phenomena sometimes attending introspection. The patient's attention is more or less concentrated on himself, and on what is called, in the language of a certain religious school, his “*experience*”—that is, upon the state of his feelings, or, to speak more strictly, on the suggestions arising from his feelings to his mind. Even his countenance, attitude, and manners, but especially a peculiar introverted expression of the eyes, indicate that the process of his auscultation to his own inward feelings, &c., is

\* Cullen's “First Lines of the Practice of Physic,” book iv., ch. i., paragraphs 1540-1.

† “Philosophical Discourse on the Management and Cure of the Disorders of the Mind,” by H. D. Gaubius. Translated by J. Tapprell, M.D.



going on. Very often he endeavours to excite in himself what he considers a desirable state of feelings, which he still mistakes for ideas; and not a few persons succeed for a time in the endeavour, by directing the action of the mind to some part of the frame, chiefly the stomach, and other viscera; and from whose morbid action the coveted feeling may be excited by the proficient almost at will. As might be expected, the ideas he obtains from such feelings, whether of an elated or despondent nature, are irrational, and after passing through various alternations, end in a settled vapidness, occasioned, as it should seem, by the exhaustion of the physical organs, &c. He then experiences constant dissatisfaction with himself and with everything he does, complains that he cannot feel, or "realize," religious truths or objects, finds no "evidences" within himself of his acceptance with God, but is full of unbelief and guilt, that his mind is cold or dark, or that his soul is beset with horrid suggestions. These, and all other morbid religious phenomena, are always attended with similar phenomena in regard of *other* subjects and objects: thus the patient is also *otherwise* excited or despondent, suspicious, distrustful of himself, and incapable of sound mental exertion, and even of correct moral feeling. The usual course of the disease is its mitigation along with returning health, and increase along with the increase of bodily ailment; it becomes chronic when associated with chronic disorder, and along with the decay of the physical powers terminates in fatuity.

IV. The mischiefs resulting from introspection include all the evils that can arise from the disturbance or suspension of all the powers and faculties of our nature; but in particular cases will depend upon the degree to which it is exercised, and the extent and nature of the physical disease, organic or functional, with which it is combined; nor can it be doubted but that the indulgence of it, in consequence of directing the mind's attention to the diseased physical state or action, increases such state or action, so that the ill habit of mind and body co-act and increase each other; and the very texture of that part of the body and the perverted action of the mind upon it may become reciprocally both cause and effect. Besides those evils already adverted to under previous particulars, introspection is the especial parent of indecision, uncertainty, and scepticism, which may proceed to the extent of a total loss of confidence in all sensations, perceptions, and principles. Such an effect in the department of religion is thus described by the judicious Hooker:—

"Men may many times in judgment of themselves be so confounded, that they find not themselves in themselves. For that which dwelleth in their hearts they seek, they make diligent search and inquiry. It

abideth, it worketh in them, yet still they ask where; still they lament as for a thing which is past finding: they mourn as Rachel, and refuse to be comforted, as if that were not which indeed is, and as if that which is not were; as if they did not believe when they do, and as if they did despair when they do not; which in some, I grant, is but a melancholy passion, proceeding only from that dejection of mind, the cause whereof is the body, and by bodily means can be taken away. . . . They fasten their suggestions upon the distrustful cogitations of the flesh, whereof finding great abundance in themselves, they gather thereby. But tell this to a man that hath a mind deceived by too hard an opinion of himself, and it doth but augment his grief: he hath his answer ready, 'Will you make me think otherwise than I find, than I *feel in myself*? I have thoroughly considered and *exquisitely* sifted all the corners of my heart, and I see what there is. Never seek to persuade me against my knowledge. 'I do not, I know I do not, believe.'"\*

I would suggest, for the consideration of the reader, whether the ancient Pyrrhonism and the absurdities of scepticism in all ages may not have arisen from a like cause? It may also be remarked that introspection may be a conducing cause of moral evil. To me it seems certain that no moral evil can arise without a previous act or habit of this reflex act of the mind, that the origin of vice and crime is the "*manet altâ mente repostum*," the "*flammatq secum corde volutans*," the "*imo pectore*," the "*intus*," so often referred to as such by the Roman poets. The Scriptures also thus describe "the wicked" and "the workers of iniquity:" "They search out, or imagine wickedness; both the inward thought of every one of them, and the heart is deep."† It is "the imagination of the thoughts of man's heart that is only evil continually."‡ It is "when lust hath conceived that it bringeth forth sin."§ Certainly introspection is one cause of idleness, the acknowledged origin of all sins, or rather it is the pernicious employment to which idleness resorts, and out of which it fabricates its mischiefs. Hence, too, most likely arose the Christian maxim to lay the check upon the thoughts, or, to use its own expression, upon "the heart as the origin of all evil things."|| It would also seem to be the excellence of Christianity, that, in regard of its facts, duties, worship, and expectations, it is not a contemplative religion; and, I may be permitted to remark, upon the same quality as attending the practical expression of Christianity embodied in the Liturgy and offices of the Church of England.

The liability to the peculiar kind of hypochondria, as, perhaps, the physician would call it, which I have denominated introspection, may, no doubt, as already intimated, be partly ori-

\* Works, vol. ii. pp. 592-593. Oxford, 1845.

† Genesis vi. 5.

§ James i. 15.

† Psalm lxiv. 5, 6.

|| Matthew xv. 19.



ginated or augmented by those books or that kind of preaching which inculcate an unsparing and critical examination, not of "our lives and conversations by the rule of God's commandments," but of the internal phenomena and feelings—under the name of *self-examination*; and I beg leave to offer a refutation of that misuse of the Scriptures upon which such a self-examination is commonly founded. The passages usually urged are the two following: "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup:"\* and "Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves."† If, however, these passages, and any other frequently adduced for the same purpose, be interpreted according to their context, scope, and occasion, no direction can be fairly derived from them for that analysis of the mental phenomena, feelings, &c., involved in the process of introspection. A reference to any respectable commentary will show that St. Paul, in the first of these passages, requires the Corinthians only to examine themselves "whether they partook of the Lord's Supper as a common meal, or as the bond of a faction, or to promote some worldly purpose;"‡ and that in the second of these passages, the apostle directs the Corinthians to "judge by the miraculous gifts among them, and which St. Paul had himself imparted to them, whether Christ spoke in, or by him, or not,"—"simply to ask themselves."§ It is worthy of notice, that the apostle declined to "judge himself, but left the judgment of himself to the Lord;"|| and that the psalmist asks of *God* to "examine him and know his heart; to try him and know his thoughts; and see if there were any wicked way in him, and to lead him in the way everlasting."¶ It is also remarkable that the nearest approach to introspection recorded in the Scriptures terminated in an unfavourable result. It is that of the psalmist, who "communed with his own heart, and made diligent search," or, as in the Prayer-book version, "searched out his own spirits," and who consequently became bewildered and despondent, and lost all faith in the divine mercy, and at length ascribes his state of mind to "his own infirmity," and adopted the better method of considering "the works" and the recorded acts of the Almighty, as the means of his consolation.\*\*

There is, also, extreme danger attending the attempt to raise within ourselves an intense perception of any of the realities of our creed,—to "realize" such things, as it is called,—because, it being impossible to know when such a perception is adequately raised, the mind, habituated to the attempt at raising it, strains

\* 1 Cor. xi. 28.

† Macknight.

‡ Psalm cxxxix. 23, 24.

§ Whitby.

† 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

|| 1 Cor. iv. 3, 4.

\*\* Psalm lxxvii.



its own powers to an unlimited extent, and ultimately undermines its own energies.

It was, no doubt, a sense of the general evils resulting from introspection that induced "the self-torturing sophist" Rousseau, who was himself a miserable sufferer from them, to maintain that it is so far opposed to our nature, that "the man that reflects is a monster." It must, however, be allowed, that the most correct, as well as most serviceable, of all our perceptions,—intellectual, moral, and religious,—are those which first and almost immediately arise in the mind; and that, on the contrary, those which are the result of the most laborious thought and intense feeling are generally the most absurd, and even immoral. It is part of the great poet's description of the dangerous man, that "he thinks too much;,"\* and certainly, the best disposed and conducted persons are those who do not scrutinize their thoughts and feelings too deeply.

V. The prevention and cure of a tendency to introspection, considered as the result of bodily disease, must be sought—primarily, at least—in the care and restoration of the bodily health. Along with medical means appropriate to the case, the utmost care should be taken to prevent the mind's attention from being turned inward upon itself, or upon its own thoughts, &c., by directing it entirely to outward and interesting objects and engagements, and to a diversity of them in a natural but unbroken succession. Idleness ought to be especially avoided, as one chief cause of this malady, and particularly in the case of bodily disorder—of which, however, it is both the effect and cause. The natural liability of the mind to become disordered when disengaged, is evident even in the cessation of its activity preliminary to sleep, and during imperfect sleep itself. Hence the poet who best understood human nature, whether sane or diseased, puts the prayer into the lips of a good man,—

"Merciful powers,  
Restrain in me the cursed thoughts, that nature  
Gives way to in repose."†

It is, also, sometimes requisite to forbid the study of mental philosophy to such persons as are prone to introspection, and to which study they are often inclined, and who commonly imagine that they are studying the phenomena of the mind, while, in fact, they are only contemplating their own morbid feelings. No persons, indeed, under an inferior state of health, should indulge reflection, which, even in the best state of health, generally injures both mind and body, and too frequently raises a host of irrelevant ideas, and useless, if not pernicious, feelings. When

\* "Julius Cæsar," Act i., Scene 11.

† "Macbeth," Act ii., Scene i.

carried beyond due bounds its results may be formidable. I find two cases in my memoranda, both of them of persons of learning and talent,—the one of a man who meditated on death till he acquired the fixed idea that he possibly had already died, and was already in the state of existence after death; and the other, of a man who, by too long and profoundly studying the subject of the Divine existence and attributes, became tormented with the propensity to ask why he himself was not the Divine Being. Certainly it is preferable to be “fools of nature,” than

“So horribly to shake our disposition,

With thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls.”\*

It is also advisable to prohibit the perusal of religious biographies, which too frequently excite an inclination, or a sense of duty, especially in hypochondriac temperaments, to cultivate a tone of sentiment and motive never really possessed by any human being. Nor less needful is it to inculcate a virtuous satisfaction with the attainment of ordinary virtues, and the due performance of common duties. The victims of introspection not unfrequently are plagued with an ambition

“For that goodness, which, growing to a pleurisy,

Dies in its own too-much.”†

It is in consequence of this emulation of ideal excellence, co-operating with disease of the physical constitution, that the anguish of a mere intense consciousness may be mistaken for the action of conscience, contrition, or humility, but whose unfailling result is merely religious indolence or despair. All stimulants and excitements, physical and mental, should be avoided, for they all have a tendency to heighten the self-consciousness; and in this quality consists their attraction and their danger. The author of the “Natural History of Enthusiasm” remarks on the too great possibility of “rushing from the scenes of an excited devotion to the chambers of filthy sin.”‡ It should be the constant object of us all to use the means of grace simply as means, and with faith in their efficacy, and to take more care of our conduct than of our feelings, for these will generally take the direction, good or evil, given them by our practical demeanour. It is also a good rule to turn the attention from the object or idea that excites the undue action of the consciousness to that undue action itself; for when the mind is drawn off from the object or subject to attend to its own operation, that operation ceases and escapes our notice; and, what is equally valuable, we also forget the subject or object.§

\* “Hamlet,” Act i., Scene 4.

‡ Isaac Taylor.

† “Hamlet, Act iv., Scene 7.

§ Reid, Essay i., ch. vi., sec. 4.



## ART VI.—PHYSIOLOGICAL PSYCHOLOGY.

## No. II.

BY ROBERT DUNN, F.R.C.S. ENG.

(Continued from page 240.)

THE scientific procedure of psychology, according to Fichte, essentially consists in separately considering the *intelligence*, the *feelings*, and the *will*, and in carefully observing and studying their parallelism in the different stages of mental development. We have considered the unity of the mind in *self-consciousness*,—its earliest, and consequently lowest, phase of development—in *sensori-motor*, *consensual*, and *instinctive feelings and actions*; where the *intelligence* is purely sensational, the *feelings* simply those of pleasure and pain, and the *impulses to action* inherent and instinctive.

We have now to consider it in the *perceptive consciousness*, the next stage of our psychological progress, in *ideation*, *emotion*, and *volition*; and here, too, there exists a perfect unity at the root, from these being so closely interwoven with each other. For without ideation there can be no determinate or voluntary action, and without the will no act of intelligence; while alike with both and with either, emotional sensibility is indissolubly connected.

The genesis of the will is in the perceptive consciousness, and it proceeds, *pari passu*, with the development of the intellectual faculties, until they reach their dominant development—the highest reason and the freest will;—and then it is that an act of the will embodying the whole man emphatically implies, at the same time, *intelligence*, *emotion*, *impulse*. But when the perceptive faculty is in abeyance, the will is in abeyance, and memory is abolished. Of this we had a striking illustration in the young woman's case, to whom I have before alluded. In her the mental faculties were quite suspended, and all the avenues to the sensational consciousness were closed, with the exception of sight and touch, for she could neither hear nor speak, smell nor taste. Her mind was in a state of isolation, and even through sight and touch no *ideas* were aroused, for the perceptive faculty was in abeyance, but the will was in abeyance also, and memory she had none. "She had no notion that she was at home, nor the least knowledge of anything about her. She did not even know her own mother, who attended upon her with the most unwearied attention and kindness. Wherever she was placed there she remained throughout the whole day, making not the slightest *voluntary* effort of any kind, manifesting no uneasiness for anything to eat or to drink, and taking no heed whatever of what was going on around her." In fine, while the



perceptive faculty was benumbed and paralysed, *ideation*, *memory*, and *volition* were alike abolished.

*Perceptive Consciousness.* Sensory impressions, the intuitions of the special senses, whether sights, sounds, smells, tastes, or feelings, internal or external, in order that they may reach the perceptive consciousness, and so become *idealized* and *registered*, require to be transmitted from their respective sensory ganglia to the great hemispherical ganglia, or cerebrum, for it is there that *ideation* is effected, and *memory* resides. But if, indeed, the perceptive faculty should become suspended, then "all the enjoyments of the feast, all the fragrance of the flowers, and the whole of the associations which they embody, vanish as with a single and magic stroke."\* And, as in this young woman's case, the most nauseous medicines would be taken quite as readily as the most delicious viands. Such, too, is the fate of all our associations in connexion with the higher and more objective of the senses, with *hearing*, *feeling*, *sight*. For the whole world of tone,—the grandest harmony, the softest melody, the living voices of nature,—exist not when the percipient power is in abeyance; nor without its agency can our tactile sensibility impart to us any knowledge of the bodily substances by which we are impressed, or identify the impressions with the forms of the external objects that produced them. And as for light—to what do the intuitions of light and colour amount without the perceptive faculty, and what the pictured image on the retina without the perceptive organ beyond it? To the eye, without the perceptive faculty behind it, "the universe would be all dark and dreary, not a tint or a hue there, not a smile on the face of nature, nor a shade of beauty on the summer's landscape."† And thus it is that perception is the portal to intellectual action; for while in *sensation*, the conscious mind feels intuitively the physical impulse of the outward object as it affects the consciousness through the sensorium, in perception the nervous impression is carried a stage farther, and by virtue of the harmony which exists between the percipient mind and the external world or nature, the sensory impression is intuitively translated into the form of intelligence, and becomes an intellectual phenomenon; in other words, it is *perceived* and *idealized*. The process in both cases is equally and alike intuitive. For when we look at an external object, we can no more avoid the perception that it is a something distinct and apart from ourselves, and of having forced upon our minds intuitive ideas as to its size, shape, colour, &c., than we can reject the sensations of touch, as to its hardness or softness, or those of taste as to its sweetness or bitterness, or of smell, as to its fragrance or offensiveness; in each and in all, the

\* Morell's Psychology.

† Ibid.

process is alike intuitive. But these two states, nevertheless, of consciousness,—*sensation* and *perception*,—though both intuitive and so closely allied, are not to be confounded, for they are *distinct*, and the mechanism (so to speak) of their action is *different*. The one is a single, and the other a complex act. In *sensation* it is direct and single, for the impressions made on the sensory ganglia go direct to the sensational consciousness; but *perception* is a step in advance in our psychological progress, *above* sensation, and in it a double ganglionic action is involved. For the sensory impressions to become *perceived*, that is, *idealized* and remembered, they require to be transmitted from the sensorium to the cerebrum, “the sole receptacle,” in the language of Cuvier, “where the various sensations may be, as it were, consummated, and become *perceived* by the animal, and where all sensations take a distinct form, and leave lasting traces of their impressions, serving as a seat to memory, a property by means of which the animal is furnished with materials for its judgments.”\*

In illustration of this view, Dr. Noble† has well observed:—

“An anatomical distinction between the region of *thought* and that of *sensibility* can very fairly be established; and a certain aptitude, moreover, can be recognised in the encephalic structure for conveying the impressions of the senses upwards to the hemispherical ganglia. White matter intervenes between the vesicular neurine of the sensory ganglia and that of the cerebral convolutions; the conscious impressions received by the former may be regarded as ascending along the white fibres, and, on the gray summit being attained, developing changes in its condition which minister to intelligence. *Ideas arise*. If we reflect upon the processes that go on within our own minds, there is no difficulty in distinguishing between a *sensation* and an *idea*, or in marking the sequential origin of the latter. How often do we find that, when the full consciousness of sensation is obtained, the idea suggested by it does not follow until some seconds, or even minutes afterwards. For example, you hear the utterance of certain words as sounds; their signification does not strike you; no effort of attention is made, yet suddenly the sense breaks upon your intelligence. The correlated physiological phenomena may be thus stated. The auditory ganglia take up the sentient impression at once; its passage onwards to the seat of thought is delayed; presently, however, its natural course is freed, as if from some hindrance, and it attains the hemispherical ganglia, forming or awakening ideas in the mind.”‡

\* Cuvier, *Rapport sur le Mémoire de Flourens sur le système nerveux*, quoted by Dr. Todd. Vide “*Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology, and Functions of the Nervous System.*”

† Vide Dr. Noble's Lectures “On the Co-relation of Psychology and Physiology,” page 27.

‡ The *modus operandi* of Anæsthetic agents, in relation to their action upon the different nervous centres of the encephalon, is highly interesting and instructive. It brings strong confirmation to the important facts, that sensation and perception are *distinct states* of consciousness, that they have their seat in different nervous



Before entering, however, upon the consideration of the phenomena of the perceptive consciousness, and of the local habitation of its organs in the cerebrum, I think we shall proceed with decided advantage, in reference to the physiological bearings of the subject, seeing that throughout the entire vertebrate sub-kingdom, the type of the brain is the same,—if we first pass in review the whole of the ganglia of the encephalon, and endeavour to specialize their functions, beginning with the lowest of the

centres, and that the sensational consciousness may be suspended, while the perceptive remains intact. \* As bearing on these points, I brought the subject of "*the inhalation of chloroform, its anæsthetic effects, and practical uses,*" under the notice of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, in a paper, which was read and discussed, April 22, 1851, and afterwards published in the *Medical Gazette* of the same year. In illustration, I may here cite the following paragraphs:—

"There can be no doubt that the anæsthetic effects of the inhalation of the vapour of chloroform are due to its entering the circulation, and to its being carried by the blood to the vesicular matter of the sensory ganglia, and to the cells, or cell nuclei, at the peripheral extremities of the afferent nerves. And while it is reasonable to infer that, in thus circulating with the blood through the encephalon, its presence, like that of any similar morbid agent, must more or less affect all the sensory feelings and psychical manifestations, it is nevertheless abundantly manifest that a kind of elective affinity exists, by virtue of which the vesicular matter of one centre of action becomes affected before that of another; for, during the slow and gradual inhalation of the vapour, the function of sensation is suspended before that of intellectual action,—the *consciousness of feeling* is obliterated, and consequently immunity from pain secured, before *intellectual consciousness* is totally abolished. M. Flourens was, I believe, the first to point out the tendency of certain morbid agents to act primarily and specially on one nervous centre in preference to that of another, by virtue of some special elective affinity between such agents and certain ganglia of the encephalon.

"From the records of personal experience, and from a careful consideration of the phenomena observed in others, we may trace the following order and sequence in the effects of the inhalation of the vapour of chloroform, properly diluted, upon different nervous centres.

"Thus, the first few inhalations are attended with *feelings* which indicate disturbance in the action of the sensory ganglia, as 'singing in the ears, a sense of numbness, and tingling of the surface of the body,' &c., but which are soon succeeded by a *transient stage* of more general excitement; of delirium in the hemispherical ganglia, for instance,—as singing and incoherent talking, and of excited emotional impulses, and consensual movements in the *sensory ganglia*,—as laughter and uncontrollable motorial actions; this is speedily followed by suspension of the function of sensation, the *consciousness of feeling*, while as yet some degree of *intellectual activity* remains. Sensorial impressions *from without* are no longer transmitted from the sensory ganglia to the cerebrum; but this 'suspension of ordinary sensational impressions, as in sleep, with persistent intellectual activity, is the typical characteristic of dreaming;' and dreams often occur. The commissural fibres, between the cerebrum and these ganglia, *Reil's nerves of the internal senses*, being still in action, they transmit downwards the *residual intellectual activity* from the cerebrum to the sensory ganglia, and frequently give rise to manifestations, which impress the mind of common observers with the belief of pain and suffering being felt under the knife of the surgeon, while in reality there are none.

"The function of the cerebrum as the centre of intellectual action is next suspended; a state of coma is induced, a *complete abolition of consciousness, reducing life to a series of automatic movements*. After this the medulla oblongata and true spinal centres become involved, reflex action is stopped, and breathing by the ribs suspended. The ganglionic system is the last to be implicated; but, with the arrest of the peristaltic action of the heart, life ceases."



vertebrate series, and thus "making use of the lower animals, as so many experiments ready prepared to our hands by nature." In man, indeed, the cerebrum is so enormously developed, that it completely overlaps and crowns the other encephalic ganglia, whilst in the lowest of the series its representative is reduced to a mere lamina or crust. Now, proceeding in this way, if we advert to the brain of the fish, the lowest in the series of the vertebrate sub-kingdom, and where there exists the least complexity of structure, what do we find? And of what are the ganglionic bodies which we do find, the *homologues* in the human encephalon? We find, in the brain of the fish "a series of at least four distinct ganglionic masses, arranged in a line continuous with the spinal cord, three of them in pairs, and the last or hindmost single." Respecting these, a rigid scrutiny and a strictly philosophical induction has fully established the following important deductions—viz., that the first of these masses—the most anterior on either side of the median line—is the olfactory ganglia, the centre in which the olfactory nerve terminates, and in connexion with the anterior extremity of the medulla oblongata.

The second pair are the sole representatives of the cerebral hemispheres, but not in their totality. The exterior covering only indicates the presence of the anterior lobes, for the interior mass, from its connexions and aspects, is the homologue of the corpus striatum.

The third are the optic lobes, the ganglionic centres of the optic nerves, which contain the homologues of the corpora quadrigemina and thalami optici of the higher vertebrata. The fourth and single mass, placed over the divergent space of the fibrous strands of the medulla oblongata forming the fourth ventricle, is the cerebellum, sometimes having rudimental lateral appendages. Now the fact is indisputable, that in the early human embryo, as in the brain of the fish, the encephalon consists of a like series of distinct ganglionic bodies, amongst which the representatives of the cerebral hemispheres are usually the smallest. We have—

1st. The olfactory ganglia.

2nd. The corpora striata, covered by their laminæ, which are the rudiments of the cerebral hemispheres.

3rd. The thalami optici, inclosing the third ventricle.

4th. The corpora quadrigemina, and

5th. The cerebellum.

It has been truly observed by Dr. Carpenter,—

"There is no more general fact in the whole range of comparative anatomy, than that the encephalon of the vertebrata is composed of *these elements*, at the commencement of its development, and that the

whole history of the evolution of the human brain indicates its precise accordance with this general type of structure."

But a searching scrutiny unfolds and demonstrates that the same distinctness exists in the nervous centres or ganglionic bodies, in the *adult brain*, as in the *embryonic*; and that the greater complexity of structure in the former is entirely due to the size and development of the cerebral hemispheres, and to their extensive commissural connexions with the other encephalic ganglia, and of those ganglia with each other.

But, adverting again to the brain of the fish and to that of the human embryo, we see that the first of the ganglionic bodies—the olfactory—are in direct fibrous connexion with the medulla oblongata; and, in the adult brain of the human subject, as I have already observed, the peduncles are also connected with the thalami optici, and with the primitive and fundamental convolutions of the cerebrum which surround the Fissura Sylvii.

In the second pair of ganglia, alike in the brain of the fish and in that of the human embryo, we find the corpora striata in close connexion with the rudimental cerebral hemispheres, forming, in fact, rounded masses with them. Now, this fusion, as it were, or rather, bending up together in the same mass, of the *motor* with the *perceptive centre*, is interesting and instructive, inasmuch as it not only indicates the closeness of their union, but presents to us, in the case of the fish, the *earliest instance* to which we can point of clear and distinct evidence of the exercise of *perception*, *memory*, and *volitional movements*, as opposed to *mere consensual actions*. But waiving, for the present, the further consideration of the *perceptive faculty* and its *cerebral organ*, I would observe, that I hold it to be indisputably established—and my own pathological researches have confirmed me in the opinion—that *the corpora striata are the motor ganglia of the encephalon*. Implanted upon the motor tracts of the crura cerebri and medulla oblongata, *in them the motor fibres terminate*; and they thus, with the vesicular matter of the locus niger and the anterior segmental ganglia of the spinal cord, constitute the motor axis of the cerebro-spinal system, and are the source of all the movements of the body, whether reflex, consensual, emotional, or voluntary. The corpora striata are not the *seat of volition itself*, but the encephalic motor centres, through which the mandates of the will or volitional power of the hemispheres are propagated—the *connecting links of thought with action*,—of the *mental with the motor forces*. Their commissural connexions with the cerebrum are so intimate and so extensive, that they are evidently placed in subserviency at every point, through the agency of innumerable radiating commissural fibres, to the volitional



power of the hemispheres, in every voluntary act and effort. And thus we find, in hemiplegic patients, that the imperfect power of utterance which we so constantly meet with, is due to some structural lesion, either in these commissural fibres, or in the motor centres,—the corpora striata, through which the volitional impulses operate in speech. But the corpora striata are not solely the motor centres of volition. From their close commissural relations with the thalami optici, they are also and equally the centres and channels of respondent sensori-motor actions, and of consensual, instinctive, and emotional movements.

Dr. Todd and Mr. Bowman have clearly shown that there exists between the corpora striata and the thalami optici a relation analogous to, and as close as, that which subsists between the *anterior* and *posterior* peaks of grey matter in the cord; and as, in the case of the spinal cord, the anterior peaks, or segmental ganglia, issue motor impulses in response to sensations excited through the posterior peaks,—so, too, in the case of the encephalon, the corpora striata propagate motor impulses in response to excited internal feelings and emotions, of which the thalami are the seat, and often quite independently of volition or thought.

The spinal cord itself, though in such intimate, direct, and continuous connexion, through the medium of its cranial prolongation,—the medulla oblongata,—with the corpora striata and thalami optici, is nevertheless manifestly *a distinct and independent centre of action*, consisting of a series of segmental ganglia and nerves, structurally homologous, and functionally analogous to the jointed ganglionic cord of the articulata. The excito-motory and reflex actions of which it is the seat, are evidently subservient to the conservation of the organism, by the excitation of the respiratory movements, by the governance of the various orifices of ingress and egress, and by the maintenance of the integrity of other vital processes in which the reflex movements are concerned. And while I would here give free expression to my admiration of the genius of that able and acute investigator and discoverer, Dr. Marshall Hall, in his capacity alone of expounder of the *doctrine of reflex action*, and of its practical application in the elucidation of morbid symptoms and to therapeutics, and to my conviction of the great obligation which medical science lies under to him, I cannot plead ignorance of the fact, that many of our most eminent physiologists are opposed to his hypothesis, of the *existence of a distinct and special system of incident and reflex nerves for the production of excito-motory actions*. They maintain that muscular movements, whether reflex, emotional, or voluntary, are immediately called into action by the *same afferent nerve fibres*, and that the very *same efferent*



or *excito-motory* fibres are alike the channels for the transmission of stimuli which give rise to reflex actions in the cord—and of impressions which become sensations when transmitted to the sensorium. Nor is reflex action peculiar to the true spinal system; for it is equally an attribute of the sensori-motor, emotional, and cerebral systems.\*

But, to proceed. The third pair of ganglia are the optic lobes. In the brain of the fish, the optic thalami and corpora quadrigemina are contained in one mass, forming these lobes, and presenting, in point of magnitude, a striking contrast to their rudimentary cerebral hemispheres. This fusion is interesting and instructive, and harmonizes well in fishes with the activity of their sight, and the character of their consensual movements. In the human embryo, however, the vesicles are distinct; and the thalami optici, in the adult brain, to use the words of our great physiologist, Sir Charles Bell, “forms a nucleus around which the corpus striatum bends.” The thalami are the essential ganglia of the *sensory* tracts, as the corpora striata are of the motor. Implanted upon the sensory tracts of the crura cerebri and medulla oblongata, *in them the afferent fibres terminate*. They are the great centres of sensibility, for they are in direct and continuous commissural connexion with the posterior segmental ganglia of the spinal cord; and the impressions which are received by these ganglia from the sentient extremities of all the different nerves distributed upon the whole surface of the body, pass up to the thalami, and there become sensations. But they are not thus the mere centres of *common sensation*; for, as we have already seen, a continuous nervous thread ramifies throughout the entire circle of special sensation, so that the thalami are the common foci and points of union for all the sensory nerves; and this harmonizes well, as I have before observed, with the universality of the feeling, or common sensibility, which pervades the whole system, and which is associated with all the voluntary movements of the body, and with the exercise of the functions of all the other special organs of sense. In a word, the thalami optici are the *great centres of sensorial feeling*,—those points of unity around which our sensational feelings, from the earliest period, are gradually marshalled, in the development of self-consciousness,—the primary form of which essentially consists in this unity of sense.

The thalami optici have a yet more important office, and are associated in operations which rise still higher in the psychical scale. With Dr. Carpenter, I believe them to be the seat of

\* *Vide* Dr. Laycock's paper “On the Reflex Function of the Brain,” read at the meeting of the British Association, held at York, 1844.

those inner sensibilities and feelings which are associated with the emotional states.

Lying within the band of the corpora striata, the thalami, like these bodies, are in most intimate and extensive relationship with the cerebrum, through the instrumentality of innumerable fan-like commissural fibres,—Reil's nerves of the internal senses,—the *connecting links of thought with feeling*, and of *ideation with emotion*.

Along these channels, sensory impressions are transmitted upwards from the thalami to the perceptive organs, for *ideation and registration*; and from the cerebrum, ideas, thoughts, and the workings of ideo-dynamical, emotional, and mental agencies, pass downwards to them, there to receive these varying hues and shades of *feeling*; for, as Dr. Carpenter justly mentions, *thought bears to feeling—the cerebrum to the thalami—the same relation which the physical impressions upon the organs of the external senses bear to the special endowments of their sensory ganglia in the encephalon*; for instance, as in the sense of vision, the retina of the eye to the corpora quadrigemina.

I cannot dismiss the consideration of the thalami optici and corpora striata; *the great encephalic centres of sensibility and of motion*, without citing the authority of Dr. Todd. To Dr. Noble's hypothesis, that the corpora striata, with the optic thalami, form the special region of emotional sensibility, I do not subscribe:—

“The anatomy,” says Dr. Todd, “of the corpora striata and optic thalami, while it denotes a very intimate union between them, also shows so manifest a difference in their structural characters, that it cannot be doubted that they *perform essentially different functions*. In the corpora striata the fibrous matter is arranged in distinct fascicles of different size, many, if not all of which, form a special connexion with its vesicular matter. In the optic thalami, on the other hand, the fibrous matter forms a very intricate interlacement, which is equally complicated at every part. Innumerable fibres pass from one to the other, and both are connected to the hemispheres by extensive radiations of fibrous matter. The corpora striata, however, are connected chiefly, if not solely, with the inferior fibrous layer of each crus cerebri; whilst the optic thalami are continuous with the superior part of each crus, which is situate above the locus niger. It will be observed, then, that while these bodies possess, as a principal character in common, their extensive connexion with the cerebral hemispheres, or, in other words, with the convoluted surface of the brain, they are, in the most marked way, connected inferiorly *with separate and distinct portions of the medulla oblongata; the corpora striata with the inferior planes of the crura cerebri and their continuations, the anterior pyramids; and the optic thalami with the olivary columns, the central, and probably fundamental portions of the medulla oblongata*. And this anatomo-



mical fact must be taken as an additional proof of their possessing *separate functions*.

"Now, it may be inferred, from their connexions with nerves chiefly of a sensitive kind, that the olivary columns and the optic thalami, which are continuous with them, are chiefly concerned in the reception of sensitive impressions, which may principally have reference merely to informing the mind (so to speak) or partly to the excitation of motion, as in deglutition, respiration, &c. The posterior horns of the gray matter of the cord, either by direct continuity with the olivary columns, or their union with them through commissural fibres, become part and parcel of a great centre of sensation, whether for mental or physical actions; and this leads us to view the thalami optici as the *principal foci of sensibility*, in intimate connexion with the convoluted surface of the brain, through its extensive fan-like radiations, and without which the mind could not perceive the physical change resulting from a sensitive impression. Again, the pyramidal bodies evidently connect the gray matter of the cord (its anterior horns?) with the corpora striata; and not only these, but also the intervening masses of vesicular matter, such as the locus niger, and the vesicular matter of the pons and of the olivary columns; and, supposing the corpora striata to be the centres of volition in connexion with the convoluted surface of the brain by their numerous radiations, all these several parts are linked together for the common purposes of volition, and constitute a great centre of voluntary actions, amenable to the influence of the will at every point."\*

The fourth pair of vesicles in the human embryo are the Corpora Quadrigemina; but these are not simply the ganglia of vision (which function, as I have previously observed, some physiologists have restricted to the corpora geniculata); for, like the thalami optici, they have a higher and a wider range of action, and are manifestly the seat of those *objective emotional feelings* and *motor impulses*, which are roused into activity through the agency of sight. Of this fact we have daily and familiar illustration and proof in the infant's laughing eye, and in its expression of joyous emotion, as the perceptive consciousness begins to dawn; we see it in the effect produced by making strange faces at young children; we hear it in their scream of excited alarm, and we behold it in the convulsive fit, or shuddering agitation, which sometimes follows. Now, it is worthy of remark, that, in the brain of the fish, the corpora quadrigemina and the thalami optici are contained in one mass, forming the optic lobes; and this fusion, or binding up together of these ganglionic centres, is instructive, as indicating, at least, the closeness of the union, if it does not establish an identity of function. In the case of the young woman to whom I have already referred, in whom the intellectual faculties were in a state of abeyance, and whose only

\* "Physiological Anatomy and Physiology of Man." By Dr. Todd and Mr. Bowman. Pp. 347, 348.



media of communication with the sensational consciousness were through *sight* and *tactile feeling*, or *touch*, we have in evidence, that through either of these channels, equally and alike, feelings of terror and of fright were *most* readily exerted ; and assuredly this points to a *common centre* as the seat of these feelings, or to an *identity* and *unity* in the functions of the ganglionic centres concerned—the corpora quadrigemina and thalami optici. A more striking illustration, perhaps, cannot be found upon record, of the susceptibility to emotional excitement, than this young woman's case presents, at a time when the mental faculties were quite suspended.

And in relation to it, I may here reiterate what I have elsewhere stated, that

“ While, on the one hand, it is abundantly manifest that the corpora quadrigemina are the seat of those *objective emotional feelings* and *motor impulses* which are roused into activity through the instrumentality of sight, I think, on the other, we may fairly, and are entitled to infer, that the thalami optici—the seat of our inner sensibilities—are the common centres of all our *other objective* and *subjective feelings*, and *motor impulses*, associated with the emotional states.”\*

For though it cannot be denied that simple emotional feelings and motor impulses may be, nay, easily and constantly are, excited and roused into activity, through all the special senses, by impressions from without, it must never be forgotten that the thalami optici are the common foci of sensibility for all the nerves of special sense,—the points of unity around which our different sensations are marshalled, and where they all centre and meet.

The Cerebellum is the last in the series of the encephalic ganglia. Placed over the divergent strands of the medulla oblongata, and consisting of a median lobe and two lateral appendages, it is in most intimate connexion with the apparatus of automatic life. In the adult brain no part of the encephalon has such extensive connexions with the cerebro-spinal axis, for it is in union with each segment of the great nervous centres upon which the sensations and movements of the body depend, but it has *no direct connexion with the cerebrum*.

The complexity of its structure induces the belief of a plurality of functions. The restiform columns derived from the posterior strands or columns of the spinal cord, there is every reason to infer, have the same endowments as the rest of the sensory tracts ; and if the corpora dentata be the ganglionic centres in which they terminate, they must be centres of sensation closely allied to that of common or tactile sensation. *They are the seat of the muscular sense* ; and, as Dr. Carpenter has suggested, the cere-

\* “Physiological Psychology,” page 36, *ante cit.*

bellum may only react (by reflex action) upon the impressions submitted to it, without being itself the instrument of communicating such impressions to the consciousness.

Comparative anatomy, pathological researches, and experimental inquiry, alike establish the position that the office of the lateral lobes of the cerebellum is the co-ordination of voluntary and locomotive actions; and whilst, on the one hand, the direct structural connexion which subsists between these co-ordinating organs—the lateral lobes and the corpora quadrigemina—clearly indicates the importance of the guiding influence of the visual sense in co-ordinated movements, so, on the other hand, analogous to this, is the influence of the restiform bodies, as channels for the transmission upwards to the corpora dentata, of impressions appertaining to the muscular sense.

The median lobe of the cerebellum is primitive and fundamental, exercising an independent function, since in the lower classes of the animal series up to birds, *the lateral lobes do not exist*. Pathological investigation has led me to espouse the opinion of Serres, that the median lobe is *the sensory ganglion of the sexual instinct*. Nor to this allocation of the generative propensity—which must be admitted to be one of the most universal instincts in nature, having for its object the perpetuation of the species—can I see a single valid *anatomical or physiological* objection, but on the contrary, from the intimate relations of the median lobe with the centres of sensation and emotional feeling, and through them with those of intellectual action, a clear and satisfactory explication of the complex character of the amative propensity in man.\*

\* I brought this view of the subject under the notice of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, in a paper on “A Case of Apoplexy of the Cerebellum,” read March 13, 1849, and published in vol. xxxii. of the Society’s “Transactions.” The case was that of a printer and publisher, fifty-two years of age, who died suddenly in an apoplectic attack, after having eaten a hearty dinner. At the autopsy there was found in the interior of the right hemisphere of the cerebellum an apoplectic clot, of the size of a pullet’s egg, from a rupture of one of the branches of the vertebral artery. The whole arterial system of the brain was more or less in an unhealthy state, presenting that diseased condition of the vessels, which results from cartilaginous and ossific deposition between their coats. The interior of the hemisphere had become a softened pulpy mass, and the softening had extended inwardly beyond the centre of the median lobe, implicating the fibrous strands of the middle and inferior planes in the destructive process, and outwardly so near to the surface of the hemisphere, that a portion of the apoplectic clot was projecting through it.

Five months previous to the fatal seizure, he had a slight attack. I then found him low and exhausted, with a feeble pulse, and a cold clammy perspiration upon the surface of the body, complaining of sickness of stomach, and of pain, heat, and uneasiness in the back part of the head. He rallied in the course of the day, but the pain, heat, and uneasiness of the head continued for some days afterwards. There was no paralysis, but there was about him a hurriedness of manner, great restlessness, and irritability of temper. A few days afterwards, his wife told me, with great delicacy and embarrassment of manner, that he had become the subject



And it may truly be said that—

“An instinct of absolute necessity in its object is thus rendered a principle of our moral constitution, and connects itself with all our

of a constant desire for sexual intercourse. His behaviour in this respect was so different from what it had been, and so little amenable to persuasion or reason, that she said necessity had induced her to speak on the subject to me. I at once recommended his removal from home, and succeeded in persuading him to pay a visit to some friends in the country, without his wife, on the plea that a change of air and scene was essentially necessary for the re-establishment of his health. He was absent about three weeks, and returned apparently improved in his general health, and no longer a slave to the sexual propensity. In this respect he had greatly changed. The desire for sexual intercourse had abated, and from that time it gradually became less and less up to the period of his death, while, at the same time, there was observed an unsteadiness in his gait, which visibly increased, and amounted at times, under the influence of emotional excitement, to the staggering of a drunken man; and, for some time before he died, he had a settled weakness and stiffness in the left leg and foot.—The condition of the cerebellum viewed in connexion with the history of the case, is full of interest. For while it is obvious that such an extensive disorganization of its internal structure must have destroyed the integrity of the functional powers of the part, it is highly interesting to note, during the progress of the degeneration, first, the exaltation and subsequent depression of the generative function, and, secondly, the tottering gait, from the defective power of co-ordination, ending in a weak and stiffened limb. As the extraordinary excitement of the sexual passion was a sudden invasion, and as this was manifested so soon after his first attack, the inference appears to be indisputable, that it was a consequence of that attack, and dependent upon the *co-relative stage* of that destructive disturbance of the cerebellum which led to such extensive degeneration of its structure. This is not the only case in which, from personal observation, I have been able to associate exaltation and subsequent depression of the sexual propensity with opposite pathological conditions of the cerebellum; the first with irritation and incipient inflammatory indications, and the latter with degeneration and abscess.

In one instance which came under my observation some years ago, the patient, though doatingly fond of his wife and children, and in every other relation of life an exemplary man, could not restrain the sexual passion; and I had him two or three times to treat him for gonorrhœa,—on one occasion during the period of his wife's accouchement. He wept over his delinquencies. In his case, at the latter period of his life, and after all erotic manifestations had passed away, he had not only a tottering, but a stooping gait, and required a walking-stick for support in progression. After death, there was found an extensive softening in the middle and in one of the lateral lobes of the cerebellum, as well as superficial ulceration of the glans penis, and atrophy of the genital organs. During the past year, an interesting case of tubercle of the brain in the adult came under my notice; and not the least remarkable of its features was the excited state of the generative function in the latter period of the patient's life. He died in a state of coma, from serous effusion at the base of the brain. In him the symptoms were so well marked, that during life tumour or tubercle on the brain was diagnosed. At the *post mortem* inspection, there was found, underneath the tentorium, quite unattached, excepting in its vascular connexions, a tubercular mass, about the size of a walnut, strikingly resembling the mulberry calculus, but having its base, which was about the size of a shilling, perfectly smooth; and corresponding to which was a depression, into which it was received, of some perceptible depth, on the surface of the left lobe of the cerebellum, very near to the median lobe. There was no lesion of structure, but all the surrounding parts were much congested. The pain was localized, and the paroxysmal attacks at times were very distressing. During life there was no paralysis, or loss of co-ordinating power. More than once he was urged to have a change of air and scene, but he would never stop away from home beyond a few days, as his wife could not accompany him—he had no enjoyment at night without her.



moral responsibilities, while, at the same time, it furnishes materials for those powers of imagination, taste, and perception of beauty, which, if not altogether peculiar to man, are at least his possession in degree infinitely above all that can be admitted into the comparison.”\*

After this general review of the nervous centres of the encephalon, we may now revert to the consideration of the crowning ganglia of the whole series—the *cerebral hemispheres*, the seat of the perceptive consciousness, of intellectual action, and volitional power,—in a word, of the understanding and the will. In the lowest of the vertebrate series of animals, the representatives of these hemispheres are limited to the anterior lobes, and reduced to mere lamina or crusts. But they gradually increase in size, complexity of structure, and in the number of their lobes and convolutions, as the animal rises in the scale of intelligence, until they reach their culminating predominancy in man. Professor Retzius, of Stockholm, has elaborately investigated the development of the cerebrum in the ascending vertebrata, and its different phases in the human embryo. His observations completely confirm the statements of Tiedemann and Serres as to the order in which the different lobes are evolved, showing that the *anterior lobe only* exists in fishes, that this enlarges as we ascend through the classes of reptiles and birds, but does not change its character; that the middle is not developed until we reach the mammalian class, presenting itself first in a very rudimentary form, and attaining increased development as we ascend; that the posterior lobe is developed from the back of the middle lobe, making its first appearance in the carnivorous group. To this history the embryonic development of the human cerebrum presents an exact parallel, the anterior lobe making considerable progress before the middle begins to be evolved, and the posterior being the latest in the order of succession.†

He gives the following account of the development of the cerebral hemispheres:—

“In the first period, which corresponds with the second or third months, only the anterior lobes form; in the second period, which is comprised in the end of the third, in the fourth, and in a small portion of the fifth, the two middle lobes appear, and after this time the posterior lobes. During a great portion of the first period, the descending horns of the lateral ventricles and the pedes hippocampi are wanting: these are added in the second period. During a great portion of the

\* Sir Henry Holland’s “Chapters on Mental Philosophy,” page 216.

† I would here take the liberty of suggesting to others, who are engaged in the practice of midwifery, and who feel interested in psychological inquiries, that they should allow no opportunity to escape them of inspecting the state and observing the phases of the embryonic development of the brain in cases of abortion, and thus of verifying, as I have had repeated opportunities of doing, some of the concurring statements of Tiedemann and Retzius, by the test of their own personal observation.

first period, the hemispheres do not cover the thalami optici; in the second period they completely overlap these parts, approach the large corpora quadrigemina, cover their anterior part, and then descend by the side of the cerebral nucleus (cone and stem), and, as it were, fold round it. If we examine a brain at this period of development, we might, from its external appearance, imagine that the posterior margin of the hemispheres corresponds to their persistent posterior ends and margin, that is, to those which are their posterior margins in their perfectly developed state. But it is not so. If we open the brain we come at once to the descending horns of the lateral ventricles, in which are the rudiments of the great pedes hippocampi. At a later period, in the fourth month, a small superficial notch is formed at the posterior margins of the hemispheres; and that part of the margin which is above the notch, is the first rudiment of the posterior lobes of the hemispheres. These, which are thus for a time only rudimental, begin above the middle lobes, gradually take in their posterior margin, follow it down, as development advances, by the sides of the cerebral nucleus, and terminate in that part of the *middle lobes* which meet the pedes hippocampi. Even in the brain of the mature foetus, as well as in the fully developed brain of older persons, the posterior lobes are very clearly separated from the middle lobes by a branching furrow, which is especially distinct on the vertical side of the hemisphere which lies next to the *falx*.\*

This tripartite division of the cerebrum into distinct lobes, and the order and succession of their development, are points of great psychological significance; for the observed facts clearly indicate that the cerebral lobes are evolved from *before backwards*, in the order and degree of their importance as psychical instruments, and they point to the middle and posterior lobes, but especially to the latter of these, with peculiar interest. It is only in man that we meet with such a great development *backwards* of the posterior lobes, and that the cerebellum is completely overlapped and covered by them. The anterior lobes are remarkable for their great extension *forwards*; but it must be conceded that the chief distinction between the cerebrum of man and that of the higher mammalia, is much more striking in reference to the *posterior* than to the *anterior* lobes. "The brain of the chimpanzee," says Professor Owen, "in the relative proportions of the different parts, and the disposition of the convolutions, especially those of the posterior lobes, approaches nearest to the human brain: it differs chiefly in the *flatness* of the hemispheres, in the *comparative shortness of the posterior*, and in the *narrowness of the anterior lobes*."

I am fully aware that some physiologists maintain that this tripartite division of the cerebrum into lobes is altogether arbitrary and useless; and it cannot be denied that it is quite im-

\* Forbes's British and Foreign Quarterly Medical Review, vol. xxii. p. 503.



possible, when we survey the cerebrum from above, to point out where the second lobe ends and the third begins; for there is no breach in the continuity of the surface, but between the first and second the *fissura Sylvii* presents a line of demarcation sufficiently distinctive, and on turning the base of the brain upward we at once see the meaning of these divisions.

No one, however, can make any such survey of the brain, without being struck with the appearance and character of its convolutions.

A classification of these, begun by Professor Owen, has been greatly extended by M. Leuret; and it is much to be regretted that he did not live to complete his elaborate and valuable researches. The subject is one of great interest and vast importance; for it is an indisputable fact, that the complexity of these convolutions is an index to the place which the animal holds in the scale of intelligence. "Observation," says Leuret, "has shown what strict induction had led us to conclude, that each group of brains among animals has a type proper to it, and that the type is characteristically manifested by the form of its convolutions." Every family has a brain formed in a determinate manner; and the number, form, arrangement, and relations of the convolutions are found to be in strict accordance with the intelligence displayed. He justly makes a distinction between those convolutions which are *primary* and *fundamental*, and to be found throughout the whole series of convoluted brains, occupying the same position, and differing only in their size and extent,—and those *secondary* convolutions which are not constant, even in brains of the same group of animals, but are dependent upon the extent of the primary ones, and the connections which they form with others that are near them.\*

\* Gall was the first who classified the convolutions; and the labours of Gall, Spurzheim, and Holm in this interesting field of inquiry were great and manifold: and I would here take the opportunity of paying a passing tribute of respect to the memory of Mr. H. H. Holm, the friend and pupil of Spurzheim, who studied comparative cerebral anatomy with great enthusiasm. He was a Fellow of the Zoological Society, and, residing near the Society's menageries, he had easy access to the collection, of which he availed himself, to study the habits and dispositions of the animals; and having permission to examine the crania and brains of those which died, his anatomical and physiological researches were rightly carried on.

Professor Owen, in his valuable paper "On the Anatomy of the Chetah," (*Felis Jubata*), communicated to the Zoological Society on Sept. 10, 1833, and published in the first volume of the Society's Transactions, gives a note from Mr. Holm, containing his opinions of the *functions* of the different convolutions in the brain of the chetah, on a comparison of it with the human brain and that of some other animals. After an elaborate description of the brain of the chetah, Professor Owen says—"Of the constancy of the disposition of the convolutions represented by Gall and Spurzheim as characteristic of the brain of the feline genus, I was first assured by our fellow-member, H. H. Holm, Esq., Lecturer on Phrenology, whose attention has long been directed to this part of anatomy." Mr. Holm was a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, but, enjoying an independence, he



To determine the functions of the primitive convolutions is *the great problem of physiological psychology*, and as I have elsewhere\* observed, *it remains unsolved*. Nor is this surprising when we consider the conditions of the problem. We are required carefully to note the first appearance and progressive development of the primitive and fundamental convolutions from below upwards in the ascending series of animals, and to endeavour to analyse with certainty the characters of different animals, in relation to the objects of their intellectual faculties, in accordance with the cerebral convolutions as contrasted with mere consensual actions. Like things are to be compared with like, convolution with convolution, and the same groups in different animals with each other, before the problem can be solved.

All honour is due to Gall, for he was the first to enunciate clearly the true relations between the psychological nature of man and that of the lower animals; and while we claim for Unzer and Prochaska the defining of the boundaries of the *sensorium commune*, we must look upon Gall as the founder of physiological psychology. One of the most remarkable men of the age in which he lived, he was alike distinguished for originality and independence of thought, for powers of observation, untiring industry, and indomitable perseverance. To him and his able coadjutor, Spurzheim, medical science, as well as physiology and psychology, is under great obligations. And it is no deduction from their merits to reconsider, if not to remodel, the system of organology which they propounded, by the light which subsequent physiological inquiry and discovery have thrown upon the subject. In the prosecution of such inquiries, the inductive philosophy of Bacon must be our guide. For while it is never to be forgotten that a refined analysis discovered the harmony of the celestial motions, and conducted the immortal Newton through a maze of intricate phenomena to the great laws appointed for the government of the universe, it is melancholy to reflect for how many ages the opinions of one man were the measure of truth and reason, and, under the sovereignty of the sway of the Stagirite, how universal was the degradation of the human understanding.

devoted himself to the pursuit of phrenology, instead of entering upon medical practice. His lectures were amply illustrated by casts, crania, and brains. He pointed out the cerebral convolutions which constitute the several organs, described the modifications which the convolutions receive, and compared them together to illustrate their magnitudes, positions, junctions, and outer connections with great ability; and so highly did Dr. Spurzheim estimate his talents, knowledge, and zeal, that he made him the special depository of his latest views on the configuration of the cerebral organs in man and the mammalia. Unfortunately, like Leuret, he was cut off in the midst of his labours, and in the fortieth year of his age.—*Vide* a Biographical Notice of Mr. Holm in vol. xix. "Phrenological Journal."

\* "Physiological Psychology," page 48.

But still it is gratifying after the lapse of ages to behold the father of experimental philosophy, the illustrious Bacon, clearly pointing out the absurdity of pretending to account for the phenomena of nature by syllogistic reasoning on hypothetical principles, and with a boldness becoming a genius of the first order, undertaking to give a new chart of human knowledge. Let us follow its guidance and tread in his footsteps. Already there are many labourers in the field, and much has been accomplished. A second Newton may arise among them to thread the labyrinth of metaphysical subtlety and transcendental philosophy with the logical acumen of a Locke, to collect and bind together the scattered and isolated links of the great chain of physiological discovery, to point out the bearings of the pathological facts of past experience, to interrogate nature herself upon the functional characters "written upon the nervous pulp" of the several ganglia, and to read her own replies in the living experiments which she has presented to us in the lower forms of animal existence, and thus to place the great doctrines of mind on the solid basis of a sound physiological psychology!

Since the enunciation of Gall, that the convolutions of the cerebrum are the seat of the faculties of the mind, their development and classification has been invested with peculiar interest.

"Anatomy," says Dr. Todd, "points to the conclusion that the office of the convolutions is connected with the functions of the mind; and it seems not improbable that the phrenological view which assigns to *certain convolutions* a special office connected with some particular faculty or faculties is true. This is strongly supported by the fact of a regular disposition of certain *primary* convolutions, and that, in tracing the convolutions from the most simple to the most complex, indications are found of the *persistence* of the *primary* and *fundamental* convolutions in the midst of many that are secondary and superadded ones."\*

M. Leuret has shown, that in all the inferior classes of animals up to the lowest mammalia, the cerebrum is not convoluted on the surface. In the bat, the mole, and the rat, &c., as in birds, the cerebral hemispheres are perfectly plain and smooth, though divided by the Sylvian fissure; and among the earliest to appear, are the convolutions of the insula of Reil, in the fissura Sylvii. In the rabbit, beaver, and porcupine, the Sylvian fissure is strongly marked, but there are only a few slight depressions indicating the future sulci of the convolutions on the surface of the hemispheres. In the fox, wolf, and dog, the simplest form of the true convolutions are first met with,—the *fundamental convolutions* of Leuret. In the fox, as a typical example, they are six in number. Four of these are on the external surface, running

\* Dr. Todd's "Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology."



from *before backwards*; one forms the curved lip, or border of the Sylvian fissure, and surrounds the island of Reil; the other three, also carried in this direction, are placed parallel to the first, and one above another; the fourth or superior longitudinal, occupies the margin of the great longitudinal fissure; the fifth, situated anteriorly, under the forepart of the anterior lobe, is the super-orbital convolution; and the sixth is the great internal convolution, above the corpus callosum—la circonvolution de l'ourlet of Foville.

In the human brain, besides the great internal and the super-orbital convolutions, M. Leuret has represented *three external fundamental convolutions*, which are tortuous, and frequently communicate with each other. Between the anterior and posterior portions of these three external convolutions, are interposed, on the upper surface of the hemispheres, two sets of transverse convolutions, divided by a distinct sulcus, which runs outwards and forwards, from the longitudinal fissure, so that the right and left grooves form a V-shaped line, open in front, which is called by Leuret, the fissure of Rolando.

These transverse superior convolutions are peculiarly characteristic of the human brain; and to this peculiarity must be added the elongation *backwards* of the cerebrum, by the increased development of the posterior lobe, and the greater and marked complexity of the vertical convolutions in the median fissure, and of those of the island of Reil.

In the development of the cerebrum, Foville has invested the *locus perforatus anterior*, or quadrilateral spot, with paramount importance, as being the central nucleus and fundamental part of the brain,—the starting point from whence the primitive convolutions are evolved; and thus makes it the portal to intellectual action and volitional power.

Of the primitive convolutions he makes four orders, in each of the cerebral hemispheres, distinguishable one from another. Of these, the first order contains but one—the convolution of the band,—the ourlet or hem of the hemispheres,—the great internal convolution. It surrounds the hemispheres internally like a riband, and is attached at each extremity to the *locus perforatus*. *It is clearly the basement convolution of the cerebrum.*

The second order are the marginal convolutions, of which there are two. One, the great longitudinal convolution, occupies the circumference of the hemisphere, forming its excentric or outer boundary, while the other surrounds the insula of Reil and the *fissura Sylvii*. They arise from the quadrilateral space, and from the convolution of the band, from which they spring like buds from a branch.

The great marginal convolution of the longitudinal fissure



forms the inner border of the triangular orbital surface of the anterior lobe, where cleft, as it were, in twain, it receives in a deep sulcus the olfactory nerve; the outer border of the triangular surface is formed by the marginal convolution of the fissura Sylvii, and at the apex of the triangle behind, the two borders are connected by a short and but slightly elevated convolution, bounding the locus perforatus anterior in *front*.

The convolutions of the third order, of which there are two sets, are situated on the *internal* surface of the hemispheres, forming a sort of anastomosis between the convolutions of the first and second order. These hook-like processes on the convolution of the band, led Rolando to call it *processo cristato*. The second set are within the fissura Sylvii, and constitute the insula of Reil.

The convolutions of the fourth order, the largest, deepest, and least symmetrical of all, are quite detached from the perforated spot, and have no *direct* connexion with the convolutions of the first order. They occupy, in a transverse direction, the outer or convex surface of the hemispheres, and they thus connect the two convolutions of the second order together—viz., the marginal convolution of the median fissure and that of the fissura Sylvii. They are especially characteristic of the human brain, and may be considered “as prolongations of the convolutions of the third order, below the two convolutions of the second order, and running directly across the upper surface of the brain.”\*

We may now proceed to the determination, if we can, of the organ of the perceptive consciousness in the cerebrum, and then resume the consideration of the phenomena which formularize the perceptive consciousness—namely, ideation and volition, with their associates, memory and emotional sensibility. Perception is the correlative of sensation, and indicates its intellectual phase; for, in this second stage of our psychological development, we have *intelligent ideas*, *emotional feelings*, and *volitional actions*.

I quite agree with Dr. Todd, that the psychologist must determine what are and what are not fundamental faculties of the mind, before the physiologist can venture to assign to each its local habitation in the brain. But about the perceptive consciousness there can be no dispute, and to my mind, quite as little about the existence of a central organ in the cerebrum, as its local habitation and instrument—the seat of ideation and volitional powers. In the nervous apparatus of the sensational consciousness, we have seen that there is a central organ—a point of unity around which the various sensations are marshalled, and that the thalami optici are these central foci of sensibility,

\* Solly “On the Brain,” page 136.

“without which the mind could not perceive the physical changes resulting from sensitive impressions.” So, too, the perceptive consciousness has its central organ, where ideation is effected, whence issue the mandates of the will, and where sensory impressions—the intuitions of the special senses—are translated into the form of intelligence, and become intellectual phenomena—are perceived and associated, and where the intuitions of one sense are used to correct and elucidate those of another. But the question recurs, Can we determine the site of the organ of the perceptive consciousness? Do embryology and comparative anatomy afford us any clue to the solution of the question, or throw any light upon the subject? I think they do. For if we revert to the phases of embryonic development, we find, about the tenth week, that the central nuclei of the cerebral hemispheres, from being at first mere points, then actually cover the corpora striata, after the manner in which they permanently incrust those bodies in the brain of the full-grown fish, so that we cannot avoid the conclusion, but are legitimately led to infer that the *latter* are the homologues of the *former*. Now, if this be conceded, the induction is irresistible as to the site of the organ of the perceptive consciousness in the cerebrum. For, wherever the hemispherical ganglia exist, the essential phenomena of the perceptive consciousness are manifested; and since it is admitted, and without a moment’s hesitation, by every experienced angler, that in the case of the fish we have clear and distinct evidence of the exercise of the perceptive faculty of memory and volition, *as opposed to mere consensual and instinctive action*, there can be no dispute that the thin laminæ of vesicular matter which incrust the corpora striata in the brain of the fish, are the organs of its perceptive consciousness. But in the human embryo it is equally clear and indisputable that these thin laminæ of vesicular matter are the primitive and basement convolutions of the hemispheres—the convolutions of the band—the ourlet of Foville, and ultimately *the great internal convolution* of the adult brain; so that if the former be really the homologues of the latter, the inference is most important and indisputable as to the seat of the perceptive consciousness in man. Moreover, one thing is abundantly manifest, that since these great internal convolutions are unquestionably the primitive basement convolutions of the hemispherical ganglia, they must be the *portals* to *intellectual action*, where sensory impressions are translated into the form of intelligence, are perceived and idealized. It was here I believe that Gall located his organs of individuality; but since these convolutions are manifestly the portals to intellectual action, and as perception is but one and the first step above sensation, I think we are fully warranted in taking a more comprehensive view of their formation,



and in considering them the organs of the perceptive consciousness,—the seat of *ideation*, *memory*, and *volition*. Now, of all the convolutions of the brain, they are the most symmetrical; they are the most constant and regular, and each exhibits with its fellow on the opposite side the most exact symmetry. Their connexions are multitudinous, and commensurate with their importance. Besides their relations with the sensory ganglia of special sensation, first and anteriorly they are in intimate connexion with those super-orbital convolutions of the anterior lobes, to which pathological investigations point as the organs through which we acquire a knowledge of the physical adjuncts of external existences, such as their size, shape, colour, number, weight, or resistance, &c.: secondly and laterally, they are connected with those primitive and early developed basilar convolutions surrounding the fissura Sylvii, which, from their connexion with the earliest of the animal senses, that of smell, appear to administer to the universal instinct of self-preservation: thirdly and posteriorly, they are in intimate union with those backwardly developed convolutions of the posterior lobes which belong more exclusively to the family of man: fourthly and superiorly, they are connected, through an order of anastomosing convolutions, with those great marginal convolutions which constitute the outer and most exalted boundaries of the hemispheres, and with those which take a longitudinal but tortuous course on the upper and outer surface of the brain, thus connecting, as it were, perception, the first step above sensation, with the loftier regions of thought.\*

Now it is only in the human brain, that these basement convolutions of the hemispherical ganglia exist in the highest state of development. Compared with what we meet with in the brain of the monkey and other anthropomorphous animals, the

\* “Of the internal convolution, or that of the corpus callosum, called by Foville, *convolution d'ourlet* (*processo cristato*—Rolando), the principal portion is above and parallel to the corpus callosum: in front it curves down parallel to the anterior reflector of the corpus callosum, as far as the locus perforatus, connecting it with some of the *anterior convolutions*. Behind it passes in a similar manner round the posterior reflection, connecting itself with some of the *posterior convolutions*, and in the *middle lobe* forming the hippocampus major, the anterior extremity of which is situate immediately behind the fissura Sylvii and locus perforatus. Its horizontal portion appears to be connected with some nearly *vertical* ones, which seem indeed to branch off from it. It forms, to use Foville's expression, a *hem* or *selvage* to the cortical layer of the cerebral hemispheres. The free margin of this convolution varies its character in different brains, according to the degree of tortuosity it exhibits, and the number of small fissures which are met with in it. The small folds which connect it with other convolutions on the inner surface of the hemisphere vary in number, and are generally found most numerous in the posterior part. Some of these folds are not distinctly visible unless the sulcus above it has been freely opened, as they are situated quite on its floor.”—(Dr. Todd, on the Physiology of the Nervous System, “Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology,” p. 697.)



contrast is not more striking than it is psychologically significant. In man these complications and relations with the other primitive convolutions of the cerebrum are commensurate with their importance and with the vast and varied range of their function as psychical instruments. For while in the perception proper of outward existences, man stands on the same platform with the lower animals, and the process in him, as in them, is equally and alike intuitive, nature is not to him a mere system of *shapes*, *shades*, and *resistances*; but, by virtue of his highly attuned organization, "it speaks to him a higher language, embodies loftier ideas, and breathes into the soul diviner sentiments."

Perception has been aptly designated world-consciousness. For while in sensation the conscious mind is solely absorbed in its own subjective conditions or feelings, as induced by the bodily states, in perception its attention is transferred from *these* to their *interpretation*, as *expressive* of outwardly existing facts, and thus it implies a consciousness of the object which induced the sensation or impression,—a recognition of its cause, as a something external to the mind itself,—an *outward reality*. So that while sensation, on the one hand, is wholly subjective, in relation to knowledge, perception is, on the other, objective. In other words, the one is *self*, and the other is *world-consciousness*.

"But self-consciousness and world-consciousness are indissolubly connected. The one cannot exist without, but only by the other. Self is first perceived as that which is not *phenomenon*; the world is first perceived as that which is *not self*."\*

But self-consciousness is the primary condition; for, as we have already seen,—

"The mind at first exists simply upon its sensational stage of development, and it only gradually, through the various impulses exerted by all the variety of subjective impressions, struggles out of *self*, and sees both *self* and *nature* in clear opposition. At first, however, it cannot interpret all these impressions in relation to its newly-acquired *world-consciousness*. This is the work of time and experience. Trace after trace has to be laid up in the mind, many of them to be compared together; the intuitions of one sense to be used in correction or elucidation of another; and thus gradually the *sign language* of *sensation* has to attain to the meaning which we attach to perception."†

All our perceptive experience is thus idealized from fragmentary impressions made upon the sensory organs,—the perceptive faculty idealizing the impression and converting it into an intellectual phenomenon, or knowledge. For no sooner has the perceptive consciousness been awakened, than a sight or sound which before produced an involuntary start, now excites a

\* Morell's "Psychology."

† Ibid.

smile of recognition, the mind struggles out of self, beginning to throw itself into the objects around it, and to live in the world of outward realities. Mr. Morell has well observed,—

“Man is, at first, a mere creature of sensation and instinct; from that he rises to the power of perception, separating the world from himself, and becoming conscious, *here* of his own identity, *there* of the universe around him. After this, he attains to the power of representation and expression, stamps upon objects their distinctive names, classifies and generalizes them, and penetrates them with the light of the *understanding*. After this process of analysis, begins the still higher process of synthesis. The objects separated and classified, are now reconstructed in scientific order, and the truths which were first seen only by the light of sense and intuition, are now comprehended by the clearer light of *reason*. With the development of the *reason* are given the conditions for the development of the *will*, which rises, through like gradations, from mere instinct to conscious *self-action*, and, at last, to the height of *perfect freedom*.”\*

(*To be continued.*)

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#### ART. VII.—WILLIAM PALMER.

ON Tuesday, the 13th November last, a mare, called *Polestar*, won the Shrewsbury handicap stakes. Her owner was Mr. John Parsons Cook. He was so elated at the result of the race, as to be deprived, for a few minutes, of speech. He was a young man, evidently of weak intellect. He had inherited a fortune of twelve or thirteen thousand pounds. This he had dissipated on the turf. His success at Shrewsbury was of great consequence to him, and he looked to the realization of his bets and stakes as a means of retrieving his shattered fortunes. Alas, for human calculations! In one short week—viz., on the Tuesday following—this unhappy young man died in severest agonies, the victim of the most remorseless and treacherous murder ever recorded in the annals of crime! He fell by the hand of a friend and boon companion.

Six months after, on the 27th of May, 1856, providentially for the ends of justice and the interests of society, the perpetrator of this foul murder was convicted and sentenced to execution; and, on the 14th of last month, he, in the presence of 50,000 persons, suffered an ignominious death upon the scaffold. We might well leave him in the hands of a merciful Saviour, satisfied that the majesty of justice has been vindicated on earth, except for some important psychological and medical considerations to which we consider it our duty, as public journalists, to direct particular attention.

The murder of Cook was only the climax to a series of

\* Morell's "Elements of Psychology," page 59.



criminal acts. It is indisputable, that Palmer's pecuniary embarrassments were extreme; that he had effected a policy on his brother Walter's life, the payment of which was refused by the insurance office; that he had not only forged his mother's name, but branded his wife in her early grave (and how early, *he* only knows) with the guilt of the forgery; that he robbed Cook of 1800*l.*, and fraudulently laid claim to 4000*l.* against Cook's estate;—these alone form an accumulation of direct and circumstantial evidence of the utmost weight against him, apart from the particular crime for which he was arraigned. To those who are accustomed to weigh the value of evidence, there could not remain the shadow of a doubt respecting his guilt; everything spoke against him, nothing told in his favour; and, in fact, the strongest testimony against his innocence was elicited in the cross-examination of the witnesses for his defence.\*

\* "It is now six months since John Parsons Cook expired in agonies at the inn at Rugeley, and from that time to this the public interest has suffered no abatement. The terrible details of this case and of the two others in which suspicion was raised against the prisoner have been discussed in every household of the three kingdoms. Popular feeling was so excited in the neighbourhood of the deed that the prisoner's advisers asked, and the Crown acquiesced in, a change in the place of trial. A new Act of Parliament was passed to enable the Queen's Bench to send the matter before a metropolitan court. The postponement of the trial gave the prisoner every facility in preparing a plausible defence, even to the selection of scientific men to detail the events of their practice and to prosecute special experiments. The Crown, of its own free will, furnished the defence with all the evidence which it was intended to bring forward. Finally, six months after the commission of the crime, the Chief Justice of England and two other Judges celebrated for their experience and acuteness took their seats on the bench. A jury, not taken from among the farmers of a small country district, but selected by chance from the trading class of a population numbering 3,000,000 of souls, removed as far as possible every suspicion of unfairness. Then came a trial of extraordinary length and labour. The opening speech of the Attorney-General lasted more than four hours; his reply was nearly as long. The prisoner's counsel defended him in a speech of eight hours. The case for the prosecution lasted six days; that for the defence more than three. The summing-up of the Chief Justice commenced at the sitting of the Court on Monday, and was not concluded until yesterday afternoon. The men of highest standing in the medical profession gave their evidence for the Crown or for the prisoner. Finally, the jury, after listening with unwearied patience to the arguments and testimony of nearly twelve days, retired to consider their verdict. On their return into court the foreman pronounced the terrible word which consigns William Palmer to a murderer's doom.

"In the justice of the verdict every one who has followed these memorable proceedings must fully concur. Never was a crime more cruel, treacherous, and cold-blooded; never was it brought home by proof more cogent and irresistible. True, the evidence was circumstantial, but in some respects circumstantial evidence is the best. Where the proof of crime is assumed from the testimony of two or three who declare to its actual commission, there is room to doubt whether animosity, or a wish in the witnesses to screen themselves, may not have led to perjury for the destruction of an innocent man. But where a long series of facts, deposed to by numbers of persons unacquainted or unconnected with each other, all points to one conclusion, then there can be little doubt as to the decision. Never did testimony more various and more unshaken unite to bring home guilt than in the case of Palmer. Cook is well and in high spirits, and suddenly is affected by sickness for which no one can account. A few days afterwards he arrives in Rugeley with the



We have thus briefly recorded the history of the criminal, for the purpose of noticing the moral signs of depravity which form so striking a part of his character. He was a member of the medical profession—one of ourselves. He studied at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, under some of the most distinguished teachers of medicine, surgery, anatomy, physiology, chemistry of the day; so that, with but moderate talents and not more than ordinary attention, he could scarcely fail to be well educated in the rudiments of his profession. This was less than ten years ago, if his age be correctly stated at thirty-one. It does not appear that

prisoner, and there the symptoms are repeated. He is not bilious, nor suffering from any complaint which should produce vomiting, and yet he is sick after everything that the prisoner administers. A servant in the place tastes some broth prepared at the prisoner's house, and suffers in the same manner for hours afterwards. When the unhappy man dies, antimony is found in the blood,—a fact which science pronounces conclusive of its having been administered within forty-eight hours before death. Yet no medicine containing antimony had been openly prescribed, nor is it pretended that the deceased was in the habit of taking any such drug. In fact, the defence totally evaded the question of the antimony altogether. The counsel brought witness on witness to give their speculations on tetanus, epilepsy, and convulsions, but no answer was made to the evidence which proved that Cook had vomited for days without a cause, and that after his death a poison which kills by producing vomiting had been found in his body in a state which showed it had been recently swallowed. Can we, therefore, come to any conclusion but that the prisoner, a medical man, having this drug in his possession, and knowing its effects, had used it for the purpose of producing in Cook symptoms which might be confounded with those of ordinary disease? For it is worthy of notice that it was not the interest of Palmer that his friend should die until the stakes and bets he had won were due, but that he should be ill and unable to receive them personally. Hence we find antimony used until Palmer has gained possession of large sums on Cook's account, and then, within a few hours, as soon as it became his interest that Cook should die, the first dose of strychnine is administered. Palmer's affairs, in fact, grew more desperate every day. The usurer who had him in his power was incessant in his demands for money. Palmer had forged his mother's name, the bills were due, and writs were out against both mother and son. Twenty-four hours might discover all; for, unless 450*l.* were paid immediately to Pratt, proceedings would be taken against Mrs. Palmer. Cook had won money at Shrewsbury races, and had it about him; bets were due to him in London. That money disappears, no one knows how, and as for the bets, Palmer receives them through an agent, and applies them to his own use, the day before Cook dies. Here, then, is a motive for haste. If Cook discovers that he has been robbed, if the creditors discover that Mrs. Palmer's name has been forged, Palmer may within a week stand in a felon's dock. He knows the use of strychnine. He knows that it kills 'by tetanic fixing of the respiratory muscles.' Perhaps he does not know that it causes horrible convulsions of the whole body, but thinks that the sufferer dies with merely internal spasms. If we believe the witness Newton, he buys strychnine on the Monday night, and on that night he administers pills to Cook, which are followed by tetanus. There are doubts thrown on the evidence of Newton, because he concealed, or at least did not volunteer it, until the eve of the trial. But, even supposing this young man to be capable, for no earthly reason, of swearing away the life of one who had never done him wrong, the case does not end here. Another witness, whose testimony is not disputed, swears positively to the purchase of six grains of strychnine at another shop, that of Mr. Hawkins, on the succeeding day, but a few hours before Cook's death. If ever anything was proved in a court of justice, it is the purchase of this deadly drug by William Palmer. The defence, loosely enough, shifted its ground as regards this question. First, it was that no poison had been purchased, and that

he was more exposed to corruption during his studies than the rest of his fellow-pupils, many of whom have, since then, shown themselves to be well-informed and respectable practitioners.

Mr. Serjeant Shee, in his eloquent speech for the defence, quoted a letter of Palmer's to the lady who subsequently became his wife, penned by himself while he was yet a pupil, and evincing his affection for her. Some of the daily press affect to see in this letter nothing but deceit: for our parts, we own we believe every word of it, and think that he felt sincerely what he there expressed. It is one of those strokes of nature without which the likeness of the criminal would have been too darkly

Newton was perjured; then it was that the strychnine might have been wanted to kill dogs which annoyed Palmer's horses in a paddock. Neither of these assertions are supported by a jot of evidence. The testimony of Newton was not shaken; that of Roberts was not even questioned. As for the supposed purpose of the strychnine, no evidence followed the suggestion of the prisoner's counsel. The death of the deceased occurred on the evening which succeeded the last purchase. He died just as strychnine is proved to kill. The evidence of the medical witnesses for the Crown is decisive as to the improbability of his dying by any known form of disease. Mr. Curling, Dr. Todd, Sir Benjamin Brodie—all speak positively as to this point. Thus three main points of the case are made out fully,—the death of the deceased by strychnine, the purchase of the poison by the prisoner within a few hours of the death, and the prisoner's pressing motive for the destruction of his companion.

"Only on one point can there be the slightest doubt. The body is unskilfully dissected, and the stomach, with some of the other parts, is sent to Drs. Taylor and Rees. They find no strychnine. Of course, on this the whole defence rests. A number of medical men are brought to declare that if strychnine had been taken it must, in their opinion, be found. But one fact is worth any number of opinions. Drs. Taylor and Rees perform experiments with rabbits, giving them not large doses, like the defence doctors, but just enough to kill. In two cases strychnine is found; in two it is not. Therefore these two gentlemen are justified in declaring that, according to the tests made use of by them in the case of Cook and in the case of the animals, the poison is sometimes found and sometimes not. We cannot but think that the witnesses for the defence endeavoured to prove too much. Scientific dogmatism could go no further than when two gentlemen alleged that Cook could not have taken strychnine because he allowed himself to be touched,—an act which always threw a rabbit into a spasm. Equally unavailing for the prisoner were the suggestions as to the cause of death; it was apoplexy, epilepsy, idiopathic tetanus, traumatic tetanus, epilepsy with tetanic complications, and so on. There were as many opinions as men; and though certainly a prisoner is not bound to account for the cause of death, yet a jury, observing the differences between these witnesses, who made such a display of science, might naturally be led to think that their opinions were not sufficiently authoritative to destroy the testimony of facts and the deductions of common sense. If we add to this that in one case a medical witness confessed to having expressed a belief in Palmer's guilt, and an opinion of the incompetency of Dr. Taylor to detect it, we can have little wonder that the jury should have made so little of the large array of testimony for the defence.

All these points were fully noticed by the Chief Justice in his long and conscientious summing up, as well as those minor incidents which strengthen into certainty the belief of the prisoner's guilt. The anxiety about the jar, the presents to the coroner, the attempted bribing of the postmaster and the postboy, the curiosity about Dr. Taylor's analysis, leading the prisoner to procure the tampering with his letter, and inconsistent with the knowledge that no strychnine had been administered, all forced home the conclusion of the prisoner's guilt."—*The Times*, Wednesday, May 28, 1856.



coloured and deformed ; and if, in spite of this early avowal, he afterwards ended by maligning, if nothing worse than maligning, the first object of his affections, it is only one proof more of the desperate means that a course of vice forces us to at last—*Nemo repente turpissimus fuit*.\*

He was essentially selfish—it is the main feature of his character. Everything turned upon SELF. The murder of Cook, the alleged murder of Walter Palmer, his brother, his design upon Bates, his treaty with Pratt for the possession of the winning horse, *Polestar*,—all turned upon self. Everything was made subservient to this end ; he was ready to sacrifice the world to it ; he did, in fact, sacrifice his own mother to his unworthy purposes ; and, in endeavouring to suborn the postboy, he was, at the same time, ready to sacrifice Mr. Stevens's safety, by the upsetting of the fly, in order to break the jar which, in all probability, contained the damning proof of his own culpability.†

\* “The mass of the evidence against him may be broadly ranged under two principal heads. 1. The moral. 2. The scientific. As regards the moral, or circumstantial branch of the evidence, the most zealous opponents of the propriety of the conviction would probably admit that, taken by itself, it enormously preponderated against the prisoner. We need not again travel over ground with which the general public are so familiar. Suffice it to say, that the following are a few of the points which the prisoner's defence left wholly untouched :—No answer was given to the charge that Palmer had, within a few days before Cook's death, applied nearly 2000*l.* of Cook's winnings to satisfy the claims of his own money-lenders ; no account was given of the disposal of the strychnine which Palmer was proved to have purchased on the very eve of Cook's death ; no explanation was given of Palmer's strange eagerness to get the body put into a coffin, of his demeanour at the *post-mortem* examination, of his tampering with the jars containing the matter about to be sent up to Dr. Taylor for analysis, of his attempt to bribe the postboy, of his inquiries as to the possibility of discovering strychnia in the body, of his exultation on receiving a negative answer, of his eagerness to ascertain the result of Dr. Taylor's report, and his subsequent endeavours to pervert and misdirect the mind of the coroner. But on these and on other similar points it is really unnecessary to dwell. As far as the circumstantial evidence is concerned, all those who by patient attention to the case have qualified themselves to form a judgment, must admit that, in its cumulative effect, it told with overwhelming weight against any rational theory of the prisoner's innocence.”—*The Express*, June 7, 1856.

† “The very moment when he was enjoying the good-will of his neighbours, living apparently an easy, careless life of enjoyment, he was inwardly distracted by all the passions of the gamester. Under the jovial expression of these rubicund cheeks, who could have imagined the secret history which was being transacted ? For this jolly fellow was racing, betting, winning—more often losing—and encumbered with debt. To relieve himself from his obligations he was contracting more debt—selling himself body and soul to money-lenders—using the hand of his own wife (he himself confessed it) to forge the name of his own mother on bills of acceptance for thousands of pounds, knowing at the very time that nothing but a lucky cast could make him to discharge those obligations, which, nevertheless, if not discharged, must prove passports to prison. Nor was this all. Other means were needed to satisfy his wants : and Palmer was not the man to hesitate. He had a wife and a brother. Money must be had. He insured their lives. His brother was fond of liquor. He hired a wretch to lead him on to fatal excess, and death soon overtook



Let us analyse the character still more closely. There were some vices from which he was singularly free. He was not proud, but, on the contrary, he stood greatly in need of so superb a passion as that of pride, which might have preserved him from his other more desperate and debased propensities,—it would have imparted to him a higher bearing, and the appearance, at least, of nobler behaviour; only, he was not proud. Nor does he seem to have been of an angry and choleric temperament, but just the reverse—always cool and collected, wary and sagacious. Neither was he gluttonous nor drunken; and even his more sensual pleasures he managed with so much address, that they did not disgrace his reputation so much as they ought to have done. He could join his friends at the table, but he only lent himself to it, without suffering it to take the mastery over him, or to deprive him of his senses and vigilance. He was too cautious to be caught in his own trap. And, lastly, he was not slothful, but most diligent in the object of his research; for he left nothing unattended to, albeit his engagements ultimately outstripped him in the race.

“Consider the man. In the eyes of his fellow-townsmen this country surgeon had acquired a character for respectability. To most people he seemed an agreeable person—to many even gentlemanlike. He lived in his native town of Rugeley; he was admitted to its leading official society. He had soothed the pangs of many a youthful mother, and watched the sick-bed of many a first-born infant. Latterly, indeed, he had withdrawn from the practice of his profession, having betaken himself to Tattersall’s and the turf.

“In the character of William Palmer there is, indeed, a sort of dramatic monstrosity. He was no common-place villain. The bludgeon and the horse-pistol—the knife and the centre-bit—were not his weapons. Like Cæsar or Napoleon, his pawns were men. His instruments were mortal. He turned everything to his own use—his personal appearance—his professional knowledge—his mother—his brother—his school companions—his friends—the friends of his friends—postmasters—money-lenders—coroners—profligate attorneys.”—*The Leader*.

His sense of justice, or probity, was very small. He squandered his wife was his slave—to be coined into cash. As a medical man he might himself minister to her ailments. She must die. Her husband—so will the legend for ever run—will himself conduct her to the gates of death. He seats himself by her bedside—with his own hand he tenderly administers the poisonous drug—writes down his grief in his private diary—watches the vital power of the poor creature slowly evaporate under his fatal skill—consoles his wounded spirit for her fortunate loss at the very steps of the altar—and then gathers in the golden harvest of deliberate crime. This surely is not the man who would reveal himself to the thousand eyes of a crowded court of justice. He had played the stakes of life and death too often and too successfully before he stood within that dock. In the last momentous scene—the crisis of his life—no weak emotion was to disturb the serene apathy of this consummate artist.”—*The Leader*, June 7, 1856.

dered his own means, unscrupulously made use of those of others, and disregarded truth, life, honour, and money alike. He carefully removed every obstacle that stood in his way, and made use of every means in his power to facilitate his plans. He killed Cook, forged his mother's signature, rifled his associate's purse the moment the breath was out of his body. He was a liar of the first magnitude. His last instructions to Pratt, the solicitor, were most of them false; his answers to Mr. Stevens respecting the betting-book were prevarications too transparent not to be seen through; his hints as to what they were likely to find in the *post-mortem* examination of Cook's body; his telling Mr. Jones that Cook was suffering from a bilious attack; and his persuading Dr. Bamford to fill up the certificate of death with the word "*apoplexy*," were all of them deliberate lies. The theme of his life was lying and money-getting throughout. Medicine offered no opportunity of making a fortune in any way equal to that of betting, racing, and life-insuring. He might, in the course of a long career, have realized a few thousands by means of the practice of medicine; but this was much too slow a game for one whose love of money could only be gratified with thousands and tens of thousands, though lost as soon as gained, and scarcely enjoyed even when won.

"He possessed," says the *Daily News*, "every requisite which would, *a priori*, be deemed necessary to success in the career to which he devoted himself; and yet this cold-blooded schemer, who never allowed any considerations of wrong, or morality, or fear, to stand for a moment between his desire and its object,—this calculator who had reduced life to a game of chance,—money his only object, and crime his familiar means,—was singularly unfortunate as a speculator on the turf. The insurance of his wife's life—say, rather, the blood-money received for his wife's murder—paid off with difficulty the racing debts of 1854. In 1855 those debts had again reached the enormous aggregate of from 10,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* And yet the die with which this man played was loaded,—the hand that threw it never trembled with compunction. He owned horses, he was intimate with trainers, he was deeply versed in all the secrets of the turf; and yet this was the result—ruin, forgery, murder, and, finally, the scaffold. We disclaim the puerile exaggeration which would represent even the professional turfman as necessarily a candidate for ruin, or an adept at crime. Neither would we be so unjust as to hold up to reprobation the men in high station who actively engage in such sports. A great distinction should be drawn between those who engage in the turf as a mere gaming speculation, and he who is influenced by right and honourable motives—viz., the improvement in the breed of horses. We must, however, admit that a life whose business is reckless and illegitimate speculation, whether on the racing-course or at the gaming-table, or in the Stock Exchange, is a life of all others most demoralizing in its tendencies, and is obviously unfavourable to the healthful development



and training of the mental and moral faculties. It is a career in which occasional success establishes nothing beyond the copy-book truism, 'that there is no rule without its exception,'—a career in which, for one prize, there are a thousand blanks,—a career in which the most brilliant success is less enviable than success in any other field of legitimate enterprise,—a career in which failure has recently led to such crimes as those by which Sadleir has lately ruined a province, or that more execrable guilt which, in Palmer's case, has appalled a world."

Another chief quality was his self-possession.

"His self-command was perfect. His readiness of resource marvellous. His presence of mind never forsook him. In powers of far-reaching combination he has rarely been surpassed. In the still more singular gift of making absolute tools of those whom he wished to use, the annals of greatness or villany might be searched in vain to find his peer. In this respect Jonathan Wild the Great was nothing to him. The fancies of Fielding's fiction are distanced by the facts of Palmer's history. Cheshire, the postmaster, was his thrall, Cook his cully, old Dr. Bamford his dupe; he won over Ward, the coroner, by his presents;—nay, even in the supreme crisis of his fate, he contrived, apparently, to produce a belief in certain quarters that the righteous sentence just passed upon him was rather the result of popular prejudice than of even-handed justice."\*

\* "The evidence of one witness on the trial of William Palmer is of especial interest to the community, and, as any comment upon it can have no effect upon the case, we call attention to it at once. The pecuniary troubles of the prisoner for many months previous to the death of his companion, Cook, are detailed at great length by Mr. Thomas Pratt, solicitor, of Queen-street, Mayfair. The history is instructive for those who may at any time feel inclined to begin the seductive practice of borrowing money on their own personal security. It certainly requires no great arithmetical genius to calculate what 1000*l.* at 60 per cent., payable monthly, will amount to in a given term of years, nor is there much forethought necessary to show a man that, with the most unceasing and fortunate exertions, he is hardly likely to extricate himself from debt which increases with such terrible rapidity. The evidence of Mr. Pratt is an old tale, and often told,—the first small loan duly repaid, then a larger sum, then the borrower's acceptances, then those presumed to be his mother's bills renewed, interest payable monthly, threatening letters, entreaties for delay, falsehood, forgery, appropriation of another man's money, and then the final crash. It is worthy of attention in all its naked simplicity.

"About two years and a half since the acquaintance between Palmer and Mr. Pratt began. Palmer borrowed 1000*l.*, which he repaid. More seems to have been borrowed during the ensuing year from Pratt or other persons, for when Anne Palmer, the prisoner's wife, died, and Mr. Pratt received 8000*l.* from the offices on account of the policies on her life, 6500*l.* was at once applied in payment of bills due. In April, 1855, Mr. Pratt was again applied to for a loan of 2000*l.* on a bill purporting to be accepted by Mrs. Sarah Palmer, and by November last there were eight bills held by Mr. Pratt or his clients, the total amount being 12,500*l.* 'The interest,' says the witness, 'was paid monthly. With two exceptions, these bills were discounted at the rate of 60 per cent.' Thus the interest to be paid by Palmer for money borrowed within seven months was probably upwards of 6000*l.* a-year, the income of a leading barrister or physician. If the prisoner had become possessed of an annuity equal to the salary of a judge or a minister of state, it must have been swept away yearly during his whole life in merely paying



The seeming nonchalance and indifference with which he listened to the sentence of the judge and quitted the dock, is

the interest of this temporary 'accommodation.' No wonder there are soon urgent letters on the part of Mr. Pratt, and evasive answers from his client. Walter Palmer is dead, but, even if the Prince of Wales Insurance-Office will pay the 13,000*l.*, it cannot be received directly; so Mr. Pratt writes, 'Do pray think about your three bills so shortly becoming due. If I do not get a positive appointment from the office to pay, which I do not expect, you must be prepared to meet them, as agreed. You told me your mother was coming up this month, and would settle them.' Again, on the 2nd of October, 'Bear in mind that you must be prepared to cover your mother's acceptances due at the end of the month.' On the 18th, 'I send copies of two letters I have received. As regards the first, it shows how important it is that you or your mother should prepare for the payment of the 4000*l.* due in a few days.' What is the position, then, of Palmer? He has 4000*l.* to pay, and can only pay 250*l.*, and promise 250*l.* more. 'For goodness sake, do not think of writs. . . . I will get you the money, even if I pay 1000*l.* for it.' The two sums of 250*l.* seem to have mollified Mr. Pratt for a few days. On the 31st of October he writes—'The 250*l.* in registered letter duly received to-day. With it I have been enabled to obtain consent to the following.' And then he tells Palmer that, with the exception of issuing writs against his mother, no proceeding as to service shall be made until the morning of Saturday, the 10th, 'when you are to send up the 1000*l.* or 1500*l.* You will be debited with a month's interest of the whole 400*l.* out of the money sent up.' On the 11th of November Palmer was not ready with the 1000*l.*, but he brought 300*l.*, making in all 800*l.* paid;—'200*l.* was deducted for interest, leaving 600*l.*' Thus, out of the money which Palmer had scraped together in the course of the past month, a fourth—200*l.*—went as the month's interest of the 4000*l.* Of course Mr. Pratt was still pressing for his balance of 3400*l.* On the 17th Palmer is able to send a check for 200*l.*; on the 19th he pays in 50*l.*, and promises 450*l.*, which accordingly was liquidated out of Cook's money. But even then the call was for more. On the very day of Cook's death Palmer writes, 'I will send you the 75*l.* to-morrow.' This 75*l.*, it afterwards appears, was for the renewal of a bill for 1500*l.* for one month, being at the same reasonable rate of 60 per cent. On the 24th of November Palmer paid as small a sum as 25*l.* on account of a 2000*l.* bill due a month before.

"Such are the transactions at this present day between borrower and lender. A man involves himself in debt, of which the interest every eighteen months equals the principal, and another is found to lend him the money, with, we must presume, a knowledge that he has no settled occupation, and that his resources are only derived from the betting-ring, or contingent on what he may inherit from his relatives. These are not transactions between a youth at the University and a wine-merchant acquainted with his prospects. They seem the ordinary dealings between two grown-up men, each of whom has had considerable experience of the world, and especially of that shrewd class with which Cook and Palmer associated. One man forges his mother's name, and pays 60 per cent. to have the bills renewed; the other takes his 60 per cent., which Mrs. Palmer is supposed to allow her son to pay for the accommodation. It cannot be doubted that, although commercial pursuits are highly honourable, such a trade as that of Mr. Pratt and his 'clients,' of whom he 'obtains consent' when a bill is to be renewed, is hardly calculated to improve the public morality. The wonder to a reflecting man is, how any one should give way to such madness as to involve himself in meshes from which he must in reason be convinced there is no escape. The sudden pressure of some 'debt of honour' leads, probably, to the first application, and once fairly entangled, there is no escape. One who trusts so much to fortune as the betting man, no doubt thinks that the next 'event' will bring deliverance from all his troubles, and first in confidence, and at last in desperation, he continues his terrible course. It may be beyond the power of law to prevent such dealings, but we may certainly say that the man who supplies money to one thus rushing to ruin deserves any loss he may sustain, and that anything which may lessen the gainfulness of his trade will be a benefit to society."—*The Times*, May 22, 1856.

nothing more than vulgar and impudent bravado, and if it proves anything, proves too much for his cause. Under such awful circumstances, an innocent prisoner would be ready to sink into the earth with shame and confusion—the mere suspicion would be enough to harrow his feelings and congeal his blood. But to bear—not the suspicion—not the imputation—but the very conviction of crime, in the open face of day, with composure—to speak of it with philosophic indifference, and to declare that it will not even so much as disturb the night's repose—this is the sign of hardened villany and a callous conscience, unless it be sheer affectation and practised effrontery. Palmer's allusion to God as the defender of innocence, can only be viewed as another part of the same detestable jargon.\*

\* *The Express*, of June 2, says Thurtell confessed a dozen murders which he certainly never committed. He declared that he drowned a young man at Norwich who was known by the townspeople to be non-existent; and he told ridiculous stories of knocking gamblers on the head with dumb bells behind doors in gaming-houses, where nothing of the sort ever took place. This sort of bravado, and that with which he went out of the world, produced something of the effect he intended on ignorant and impressible minds, and a bad tone was introduced into the immorality of young scamps of that day which aggravated the grief they caused at home and the mischief which they diffused abroad. When the murderer is not a hero he tries hard to be a saint; and as the lower part of the press has been usually more or less to blame in the first case, the weaker part of the religious world have been so in the other. Since Dr. Dodd—who fully expected to be in heaven before Dr. Johnson—there have been plenty of wretches who have regarded, or pretended to regard, the drop as the gate of heaven. Public good sense has of late years so risen up against this folly and blasphemy that we may hope it has been checked for a time.

#### THURTELL AND PALMER.

With the difference that the circumstances of Thurtell's guilt are not comparable in atrocity with those of the poisoner's, there are points of strong resemblance between the two men. Each was born in a fair station, and educated in conformity with it; each murdered a man with whom he had been on terms of intimate association, and for whom he professed a friendship at the time of the murder; both were members of that vermin race of outer betters and blacklegs, of whom some worthy samples were presented on both trials, and of whom, as a community, mankind would be blessedly rid, if they could all be, once and for ever, knocked on the head at a blow. Thurtell's demeanour was exactly that of the poisoner's. We have referred to the newspapers of his time in aid of our previous knowledge of the case, and they present a complete confirmation of the simple fact for which we contend. From day to day during his imprisonment before his trial he is described as "collected and resolute in his demeanour," as "rather mild and conciliatory in his address," as being visited by "friends whom he receives with cheerfulness," as "remaining firm and unmoved," as "increasing in confidence as the day which is to decide his fate draws nigh," as "speaking of the favourable result of the trial with his usual confidence." On his trial he looks "particularly well and healthy." His attention and composure are considered as wonderful as the poisoner's; he writes notes as the poisoner did; he watches the case with the same cool eye; he "retains that firmness for which, from the moment of his apprehension, he has been distinguished;" he "carefully assort[s] his papers on a desk near him;" he is (in this being singular) his own orator, and makes a speech in the manner of Edmund Kean, on the whole not very unlike that of the leading counsel for the poisoner, concluding, as to his own innocence, with a *So help me God!* Before his trial the poisoner says he will be at the coming race for the Derby. Before his trial Thurtell says, "that after



We find the same mental phenomenon in nearly every phase of crime. The expression of strong religious sentiment is often common to great culprits. It is difficult to discriminate between their sincerity, however ill-timed, and their hypocrisy, however useless, when employed for the sake of glossing over their known and conscious iniquity. It may be both the one and the other; but whether or not, none except the weak-minded and inexperienced is ever deceived by it. It sounds like what it is, a disgusting blasphemy. William Palmer, it is said, went to church and received the sacrament the Sunday after his (murdered ?) wife's decease :—

“With devotional visage  
And pious action, we do sugar o’er  
The devil himself.”

Viewed psychologically, such mental phenomena are to be considered. Either it is an impairment, vitiation, or total want of the moral sense, mostly connected with debility, or struma, or disease of the nervous structures, sometimes connected with drinking, or severe abstinence, or reverie, or preternatural energy, or the loss of self-control, to a degree which none, except those acquainted with the natural history of mania, have the most distant notion of. It is the same as the hump-back, or the club-foot, or tuberculosis, in common pathology, and an outstanding symptom of a disordered intellect. It is shocking to see religion thus travestied; but, then, the best things are the most abused—fictitious piety is an excellent mask for wicked purposes. True religion is never ostentatious, nor does it court popularity. It hides itself within the heart, and is practically known by the life and conduct of those under its influence.

Palmer was what the *Times* characterized him—a most “vulgar criminal.” To our taste, his gait, his physiognomy, his *chevelure*, and his attire, were essentially vulgar—not the vul-

his acquittal he will visit his father, and will propose to him to advance the portion which he intended for him, upon which he will reside abroad.” So Mr. Manning observed, under similar circumstances, that when all that nonsense was over, and the thing wound up, he had an idea of establishing himself in the West Indies. When the poisoner’s trial is yet to last another day or so, he enjoys his half-pound of steak and his tea, wishes his best friends may sleep as he does, and fears the grave “no more than his bed.” (See the “Evening Hymn for a Young Child.”) When Thurtell’s trial is yet to last another day or so, he takes his cold meat, tea, and coffee, and “enjoys himself with great comfort;” also on the morning of his execution, he awakes from as innocent a slumber as the poisoner’s, declaring that he has had an excellent night, and that he hasn’t dreamed “about this business.” Whether the parallel will hold to the last, as to “feeling very well and very comfortable,” as to “the firm step and perfect calmness,” as to “the manliness and correctness of his general conduct,” as to “the countenance unchanged by the awfulness of the situation”—not to say as to bowing to a friend from the scaffold “in a friendly but dignified manner”—our readers will know for themselves when we know too.—*Household Words*.



garity of untutored ignorance and rusticity, but the saucy, jaunty, and confident vulgarity of low life.\*

Palmer had not the physiognomy of a great criminal. There was nothing positively forbidding or repulsive in his countenance. His anterior cranial development was good—the *posterior* part of the head (the seat of the animal passions, according to phrenologists) was obviously large. He had a thick and coarse neck. Considering Palmer as a physiognomist, no person could have said—

*"This is the man should do the bloody deed,  
The image of a heinous fault  
Lives in his eye; that close aspect of his  
Does shew the mood of a much troubled breast."*

or that on

*"His eye-balls murdered tyranny  
Sat in grim majesty to fright the world."*

He looked the good-natured, easy, well-spoken, and jolly tavern companion, always ready to seize a friend by the hand, and to join a boon companion in the festive cup. So much for his physiognomy.

And here we take leave of Palmer as a psychological phenomenon, and may we never look upon his like again. Let us turn to the medical evidence, and consider its nature and utility on an occasion so trying as this has been. The medical evidence, as it is called, divides itself into the medical and chemical; and of these two, the chemical is subsidiary to the medical; for, without the physician to judge of the symptoms, the chemist is not competent to decide upon the cause of death. It is all very well to send portions of a dead body up to London, for the first analytic chemist of the metropolis to test by its proper chemical re-agents, and then for him to declare that he finds such and such a poison in them, to the very fraction of a grain, and that this poison was the cause of death; it is all very well and very scientific for the chemist to be able and to be allowed to make this declaration, nor have we any ground for supposing that he does not declare the truth;—but, after all, what does it amount to? What is the *bonâ fide* result of the analysis? Does it, in fact, absolutely account for the death? Is the final test equal to the emergency? We maintain not.† We affirm that these

\* As an instance of Palmer's self-possession and coolness during the trial, it may be mentioned that he was continually writing notes commenting upon the evidence, and giving instructions. The following is one of them. Alluding to one of his medical witnesses, he wrote to his attorney or counsel, "This is a muff, and is doing us more harm than good."

† The verdict of "guilty" which the jury has given, if uninfluenced, as we may well suppose it to be, by the pathos of the defence or the declamation of the pro-

questions can be answered only by the physician who was in attendance, and who dispassionately considers the individual symptoms of each case brought under his notice. But, nay, we are answered; the chemist did, in fact, find the arsenic—here it is! Granted: but did the patient die with the symptoms of poisoning from arsenic, or mercury, or whatever else it might be that the chemist had succeeded in detecting in the remains subjected to his chemical experiments? In short, did the arsenic, &c., kill him? He might have taken the arsenic, and the arsenic may have been found in him, and yet he may not have died from the effects of arsenic as a deadly poison. Did he then die from the effects of the arsenic found? This is the question: not what was taken, nor what was found, but whether what was found and taken was the cause of death? The physician alone can answer this question—not the chemist. We know a lady at this moment who is always, and always has been taking mercury, with or without medical advice. Now, if when she dies, her mortal remains were to be enclosed in a jar and sent to Dr. Taylor for analysis, doubtless he would detect no small quantity of mercury in all her tissues. Yet she has not died, is not dying, from the effects of the mercury. Every medical practitioner knows instances of persons who are in the habit of taking as much opium daily as would, at the first dose, kill another not habituated to the use of the drug in such

secution, is a verdict which must be respected, to whatsoever consequence it may lead. We will not, in this place, attempt to review or detail the nature of the evidence adduced on both sides, and upon which the jury were required to decide. Circumstantial evidence never became more elaborate or more lengthy, and the serious question that arises for the future will be, how far evidence of that nature, involving scientific difficulties, can be regarded as the foundation of a death penalty? But there is another question, which at this moment, we should not seek to avoid. The prejudice in the public mind against the prisoner was so far just that it had its origin in the natural detestation which is felt against great crimes. It was assumed that he had become an adept in the art of poisoning his friends—that his nearest relatives and closest companions were not safe from his power—and that no language could be strong enough to describe the cold, savage, and diabolical skill with which he had, more than once, executed his purpose. Now, if all this, and even much more, instead of one act of homicide, had been proved, we should be asked, if it would be wise and safe to abrogate the capital penalty, when so much outrage is by one man committed against the feelings of society? Must there be no opportunity for the strongest evidence of the public detestation—DEATH?

We think not. Let it not be imagined we believe that William Palmer is a greater criminal than the jury have made him out to be; far less let it be imputed to us that we wish to palliate tragedy of any form or degree. But the answer to the difficulty which this case has apparently raised is either an inspired answer or a human one. If inspired it will stand thus: "Vengeance is Mine." If human, it could not be better put than in the words of a distinguished member of the French National Convention who, before he became corrupted, said, "To kill a man—know ye what that means?" "It means," he continued, "to kill his possible return to virtue, to kill expiation, and—infamous act—to kill repentance itself!"—*Morning Star*, May 28, 1856.



quantities. Were such a person to die, say from asphyxia,\* soon after he had swallowed his last quatum, opium would doubtless be found in his stomach in a deadly dose: and yet the opium would not be the cause of the death. Again; persons are in the habit of drinking wine or spirits very freely, all their lives, and live to be old in spite of their excess: of course, if such a one dropped suddenly from some accidental cause, not visible externally, ardent spirits might be found in the ventricles of his brain even, without their having been the cause of his decease. We knew a gentleman who was affected with *rupia*, a skin disease, on his face. He consulted a medical practitioner, who cured it by arsenic. Subsequently this gentleman took arsenic by himself, whenever the disease reappeared, and always with the best effects, and we believe he still continues the same practice whenever the symptoms recur: now, though this gentleman were to die, and his viscera, &c., submitted to the proper chemical re-agents, and arsenic found, as it needs would be, in every part, yet the arsenic could not, *per se*, be pronounced to be the cause of death; because it has not only not killed him, and years have

\* DIFFICULTY OF DETECTING POISON IN THE BLOOD.—At an inquest held on Wednesday, by Mr. Wakley, coroner for West Middlesex, on a child poisoned by the impure air inhaled under the bed-clothes—a circumstance by which the coroner remarked at least 150 children annually lost their lives in his district of the county alone—Mr. Wakley, after the inquiry had been gone through, commented upon the recent mysterious facts in connexion with the trial of Palmer, observing—“A good deal has lately been said about poison in the blood and chemical analysis. Now, this child died, literally speaking, from poison; but, if a careful analysis of the blood was to take place, not the most shrewd man could say what poison it contained. The child is covered over by the bed-clothes, it goes on sleeping, the blood becomes poisoned from the want of natural air, and, eventually, life stops, the departure of vitality being similar to the slow flickering of an extinguishing candle, when it has no wax or tallow to support its further burning. I have had as many as seven such cases in this parish during one week, and it is the most difficult—indeed, an impossible thing—to prove whether the children had been wilfully so poisoned or not—(Sensation). Not all the science in the world could prove if the deaths, in many cases, were accidental, or brought about by design.”

“A case is on record where a man was in the habit of taking  $3\frac{1}{2}$  grain doses of morphia for *tic douloureux*. By mistake the druggist gave him strychnia. He remarked at the time he took it that it was very bitter. While walking along the street afterwards he felt numbness along the back of his legs. He went by a public conveyance to a village where his business lay, and returned by the next opportunity, experiencing all the time the same symptoms. On his return they became worse, “accompanied by a sense of want of power, and a sort of dragging of the muscles of the legs, which soon became so great, that, as he describes it, he had to put his hands at the back of his thighs in order to push his legs along.” This was two-and-a-half hours after swallowing the supposed medicine. There was so little unusual in his appearance, that a friend laughed at him. While showing the effect to his friend, and bending himself, he suddenly fell, and on being raised felt excessively nervous and alarmed. His friend saw him home. He went to bed five hours after having taken the poison. He then took a similar dose, and in ten minutes was seized with violent spasms of tetanus, which recurred at intervals of a quarter of an hour. In thirteen hours he recovered, having taken seven grains of strychnia!”—Dr. GLOVER: *The Express*, May 28, 1856.



elapsed since he first began taking it, but it has, on the contrary, been the means of restoring and preserving his health. So that the mere chemical evidence of poison being found in the body is no proof, either absolute or presumptive, of the person having died from the effects of the poison so found; and to conclude that the poison found by the chemist is the real cause of the death, would lead to very grave and dangerous consequences. The physician who *saw* the patient last is the only person who can say whether the poison found was or was not really, or likely to be, the sole and absolute cause of the patient's decease.

Too much stress is laid on the chemical evidence, although the final decision of the jury did not, in the recent trial, turn upon it, good as the chemical evidence might be. The moral evidence was more than enough. But before chemical evidence can ever be relied on in a court of law, we must have a chemical board, publicly appointed and legitimately authorized, to make these chemical experiments; and, for the future, no single man, nor even several men, however eminent their position or undoubted their skill, should be intrusted with such important and delicate investigations. Should not the accused person be represented at this chemical board? *We would not trust our lives in any analytic chemist's hands, whoever he might be; and, in truth, if we were on the jury, we would never find a verdict of wilful murder against a person upon the sole ipse dixit of one analytic chemist, who secretly performed his investigations in his private laboratory, and then alleged that he had, after boiling down a man's liver, lungs, spleen, and heart, detected the 50,000th part of a grain, or even half a grain, of arsenic, strychnia, or antimony.* The idea is monstrous; the precedent, if allowed, pernicious to the last degree; and no life is safe under such an irresponsible mode of proceeding. These delicate investigations should be in the hands, not of a *private chemist who may be retained on either side, but of a public, acknowledged, and responsible board of independent and skilful men, whose minds cannot be prejudiced one way or the other.*

But to return to the consideration of Palmer's case. The circumstantial and moral evidence\* was strong, convincing, un-

\* "Palmer has had the benefit of such a trial as we believe he could not have obtained in any other country whatever. It is with great satisfaction that we compare the method of procedure observed in this case with such a trial as that of the Duke de Praslin or of Madame Laffarge. No traps were laid for the prisoner—he was not entangled in his own admissions, nor convicted by his own confusion. His guilt, on the contrary, was demonstrated by a clear chain of reasoning, which inevitably connected him with the crime. Mr. Smith's endeavour is to show that he was condemned upon what is called chymical evidence alone. He tells us that the theory of absorption as propounded by Dr. Taylor is new and hypothetical, and not in any way warranted by experience. He adds, 'If strychnia is not absorbed and decomposed, and can be found under similar circumstances to those which

answerable, and conclusive; but not so, according to our judgment, the legal. Palmer was indicted for murdering John Parsons Cook by means of strychnine; and strychnine was proved to have been purchased by Palmer beyond a doubt; but there was no positive proof that Palmer administered it to Cook, or that Cook died from its effects, except the symptoms of death, which were alleged to result from strychnine poison—no strychnine having been detected in the body! As to Dr. Taylor's theory, respecting which so much has been written, to our minds it was wildly hypothetical and vaguely speculative. He found himself in a difficulty, and that difficulty was his apparent defective analytical investigation of the contents of Cook's stomach. In Taylor's report, he says that Cook died, "in absence of natural causes of death, of antimony," he having discovered half a grain of it in Cook's liver! Dr. Taylor was forced to admit that that quantity of antimony was insufficient to account for Cook's death, and, when pressed upon the point, said that Cook must have taken more than that. Why? *Credat Judæus*, because it passed off by vomiting! Hypothesis again! But why "passed off?" Is such the fact? If sufficient tartar emetic be given to excite sickness, what evidence have we that it "passes off" at all in the substance vomited? Does it not first *enter the blood*,

existed, and now exist, in the case of the late John Parsons Cook, then my client will have been the victim of an erroneous conviction, if strychnia cannot now be discovered in the body of the deceased.' Now, this is a view of the case in which we cannot acquiesce. Even if Professor Taylor's theory with regard to the absorption of strychnine be proved by subsequent experiments to be erroneous, enough appeared at the trial not only to warrant, but to necessitate, the condemnation of Palmer. The only conclusion we draw from Mr. Smith's remarks is, that if the absorption theory be incorrect, then the manipulations of Professor Taylor were unskillfully performed. Whether he could discover it or not, the strychnine was there. Mr. Smith should remember that the chymical evidence with regard to the presence or absence of strychnine was one thing, the medical symptoms quite another."—*The Times*, June 5, 1856.

#### \* STRYCHNINE—ITS EFFECTS ON ANIMAL LIFE.

*To the Editor of the Times.*

"Sir,—As some of the most eminent toxicologists seem to disagree relative to the effects of strychnine when taken into the animal economy, perhaps the following facts may be interesting to your readers.

"Being in Mexico in 1849, I had an opportunity offered me of witnessing the wholesale poisoning of wolves by *nux vomica*. The plan adopted is to give an old worn-out mule the poison. In a short time death ensues; the wolves, which infest that part of Mexico—Parras—devour the carcase; they after a few hours die; their bodies in turn are eaten by the turkey-buzzards, who also die.

"These facts demonstrate that the active principle—*i.e.* strychnine—is not destroyed by absorption, but remains undecomposed, though disseminated throughout the system in the most infinitesimal atoms.

"Yours,  
Philo-Veritas."

"June 3.  
*The Times*, June 5, 1856.

"If it is worth while to have a police—to have judges and lawyers, it is worth while to provide some adequate endowment or inducement for the cultivation of

and subsequently act upon capillaries of the stomach, inducing sickness and vomiting? When speaking of the *modus operandi* of the tartrate of antimony, Dr. Headland observes,—

“By an influence on a part of the nervous system—apparently the vagus nerve—it produces, first, the state called nausea, and afterwards, vomiting.”

“This nausea is not produced to any extent by a mere irritant emetic, such as sulphate of zinc, which acts externally and takes effect immediately. The antimonial cannot act so quickly; part of it must first be absorbed, so that it may reach the nerve. We know that it does not act by outward irritation, from the fact that if the solution be injected into the veins at any part of the body, it will equally produce nausea and vomiting.”—*On the Action of Medicines*, by F. W. Headland, M.D.

Again, Dr. Taylor says, the *minimum* dose of strychnia cannot be detected, but the *maximum* can. Well, admit this hypothesis: what proof was there that the *minimum* dose was given by Palmer? From the severity of the symptoms that preceded Cook's death, we should infer (if they arose from strychnine) that Palmer had administered to him, not the *minimum*, but the *maximum* dose. Again, we say that, strong as the moral and circumstantial evidence was, the strictly legal evidence was most unsatisfactory and defective.

How much public anxiety, expense, angry altercation, professional bickering, and disruption to healthy, calm, and tranquil thought, would have been saved, had the presence of strychnine poison been detected by Dr. Taylor when he made, in the first instance, the chemical analysis of the contents of poor Cook's stomach! It is alleged by some of the most able toxicologists and chemists of the day, that if Cook's death had been caused by the minutest dose of strychnine, Taylor *ought* to have discovered it. They assert that his mode of analysis *must* have been defective. So say Messrs. Herapath, Letheby, Nunneley, Rodgers; and the latter gentleman says, in a letter published in the *Times* since Palmer's conviction,—

“I cannot conceive an opinion more dangerous to public safety than that a fatal dose of poison can be so nicely adjusted as to escape discovery after death. Yet such has obviously been the tendency of many letters published in various journals for some time past. It was with feelings of deep regret that I noticed in your edition of to-day a

medical jurisprudence. A medical witness is not an ordinary witness—he is an investigator. On the strength of his professional skill depends the value of his testimony; and as the labourer is worthy of his hire, the attention of the public is seriously called to the importance of a subject connected closely with the safety of property and of life.”—*Lr. R. M. Clover, F.R.S.E.—The Express*, May 28, 1856.



communication from a former colleague of mine, Mr. Ancell, who I am sure would never have sent it, had he been aware of the nature and results of numerous experiments lately made by myself independently, and in conjunction with Mr. Girdwood. I have asserted, and do assert, that strychnine cannot evade detection if proper processes be employed for its separation.

"In this opinion I am supported by the highest chemical authorities of the day, and now request a space in your valuable columns to give to the world a process which accompanies this letter, and which has enabled myself and Mr. Girdwood to detect that fearful poison in the blood, liver, tissues, and contents of stomachs of animals poisoned by doses such as those Dr. Taylor administered in the experiments on which he founded his theory promulgated at the late trial, and which has also enabled us to separate the strychnine from the tissues and organs of a dog after the body had been interred twelve months. The results of these experiments, but without a description of the process employed, were forwarded by myself and Mr. Girdwood for the consideration of Sir George Grey, as we were of opinion that if John Parsons Cook was poisoned by strychnine, no matter how small the fatal dose, its presence could even now be clearly demonstrated if the tissues of his body were subjected to the same mode of analysis.

"I cannot conclude this letter without expressing my opinion that, as of all known poisons there is not one more readily detected in the tissues than strychnine, consequently no death ought to be attributed to its agency unless its presence be clearly demonstrated."

"The process alluded to in the above is as follows:—The tissues of the body are rubbed with distilled water in a mortar to a pulp, and then digested, after the addition of a little hydrochloric acid, in an evaporating basin; then strained, and evaporated to dryness over a water-bath; digest the residue in spirit, filter, and again evaporate to dryness; treat with distilled water, acidulated with a few drops of hydrochloric acid, and filter; add excess of ammonia, and agitate in a tube with chloroform; the strychnine in an impure condition is entirely separated with the chloroform. This chloroform solution is to be carefully separated by a pipette, and poured into a small dish, and evaporated to dryness; the residue is moistened with concentrated sulphuric acid, and heated over a water-bath for half an hour; water is then added, and excess of ammonia—again agitated with chloroform, and the strychnine will be again separated by the chloroform, now in a state of sufficient purity for testing, which can be done by evaporating a few drops on a piece of white porcelain, adding a drop of strong sulphuric acid, a minute crystal of bichromate of potash being added in the usual way; or the elegant mode proposed by Dr. Letheby can be adopted."

That strychnine *was* either in the contents of the stomach or in some of the tissues of Cook's body, able chemists entertain no shadow of a doubt. Had Taylor been happily successful in

his analysis, and had detected even the 50,000th part of a grain of the poison, that discovery, conjoined with the overwhelming and crushing circumstantial evidence of Palmer's guilt, would have settled his conviction and condemnation in a few hours.

As to what was the real cause of Cook's death, Brodie, Todd, and others have no doubt. They affirm that it was strychnine. The questions raised by the defence of the possibility of Cook's death being the result of some tetanic disease, instead of poison, is alleged to have broken down, and disappear in the course of the cross-examination by the Attorney-General.\* It has subsequently been conjectured that death might possibly have arisen from some new form of disease, of a tetanic character, not yet recognised.† Cook was said to have died with identically the same symptoms, even to the very last expression of "Turn me over," as Mrs. Sargeantson Smyth and Mrs. Dove, in both of whose cases strychnine was known to have been the cause of death beyond dispute. Five theories were set up by the defence in opposition to the fact of the identity of death from strychnine in Cook's, Dove's, and Smyth's cases. The five theories were—idiopathic and traumatic tetanus, tetanic complications, epilepsy, and angina pectoris.

As to idiopathic tetanus, it was asked, where were the signs

\* "It is not, of course, for us to suggest what considerations may have acted with greater force upon the minds of the jury, but we should have thought the medical symptoms, and the manner of their succession, quite conclusive. It was proved by such an agreement of medical testimony as we do not remember to have seen in any former case, that the symptoms observed in the case of John Parsons Cook were inconsistent with any other hypothesis than that of death caused by poisoning by strychnine. The attempts made for the defence to neutralize this authoritative and direct testimony resulted in an entire failure. We had enough of such miserable jargon as 'epileptic convulsions with tetanic complications;' but we put it to the recollection of any person who was present at the trial, or who has read the reports of it with ordinary attention, if the overpowering weight of credible medical testimony was not in favour of the view that such symptoms as those of Cook were inconsistent with any other hypothesis than that of death by strychnine?"—*The Times*, June 5, 1856.

† "Only one question was unconsidered in this trial, and that question, though among the bare possibilities, is so highly improbable that it was perhaps well not to raise it. Cook's symptoms were not the symptoms of any known disease. But within this century has not a disease before unknown been generated in India, and propagated throughout the world? Forty years ago the symptoms of Asiatic cholera were not the symptoms of any known disease, and would have been confidently attributed to poison. Indeed, the ignorant everywhere imputed the ravages of the disease to poison. Experience has corrected the error; but the question to be asked is, what must have been thought of the first case or cases, what mistakes made about its nature unknown? A new disease is then among the possibilities; and it might have been fitting to consider the question, if the circumstances of the case, as well as the character of the symptoms, had not so strongly borne out the conclusion of death by the strychnine procured and substituted by Palmer for the medicine supplied by Mr. Bamford."—*The Examiner*, May 31, 1856.



of it? If it was traumatic, where was the wound or injury of a nerve to account for it? No one could point it out. As for tetanic complications, the witnesses for the Crown scouted the idea. Epilepsy—Was it epilepsy? Not one of the medical witnesses either for the prosecution or the defence could say it was. Hydrophobia would have been a much more plausible theory to account for Cook's symptoms—though it does not appear that Cook had ever been bitten by a mad dog—than the suggested one of angina pectoris; for hydrophobia is a tetanic disease, whereas angina pectoris is *not*.\*

One question more remains to be considered,—viz., whether, if chemistry fail to discover any poison in the corpse, it is proof absolute or presumptive of no poison having been administered? Here, again, we apprehend that chemistry is inadequate to the task of deciding so vital a question, and that the physician alone is the referee whose testimony can be relied on in explaining the matter. For different persons are susceptible of the operation of the same medicine in different degrees, according to the peculiar idiosyncrasy of the patient; one person being killed by a dose of poison so minute, that it would be innocuous to another, and *vice versa*. Every medical man knows the susceptibility and insusceptibility of particular patients to the action of particular remedies,—as of mercury, for instance. Thus, half a grain will salivate one patient, while large and frequently-repeated doses will scarcely affect the system of another; nor is it possible to foresee or explain these peculiarities. Here, then, is a set of cases in which chemistry is likely to be greatly at fault, but where the practical physician can alone determine whether the symptoms at the time of death were those of poison, be the dose large or small, and whether the particular symptoms were those of this or that kind of poison, though no poison be subsequently detected in the organic remains. We are, therefore, forced to conclude that chemistry is subsidiary to medicine, and that analytic chemistry is overrated when its *ipse dixit* is received as

\* The analogy between traumatic tetanus and hydrophobia is much closer and stronger than at first sight appears probable. Traumatic tetanus, or trismus, arises from the injury of a nerve, generally of the toe or thumb. Hydrophobia arises from the bite of a dog or cat, rabid or not, as it may be; for it is not absolutely proved that the animal must needs be rabid. But, by the bite, the cutaneous nerves are lacerated or punctured in a peculiar way. Now, the first symptom is that of shuddering, and a sense of creeping over the skin, aggravated by a light touch, or a current of cold air. Then the sight of any liquid in motion produces the horripilations of the skin. After this, the back of the head and spine become painful; and, lastly, the difficulty of swallowing ensues, and is the same as the lockjaw, or trismus, being a reflex act from irritation of the top of the spinal chord and medulla oblongata. Both in hydrophobia and lockjaw the intellect may remain entire to the last.



the ultimatum of an inquiry in a court of law, and its testimony allowed alone to determine the guilt or innocence of the accused person. We have already declared our conviction that the verdict in Palmer's case did not turn upon the chemical, but upon the moral or circumstantial evidence; and we have followed out this train of argument for the express purpose of drawing the true line of demarcation between chemistry and medicine, and of placing each of them on its proper basis. A great deal of the confusion of ideas would have been saved on the recent occasion, had there been a Crown officer of anatomy to perform the *post-mortem* examination, of chemistry for the chemical experiments, and of medicine for the medical symptoms, independent of the scientific witnesses subpœnaed on either side, for the elucidation of the truth; and the appointment of such officers is not more preposterous than the law-officers of the Crown, without whom justice could never be awarded.

We subjoin from the *Times* a truthful and graphic account of this wretched criminal's execution. The day previously, Mr. Smith, his solicitor, was summoned by telegraph from London to Stafford, at Palmer's earnest request, and he arrived at half-past 10 o'clock at night, and had an interview with the convict, in the presence of Major Fulford, the governor of the gaol. The prisoner had declined to retire to rest until Smith came, and from that circumstance and the anxiety he had shown to have him sent for, it was supposed that he had some important communication to make to him; but it was not so. On going into the cell, the Governor informed Palmer that if he had anything confidential to say on family affairs to Mr. Smith, he (the Governor) would keep it a secret. The prisoner replied that he had not, and he hoped the Governor would lose no time in publishing all he said. He also added, all he had to say was to thank Mr. Smith for his great exertions—the officers of the prison for their kindness to him—and that *Cook did not die from strychnine*. Major Fulford expressed a hope that in his then awful condition he was not quibbling with the question, and urged him to say "Ay" or "No," whether or not he murdered Cook. He answered immediately, "Lord Campbell summed up in favour of poisoning by strychnine." The Governor retorted, it was of no importance how the deed was done, and asked him to say "Yes" or "No" to the question. Palmer said, "he had nothing more to add. He was quite easy in his conscience, and happy in his mind." This is the Governor's version of the conversation; but upon the material point Mr. Smith stated, just after leaving the convict, that what Palmer said to him was, "I am innocent of poisoning Cook by strychnine;

*and all I ask is, that you will have his body examined, and that you will see to my mother and boy."*

Towards midnight he had taken a painful leave of his immediate relatives, and was now awaiting his irrevocable doom. He had slept two hours and a half in the early morning, and, on awakening, the Chaplain entered his cell. He said, in reply to a question asked by the rev. gentleman, that he felt comfortable, and was quite prepared. He continued in bed until half-past 5, when he had some tea, and again at half-past 7. To the warder who brought him the tea on the last occasion, and who asked how he was, he said he was very comfortable. The Chaplain remained in almost constant attendance upon him until the hour of his execution. Shortly after 7 o'clock, Lieutenant-Colonel Dyott, the high-sheriff, and Mr. Hand, the under-sheriff, arrived at the gaol, and at once proceeded to the prisoner's cell, where they found him in earnest conversation with the Chaplain.

After a brief interval, the High-Sheriff asked him if he was prepared to admit the justice of his sentence. He replied, with the most energetic gesticulation, "No, sir, I do not; and I go to the scaffold a murdered man." He added that several persons, whose names he would not mention, were guilty of his murder, and that he could not acknowledge the justice of his sentence. The cell of the prisoner was one of a series situate on the first floor of an oblong building, around which a light iron gallery was thrown. Almost immediately opposite the door of his cell a bridge went across to the gallery on the opposite side, and from the centre of the bridge an ornamental stair of iron descended into a large corridor on the basement story. Here were stationed, shortly before 8 o'clock, the High-Sheriff of the county and the Under-Sheriff; Mr. W. H. Chetwynd, a magistrate of the county; Major Fulford, the governor of the gaol; Mr. Hatton, the chief of the county constabulary, and the representatives of the press, awaiting the awful ceremony about to take place. At that moment, a tall, broad-shouldered, elderly man, with short grey hair, and dressed in a white smockfrock, emerged from a room in the corridor, and ascending the light iron stairs, entered the condemned cell. This was the executioner, a labouring man residing at Dudley, named John Smith, and this was his first introduction to the convict, whom he at once proceeded to pinion in the presence of the High-Sheriff and the Chaplain. While this operation was being performed Palmer betrayed no symptom of emotion, and simply requested that the cord might not be drawn too tightly. The High-Sheriff and the Chaplain then left the cell for a short time, and the prisoner remarked to the officers who attended him that they would observe that he had not

changed from what he had always said, and he then said, "All I have to ask of you is to pray for my child." The High-Sheriff and Chaplain again visited the cell, and, thinking that the prisoner might perhaps object to say anything in the presence of the officers, they were requested to withdraw. At this moment all the preparations were complete. The unhappy man was pinioned, the executioner was standing by him, and nothing was required but the signal to move forward to the scaffold. The Chaplain, in the most solemn manner, exhorted him to admit the justice of his sentence. The prisoner firmly replied that it was not a just sentence. "Then," said the Chaplain, "your blood be upon your own head." To this observation the prisoner made no answer.

At this moment the prisoner appeared for an instant at the door of his cell, and took a cursory look at the official gentlemen waiting below to conduct him to the scaffold. He entered his cell again, and immediately afterwards the Chaplain and the High-Sheriff emerged from it, accompanied by the convict, who tripped nimbly down the stairs into the corridor, followed by the executioner. The remarkable appearance of the prisoner at this time will not easily be forgotten. Contrary to all usage, he wore the prison dress, consisting of a dark grey jacket, trousers and waistcoat, all of the coarsest description, a blue checked cotton shirt, and a pair of thick list shoes. He carried a handkerchief in one hand, of the same coarse material. At his own request, his light sandy hair had been closely cropped, which brought the whole configuration of his large round head and face into striking prominence, and, with the dress he wore, gave to his whole *physique* an air of singular repulsiveness which was not at all natural to him. It ought, however, to be stated that the wearing the prison dress was not intended as an indignity, but simply arose from the circumstance of his having no clothes of his own in the prison. The melancholy procession was now formed which was to conduct him to his doom. The Chaplain went first, reading the burial service, followed by the Under-Sheriff, then by the High-Sheriff, carrying their wands of office, next by Palmer, then by the executioner, and finally by Major Fulford, the governor of the prison, Mr. Hatton, the chief constable, and several of the officers of the gaol; and in this way he was escorted to the scaffold amid the tolling of the prison bell. His bearing in these last moments of his life elicited the amazement of all who witnessed it. As he passed Major Fulford, who was waiting to fall into the procession, he bowed to him in an easy, offhand manner, and then stopped for an instant to shake hands with one of the officials of the prison whom he recognized.



He marched along with a light, jaunty step ; but the expression of his mouth and the pallor with which his features were suffused indicated the deep current of natural emotion which he strove in vain to conceal. The distance he had to traverse from his cell to the scaffold was very considerable, and included three short flights of stairs, but his step never for an instant faltered. As the procession reached the entrance of the prison, Mr. Wright, the philanthropist, who was standing near, stepped back to allow it to pass ; the convict bowed courteously to him, and then walked lightly up the steps leading to the scaffold, and of his own accord placed himself under the beam. The executioner at once proceeded to adjust the rope round the culprit's neck, and was about to retire from the scaffold, when he seemed to remember that he had not drawn the white cap over his face. He returned to do so, and then the convict shook hands with him and bade him good-bye. An instant elapsed before the bolt was withdrawn, and the rapid inflation and collapsing of the part of the cap which covered his mouth evinced the intensity of his feelings at this awful moment. The drop at length fell, and he died almost without a struggle. Once or twice, when the executioner was gently holding down his legs, he raised himself slightly up, and there was a simultaneous convulsive movement of the shoulders for an instant ; but he exhibited no other sign of life. He held a handkerchief in one of his hands, where it still remained tightly clenched when the body was cut down. With some very slight exceptions, the deportment of the crowd, among whom were many decently-dressed women, was decorous in the extreme.

So ended the life of William Palmer. It will be perceived that he made no confession of his crime.\* This is, on public grounds, deeply to be lamented and deplored. When pressed to confess, all that he would admit was, that "Cook did not die from strychnine." It was obvious, by his refusing to answer the question repeatedly and earnestly addressed to him a few minutes before his execution, whether he was instrumental in Cook's death, that he was exercising some mental reservation on the

\* "On the morning before his execution, he asked the Rev. Mr. Sneyd if a sinner could be saved who confessed to God, but preserved silence towards men. The reverend gentleman declined to give a positive answer, lest he should be thought to encroach upon the divine prerogative of mercy. But after further self-deliberation, he returned to the prisoner's cell, and said to him, 'You have asked me a difficult and abstract question. Your Bible tells you that all liars shall have their part in the lake of fire and brimstone. If you persist in proclaiming your innocence when you know that you are guilty, you will die with a lie in your mouth, and you know the consequences.' The tears stood for a moment in Palmer's eyes, but he quickly recovered himself, and made no further remark."—*The Leader*.

point. When Major Fulford begged him to admit the justice of his sentence and unburthen his conscience before entering into the presence of his Maker, Palmer's remark was, "Cook did not die from strychnine;" and when implored to say "Yes" or "No" to the question—was he not the murderer of Cook, he replied, "*I have nothing more to add; Lord Campbell summed up for strychnine.*" If Palmer had positively repudiated all participation in Cook's death, his denial of the fact, even at the awful moment immediately preceding his execution, would not have been entitled to one moment's consideration, or to the slightest credence; but, as Palmer would not deny his guilt, but persevered to the last in emphatically asserting that Cook did not die from the effects of strychnine poison, we think we are justified, according to the recognized rules of evidence, in concluding *that strychnine was not the specific poison that caused Cook's death.* The reader must view Palmer's statement not only in conjunction with the fact that Drs. Taylor and Rees could not discover strychnine in the contents of Cook's stomach, but in relation with the conflicting medical testimony adduced at the trial, as to the true character of the symptoms exhibited by Cook during his last fatal illness. We cannot conceive how any person, accustomed to consider and weigh nice points of evidence, can arrive at any other conclusion. That Palmer murdered Cook is, to our mind, an indisputable fact; but, according to our apprehension, *strychnine was not the poison used for the purpose!* Well, then, it may be asked, if Palmer was conscious of his having accomplished his murderous designs by the administration of some other poison, and not by strychnine, how can his solemn declaration—"I am an innocent man"—be made consistent with such an hypothesis? It must be borne in mind that William Palmer was indicted for murdering John Parsons Cook *by means of strychnine.* He was accused, tried, convicted, sentenced, and hanged for committing the murder *in the manner set forth in the indictment.* If strychnine had nothing to do with Cook's death,—if the poison had never been exhibited by Palmer to Cook, or by any other person with his knowledge,—then Palmer was falsely convicted, *for he was innocent of the particular offence imputed to him.* If a man is accused, tried, convicted, and hanged for drowning a person found, under questionable and suspicious circumstances, dead in the water, and he had no more hand *in so destroying him* than the Emperor of China or the King of the Sandwich Islands, the accused party is wrongly convicted and unjustly punished. He may, some days prior to the death of the party found drowned, have administered to him some deadly drug, or

have given him a blow on the head, thus causing temporary mental derangement, impelling the party to the act of suicide, but of the particular and specific offence for which he is tried, convicted, and executed—viz., murder by drowning—he is clearly and undoubtedly innocent. The fact of the man being a murderer and justly deserving death upon the scaffold does not affect our position. The offence or crime for which a party is arraigned must be clearly established against him before he can legally be found guilty and punished. There would be no safety or security for society unless this principle were strictly, stringently, and jealously adhered to in the administration of the criminal jurisprudence of the country. We feel anxious to place this question fairly, dispassionately, and legitimately before our readers, not having the faintest shadow of a doubt as to the guilt of the miserable man who has gone to his last account, or as to the *moral* justice of his conviction, sentence, and death.

We are of opinion that the important point under consideration should not be permitted to rest unsolved. If a mistake has been committed, no harm can arise from a candid and honest acknowledgment of the fact. If an exhumation of the body of Cook should take place, and the discovery of strychnine or some other poison in the tissues be detected, then much dissatisfaction would be removed from the public mind. It is useless to close our eyes to the fact that such a feeling exists to a great extent in this country, and among those, too, who were most profoundly prejudiced against the unhappy man, and who called loudly for the execution of the law. We subjoin, in conclusion, the following able remarks of a contemporary in reference to Palmer's last moments.

“The hope that Palmer in his last moments would make such a confession as would clear up once and for ever the doubts that still remain in the minds of many persons as to his guilt, has been disappointed; and his last words will, we fear, only tend to strengthen the opinion of those who denied that Mr. Cook died from the effect of strychnine. The few words that the wretched criminal uttered before proceeding to the scaffold, instead of clearing up the difficulties which have beset the minds of many medical men, will only tend to still further perplex them. ‘I am innocent of poisoning Cook by strychnine,’ was all that Palmer, whilst standing upon the verge of eternity, could be brought to say, although urged in the most solemn manner to admit or deny the fact of his having *murdered* Cook. The general impression seems to be that this denial was a mere quibble, and that he ‘paltered with us in a double sense’ in denying the justice of his sentence merely because ‘Lord



Campbell summed up in favour of strychnine.' It seems to us, however, that if we admit the possibility of a man quibbling and attempting to deceive with the halter round his neck, he would not much fear going into the presence of his God with a lie in his mouth; we therefore do not attach much importance to his denial of having given Cook this poison. It may be, however, that some drug was used in the pills substituted for those ordered by Dr. Bamford, which Palmer affected to believe was the cause of death rather than the strychnine.

"The correspondence which has lately taken place between Mr. Herapath and Sir Fitzroy Kelly, relative to Tawell's case, would seem to show that the pseudo-Quaker's confession was in some respects similar to the statement made by Palmer. 'It is true,' says Sir Fitzroy Kelly, 'that he (Tawell) confessed his guilt; but I have the best reason to believe that his confession was that he committed the murder, indeed, but in a manner totally inconsistent with the truth of the scientific evidence upon which he had been convicted.' We can easily understand that a man, in order to escape as far as possible the posthumous infamy which attaches to the memory of a diabolical murderer, may so colour certain facts known only to himself, as to lead him, not perhaps wholly in bad faith, to deny the legal justice of his sentence. This is the only manner, however, in which we can excuse him from the horrible crime of telling what we cannot help thinking to be a fearful falsehood, whilst just *without* the presence of the Almighty, if we may be allowed to use such a phrase when speaking of the Omnipresent.

"Although it may appear late, we reiterate our desire that the body may be once more exhumed for the purpose of thoroughly examining every portion of it in the presence of the leading toxicologists of the day. It will be said, perhaps, that such a course would seem to imply a doubt that Palmer was really guilty—a fearful doubt even to suggest, now that it is beyond the power of man to see justice done to him. We do not think, however, that any such objection should stand in the way of clearing up the case, as far as it can be cleared up indeed, by a more thorough and patient examination of the body than it has yet received. Indeed, we think the very equivocation of the murderer on the scaffold might be used as an argument for the course we recommend. Taking for granted that Cook was poisoned by Palmer, as the whole country most undoubtedly does, and taking for granted, as many people do, perhaps, that Palmer was speaking the truth in denying that he poisoned Cook with strychnine, the question which arises next is, With what was the murder committed? What subtle agent could have been employed that

killed, and yet escaped the notice of men of science? It seems to us that not only those who believe strychnine was the agent used by Palmer should desire a further analysis of the subject, but also those who deny it, and yet believe that he drugged his victim to death.”\*

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## Part Second.

### Reviews.

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#### ON SUICIDE AND SUICIDAL INSANITY.†

Is suicide exclusively a medical question? Is it a question that only concerns the civil magistrate? Or is it simply a question of theology or of ethics? At one epoch or another of the world's history, philosophy or theology, the legislator or the physician, has acquired a more or less predominant authority in the solution of this question. In the ages of paganism, philosophy prevailed; since the era of Christianity, religion has exercised the most powerful voice in the decision; to-day, it is medicine that holds the scales. Once, a suicide was a title to honour; then, it was a deadly sin; now, it is a disease. Which is right? One thing is certain—that whether we investigate the phenomena of suicide by the treacherous light of pure philosophy; whether we test them by the precepts of a divine religion; or whether we submit them to medical analysis,—suicide is essentially and above all a psychological question. If, then, we study the subject with reference to its psychological import, bearing in mind the accidental yet numerous and intimate relations with philosophical systems, with religious creeds, with legislative codes, and with medical doctrines, we shall take the surest means of arriving at a knowledge at once broad and impartial, comprehensive and exact. Shall we anticipate the general conclusion to which such a study will lead us? The conclusion will be this: there is truth in all the several tests, if those tests be applied to the solution of particular cases; all are wrong if it be assumed that any one of them is in itself sufficient to solve every case. A suicidist may be sane or insane; and, according to the epoch in which he lived, or the opinions and circumstances by which he was surrounded, he might be a man of exalted virtue or a conscious sinner.

The common sense of mankind, although often clouded by the

\* “The Association Journal,” 21st June.

† “On Suicide and Suicidal Insanity, considered in their relations with Statistics, Medicine, and Philosophy.” By A. Brierre de Boismont. Paris, 1856. Baillière,

changing prejudices of succeeding centuries and of different countries, and often oppressed by the presumptuous dogmas of those who have sought to impose upon the world their own theological interpretations, has always seen through the fallacies of absolute opinions, and has always recognized as real the distinction that strikes the first apprehensions of all between the mental conditions of suicides. Before the era when Christianity shed its gentle light upon mankind,—before erring and simple man had been taught to regard as sacred the image of his Maker, and had learned from the Great Example that the surpassing virtue was to suffer,—the citizen despairing of his country, the man ruined in his fortunes, the defeated warrior, or he who had incurred the displeasure or had exposed himself to the revenge of the powerful, calmly severed the bond that tied them to this life. They thought thus to escape from a world in which their part had been played out, in the same way that by one resolute effort of the will we shake off an unpleasant dream! They were not solicitous for the future; their only care was to flee from present despair. The elysium of the pagan was not shut against him who, weary of the world above, should by his own act seek the companionship of the shades below. The deaths of Lucretia, who would not survive her dishonour,—of Brutus, who could not look upon the ruin of the republic,—of Cato, who would not grace the triumph of Cæsar,—of Cleopatra, who could conquer no more conquerors,—were applauded by men, and represented by the poets as acceptable to the gods. Were these insane? The death of each can be matched in the present day in every noble sentiment; all that will be wanting is the air of grandeur that is derived from antiquity.

The Christian suffers in the belief that this world is a scene of probation,—that he suffers but for an inappreciable moment of eternity,—that endless felicity hereafter is awarded to those who have borne their earthly burden in faith and patience,—and that it is not for him to presume to cut short that stage of trial assigned to him by his Maker. The ancient Roman had none of these motives to respect a life which he regarded as his own, to deal with at his pleasure. It was not, therefore, only in the sublime crises of life—not only when patriotism despaired, when honour was lost, when tyranny was to be baffled—when friends, kindred, or country were to be saved—that the Roman thought it time to die. A ray of heroism that still dazzles even a Christian world hallows the deaths of Curtius, Brutus, and Cato, and tempts us almost to join in the applause of antiquity. These men wanted, indeed, the heroism of endurance, but they were not supported by the faith that animates the Christian. Wanting this faith, they yielded to the noblest impulses of unregenerated humanity. Public virtue and private honour constituted their religion; these sentiments were amongst the most effective safeguards of society; to obey their dictates was to exhibit the loftiest piety and devotion of which the age was capable. We cannot, then, even in the abundant light of the Christian faith, nor in the full reason of manhood, condemn as absolutely sinful, deeds which shone amongst the brightest of olden time,



and which still never fail to evoke the first generous emotions of classical boyhood.

And although the progress and spread of civilization and of true religion have, since the epoch when the Roman Empire represented the whole civilized world, been great, that progress and that spread have still been partial and unequal. Therefore it is that we may, even at the present day, by simply looking around us and surveying the existing world, discover living types of all those conditions of barbarism, systems of philosophy, and theological creeds, which have successively, at some period or another, stamped the character of an age. If we avail ourselves of this fact, we shall find that we possess all the advantages that actual observation can bring to the study and elucidation of this difficult question. If, for example, we wish to inquire into the mental condition of the patriot or the warrior who thinks it glorious, or at least not infamous, to die by his own hand when he despairs of his country or of military success, we need not turn back the pages of history to search for instances; we may examine recent cases which have all the completeness of detail and all the instructiveness that clinical demonstration in the wards of an hospital possesses, as compared with the reading of the medical observations recorded by ancient physicians.

In the accounts we receive of the remarkable and mysterious civil war that has for some time past been devastating China, we constantly hear of defeated generals and soldiers who voluntarily sever their connexion with a world in which they could not prevail. India, again, the land of mystic philosophy, still teems with examples of suicides that bear all the characters of acts of devotion, and which we cannot attribute to the influence of insanity, unless we are prepared to maintain that the entire philosophy and religion of the Brahmins and Hindoos are but phenomena of insanity also. The "Bhagavad-Gita" inculcates doctrines and precepts which lead to the annihilation of will; which, in their ecstatic sublimity, seem to lift their votaries out of the material world, and which reduce self-murder to an act of indifference or of fate:—

"Wert thou loaded with sins, thou mightest pass the abyss in the bark of Wisdom. Know, Ardjouna, that as natural fire reduces wood to ashes, so the fire of true wisdom *consumes all action*. . . . The presumptuous man believes himself the author of his actions; but all his actions spring from the necessary force and concentration of things."

Under such a creed, suicide is nothing more than the revolution of the hands of a watch which has been duly wound up. It implies neither criminality, nor sin, nor disease. What it does imply, is utter moral darkness, and the deepest intellectual degradation. If we would estimate the mental conditions and the motives which led the Stoics and Epicureans of ancient times to self-murder, we are not reduced to the contemplation of historic examples. In the bosom of modern civilisation are nursed men who, by their scepticism concerning religion, future life, or posthumous rewards and punishments, may be

studied as the representatives of those who adopted for their maxim, "*Mori licet cui vivere non placet.*" Do we believe that Seneca was mad, or Diogenes or Zeno, or Lucretius or Diodorus? No; in judging the deaths of these philosophers and historians, we take into account the nature and tendency of their philosophical and theological doctrines. Lucretius formulised his creed in the following words:

"Nil igitur mors est, ad nos neque pertinet hilum;  
Quandò quidem natura animi mortalis habetur!"

Plato, in the depth or the sublimity of error, thus expounded the liberty and the restrictions of suicide: "He is not to be blamed who kills himself, unless he does so without the authority of the magistrates, or without being driven to it by a painful and intolerable position, or by the dread of a future filled with misfortunes." Pliny, in the arrogance of human pride, was not content even with this limitation. He professed to see in the power which man possessed, through the gift of reason, to leave this world at his pleasure, a mark not only of his superiority over all other created beings, but even over the gods themselves: "*Imperfectæ verò in homine naturæ præcipua solatia, ne deum quidem posse omnia. Namque nec sibi potest mortem consciscere, si velit; quod homini dedit optimum in tantis vitæ pœnis.*" And Cicero, whose timid nature, more, perhaps, than his reason or his sense of right, often restrained him, under the reverses and mortifications of his latter days, from carrying into effect a wish he no doubt experienced, has thus, whilst admitting a divine injunction against suicide, placed it in the power of every one to interpret the divine will at his pleasure: "The God who holds over us a sovereign power, will not allow us to quit this life without his permission; but when he has caused a just desire to do so to spring up within us, then the truly wise man should pass with pleasure from the gloom of this world to the celestial light." Are there not still men amongst us who hold opinions not essentially different from these? and is not suicide a logical consequence of such opinions? Take, for example, the death of Philip Strozzi. In the suicide of this man we witness the conflict of a mind in suspense between Christianity and the dogmas and examples of the heathen philosophers. Taken prisoner by the Grand Duke Cosmo I., and accused of participating in the assassination of Alexander I., he destroyed himself in order to avoid compromising his friends under the influence of the torture. This fragment of his last will would have been held up to the admiration of the ancient world; it excites a feeling of pity rather than of condemnation in the Christian heart; neither then nor now does it bear evidence of insanity:—

"To the liberating God. To remain no longer in the power of my barbarous enemies, who have unjustly and cruelly imprisoned me, and who might compel me, by the violence of tortures, to reveal things hurtful to my honour, to my friends, as has happened recently to the unfortunate Julian Gondi; I, Philip Strozzi, have taken the only resolution left to me,—however fatal to my soul it seems to me,—the resolution to put an end to my life by my own hands. I



recommend my soul to God, a merciful Sovereign, and humbly pray him, as the least grace, to accord it, for its last dwelling, the region where dwell the souls of Cato of Utica, and of those virtuous men who have made a like end."

The history of philosophy may, perhaps, be considered by the Christian divine or the Christian physician as the history of human error; but neither will so far surrender his judgment to his religious or pathological preconceptions as to regard the history of philosophy as the history of sin or of mental alienation. If this be granted,—if we attribute the voluntary deaths of such men as Zeno, Seneca, and Diodorus to the influence of a false philosophy,—how can we refuse to attribute the deaths of such men as the Girondins, Pétion, Barbarossa, Roland, and Condorcet, to the same cause? Did all false philosophy, all error, disappear from the minds of men with the birth of Christianity? Or has the cerebral organization of man changed since the days of pagan philosophy? Is that same subjection to those doctrines which inculcate it as a right, if not a duty, to commit suicide, to be cited as an illustration of a peculiar philosophy in an ancient Roman, and as a proof of disease in the modern sceptic? No; the common sense of mankind rejects these absolute and special conclusions. Howsoever pure we may esteem our own religious faith, however true our scientific knowledge, we cannot but recognise the fact that false religion and error have been kept alive in all ages, and still exist in the heart of the most refined disciples of modern civilization. Is not the couplet of Voltaire something more than a mere verbal translation from the olden philosophers? is it not the confession of faith of many a modern sceptic?—

"Quand on a tout perdu, et qu'on n'a plus d'espoir,  
La vie est un opprobre, et la mort un devoir."

To pronounce, then, as did the mediæval priest, that all suicide is sin, or to contend, as some modern physicians, jurists, and others do, that all suicide is disease, is to worship the *idola Specûs*—to hold up between our eyes and the object to be observed a refracting and discolouring medium, that presents a false image to our perception, and thus destroys the foundation of accurate judgment.

But it is not only in causing suicide that false opinion acts. False opinion has, in all ages, led to the commission of other acts scarcely less to be condemned by sound reason. The assassination of Julius Cæsar sprang from the same exalted patriotism as the suicide of Brutus; but it is not pretended that the assassination was the act of a madman. Like moral perversion, like social and political doctrines, will lead one man to murder his fellow-man, another to sacrifice himself. To single out suicide from the list of offences, to assign this alone to insanity, and to attribute the rest to false opinion, is an arbitrary distortion of the truth, a wanton inconsistency that prejudices the whole question, and defies all argument.

We have gone thus far in the exposure of what to many must seem an absurdity too palpable to need refutation, because it is impossible



to observe the passing history of daily life without being struck by the growing disposition evinced by coroners' juries to bring in verdicts of "Temporary insanity" in every case of suicide. There can be no doubt that, in a country more or less generally illumined by the light of the Gospel, and guided by modern science, suicide is more frequently the result of cerebral disease than it was in olden times. The proportions of suicides through false opinion and disease are doubtless changed. In ancient times, the number of suicides from disease was small compared with that of those suicides which flowed from the prevalent philosophical doctrines. In our times, the presumption in favour of disease, as against false opinion, rises to a much higher degree. But still the same elements exist, and will continue to exist.

We cannot but rejoice that the author who has produced a work based on the analysis and synthesis of the largest number of facts, and marked by the most comprehensive survey of the moral, intellectual, and physical relations of suicide, has deliberately recognised this broad distinction between the suicide of the madman and the self-murder of the responsible being. M. Brierre de Boismont has, in his very title, announced his conviction upon this fundamental point. By the words "On Suicide and on Suicidal Insanity," he clearly traces the line of demarcation, placing on the one side the sane man, who is responsible, and on the other side, in distinct opposition, the madman, who is not. In an historical introduction, he takes a critical survey of the influence of the prevailing social, political, and moral conditions of mankind in producing or discouraging suicide in ancient, middle, and modern times. In this survey we cannot follow him minutely. The practical lesson which it teaches we have indeed anticipated in the preceding reflections. His summary is all that we need here extract. Antiquity, by its philosophical and religious doctrines, all essentially pantheistic, was favourable to the development of suicide. The middle ages, on the contrary, by the establishment of the Christian religion, by the predominance of the religious feeling and of the spiritual philosophy, succeeded in checking the progress of this evil. Lastly, modern times, by propagating doubt, exalting pride, making out of self-love, scepticism, and indifference, a sort of code for the use of the many, have given a new impulse to suicide.

But while recognising implicitly as a fundamental truth the absence of all necessary connexion, as cause and effect, between insanity and suicide, M. de Boismont gives a prominent place in his etiology to those transmitted somatic peculiarities which are easily traced throughout families, races, and nations. In speaking of the French, he says:—

"Of all modern peoples, there is none in whom the general sensibility, the link of union between the world of facts and the world of ideas, is more developed than in the French. Of prodigious mobility, passing from one extreme to the other, giving birth to prodigies, and presenting the spectacle of the most abject miseries; braving the greatest dangers, and annihilating itself to save life and fortune; possessing in the highest degree the courage of the warrior, and almost completely destitute of civil courage; dragging in the mire what it worshipped yesterday; seeking emotions even in the refinements of death;

witty, gay, generous—then wearied of wit, pleasures, and charity; coveting everything with avidity, and changing in an instant ideas, thought, and will; ever led away by sentiment, the Frenchman presents in himself all that characterises the qualities and the defects of general sensibility. Hence it is easy to conceive why suicide is so frequent. To what is this predominance of the sensibility in our country owing? Is it to the action of races, to the drop of original blood, the influence of which has been disputed? Does not the vital afflatus transmitted by parents, that evades all our instruments of research, contain in its subtle essence the features, the virtues, the vices of families?"

Thus, in our very first steps in the investigation of the causes of suicide, we find ourselves linked with the past by the chain of succeeding ages through heredity; an indubitable proof that if man is, on the one side, a new individuality by the creative force that is in him, he is, on the other, the continuation of his race, of his family, of which he represents a certain evolution.

The great fact of heredity in moral and intellectual character bears a direct and important relation to the etiology of suicide. But, being one of those great facts which all mankind admit, it is the more imperative, in a scientific investigation, not to suffer ourselves to be unduly swayed by it, not to discover in it the ready and only solution of the problem. To show the error and danger of hasty generalization in this matter, the case may be stated as follows:—The hereditary transmission of mental peculiarities is an undoubted fact; it is also an undoubted fact that mental peculiarities are closely connected with physical peculiarities of organization hereditarily transmitted; further, it is frequently observed that the disposition to suicide is transmitted through several generations, or at least it is an undoubted fact that in numerous instances the ancestors or consanguineous relations of suicidists have also committed or attempted suicide; again, it is also a fact established by the records of our lunatic asylums, that the ancestors or other consanguineous relations of the insane have in many instances committed or attempted suicide. Now, the simple consecutive statement of these undeniable facts tends at once to suggest to the mind the conclusion that, since the disposition to suicide is so frequently found in hereditary association with insanity, suicide itself is therefore a manifestation of insanity. But a large survey of facts and a close analysis will prove that this conclusion is only partially true, that it explains the etiology of a certain portion only of cases of suicide. To admit it absolutely, is but to admit in another form the doctrine of the "Bhagavad-Gita"—the doctrine of necessity. The logical fallacy of the argument will be evident to all who will submit it to analysis.

But we will admit at once what there is of truth in this argument, and assign a high place to the influence of abnormal cerebral organization or central disease in the production of suicide. We possess ourselves of this fact as explaining a very large proportion of the cases of suicide that occur at the present day. We pass on to other examples in which the influence of disease of the brain may be inferred if not proved, or in which at least the effects of exhaustion, and of the absence



of that nutrition by which the healthy action of the brain can alone be sustained, is obvious. Under the influence of long-continued physical want and moral afflictions, it is certain that the brain, like every other organ of the body, is liable to suffer such a waste or atrophy of its substance that it becomes unable to perform its functions efficiently. The mental phenomena, the brain-symptoms, of advanced stages of scurvy are as remarkable as the visible bodily symptoms. The starved brain has lost its vigour, the mind is without energy, and if in such a state the unhappy patient refrains from suicide, it is because a torpid indifference to life and to everything besides has displaced all will and power to act. In cases where the dyscrasia is less advanced, but where the moral torture is greater, the impulse to self-destruction has, however, been remarkably manifested. The horrors endured by our brave army in the Crimea will occupy a large space in the narrative of the historian, and his long chapters of misery and despair will ever arouse the pity and indignation of posterity. Yet, let him not spare the last scene in the most frightful tragedy of modern times; let him not suppress one count in the damning bill of indictment against those who have to answer for the destruction of a noble army which they undertook to lead to victory. We will here supply a fact which we believe has not been made known to the public, but which, more than any other that has been recorded, marks the abject depth of the misery into which that army was sunk by titled recklessness and official idiocy. Men in the hospitals, prostrated by scurvy, all physical energy lost for want of nourishment, and with despair in their minds from the maddening conviction that the incapacity of their commanders held out no hope of relief, earnestly protested that they were convalescent, begged to be discharged as fit for duty, and entreated to be sent to the trenches, in the hope—the only hope that was left to them—that there they might meet with the death they prayed for, as preferable to the horrors of life. It was not the delirious wish to join their comrades in service against the foe that kindled up for a moment those exhausted and expiring men; their fixed and only thought was that, once laid down in the trenches, exposure, cold, wet, accident, a shell, or what not, would soon release them from this world. How near akin is this to suicide!

It might be that a sense of religion sustained these wretched men so far as to save them from self-destruction by the direct agency of their own hands. It might be that this mental and physical prostration was so great, that they had not the power to accomplish what they longed for. But how near were the feelings of these men to suicide, may be illustrated by the fate of men of a different race under analogous circumstances. It is related that, in the construction of the railway across the Isthmus of Panama, a large body of Chinese were employed as navigators; that, under neglect, rapacity, and barbarous treatment, they became indifferent to life; and that, when they saw many of their comrades carried off by fever, the desire of death spread like another epidemic amongst them, and they destroyed themselves in great numbers by ripping up their bellies, or by lying down on the



sea-beach at low water, so that the flood-tide might drown them. Between this latter mode of inviting death and that coveted by our soldiers in the trenches, where is the difference? What, again, is the difference between the case of the man who thus puts himself in a position where death is certain, and that of him who throws himself from a precipice, knowing he will be dashed to pieces at the bottom? It is simply a difference of time and mode. It is active suicide in both cases.

From cases of this kind, in which physical and moral causes concur to impair the body and disorder the mind, let us consider for a moment other cases in which the influence of moral suffering and of intellectual self-exulceration is clearly greater than that of physical distress. The case of the political prisoner is perhaps one of the most instructive in this respect. Although the want of variety of diet, of pure air, and of healthy exercise, cannot be eliminated from the inquiry, it is certain that isolation and the attendant moral and intellectual penalties of long captivity exert a far more potent influence in the production of insanity and suicide. We dwell for a moment upon this subject, because it is in a right psychological and medical aspect of it that we may learn to understand better some of the bearings of solitary confinement, and draw useful lessons in the treatment of prisoners and of the insane. We all remember that touching anecdote in the "Spectator," of a gentleman who had been under close confinement in the Bastille for seven years. During this time, this gentleman amused himself in scattering a few small pins about his chamber, gathering them up again, and placing them in different figures on the arm of a great chair. He often told his friends afterwards, that unless he had found out this piece of exercise, he verily believed he should have lost his senses. Something similar is told of Francesco Madaia, who preserved his reason when confined in prison in Tuscany for his religious opinions. But a more remarkable and instructive example, because it exhibits the mental struggle of one of the most gifted and commanding intellects of the age, is that of the great Hungarian patriot:—

"For months I was there, in a damp, lonely chamber, seeing neither the sky nor the earth, with none of those inexhaustible consolations which bountiful Nature affords to misfortune and suffering. And there I was, without a book to read, without a pen to write; there I was with God, with my tranquil conscience, and with meditation alone. But it is fearful to be thus alone, with nothing to arrest the musing eye. Imagination raises its dreadful wings, and carries the mind in a magnetic flight to regions of which no philosophy has ever dreamt. I gathered up all the strength of my mind, and bade it stop that dangerous soaring. It was done; *but I got afraid of myself*. So, I told my gaolers to give me something to read. 'Yes,' answered they, 'but nothing political.' 'Well, give me Shakspeare, with an English grammar and a dictionary.'"<sup>\*</sup>

What a vivid picture of the danger of solitude upon the human mind! We feel that a mighty intellect rocked on the verge of

<sup>\*</sup> Speech of Kossuth, May, 1853.

insanity. We feel that he was only saved from suicide by communion with the spirit of our immortal bard! Under similar circumstances, how many unhappy men have actually succumbed! But here, again, we must appeal to analysis. Not all even of those who perish by their own hands in prison are insane. The old Roman, in the position of Kossuth, would probably not have waited for the advent of disease. So, in like manner, may some in the present day release themselves from the thralldom of this world on the first impulse of despair. Although altered customs and modes of thought, and above all, the spirit of submission inspired by Christian sentiments either actually possessed or reflected upon them, preserve the greater number of prisoners in our times from suicide during the predominance of reason, it cannot be doubted that some make the attempt, and that some succeed. An extract from M. Ferrus's philosophical work, "*Des Prisonniers, de l'Emprisonnement et des Prisons*," will confirm this conclusion. This eminent physician says: "There are no suicides, or at least they are excessively scarce, amongst female prisoners, although it has been seen that *more cases of insanity* are developed amongst them."

We may here introduce some facts showing the influence of imprisonment in causing suicide in France. From the researches of M. Pietra-Santa, it appears that there occurred between 1850 and 1854, out of 25,268 prisoners at Mazas, 24 suicides and 43 attempts; in the Vieille Force, between 1840 and 1849, out of 37,397 prisoners, 3 suicides and 4 attempts only.

But it is time to make our readers acquainted with some of the more striking and best authenticated of the conclusions of M. de Boismont respecting suicide in France. Various statistical tables relating to France and Geneva all concur in showing that suicides in females bear about the proportion of one-third only to those in men. It has also been found that suicide is extremely rare in children under the age of fifteen; but not so rare, but that M. de Boismont is struck with the enormous disparity between the frequency of suicide and that of insanity in children. Excepting the cases of idiocy and epilepsy, he has observed but two cases of insanity in children out of two thousand insane patients. There is, he says, a decided line of demarcation in youth between suicide and insanity; and this appears to depend, in a certain degree, upon the different pathognomonic conditions of these two states. The greatest number of suicides take place in Paris between the ages of twenty and thirty; in the departments, between forty and fifty. It results that celibacy, both in men and women, exhibits a greater proportion of suicide than the married state.

The influence of education is a question surrounded with difficulties. The vulgar test, the one too often relied upon in our criminal statistics at home, is the ability to read and write. But it is impossible to deny that there are many persons who can neither read nor write, who yet possess more real education, better mental training, and more knowledge, than thousands who can do both. Tried by this test, it was found that out of 4595 male and female suicidists, 1362 could read and write well; that 1656 could write, but without orthography; that 3

could read, but not write; that 65 could do neither; and that for 1509 no information was obtained. Our author gives a detailed table of the station in life and occupation of persons who committed suicide; but as we are not in possession of accurate census returns exhibiting the absolute or relative numbers of persons engaged in different trades in France, this table can convey no definite notion as to the influence of the various employments. He adverts, however, to the excessive proportion of artisans. One illustration, which we owe to the historical researches of M. Sainte-Fare Bontemps, is so curious that we introduce it here. This author has found that out of 2542 chiefs or sovereigns belonging to sixty-four countries, 20, or 1 in 127, committed suicide; and 11, or 1 in 221, became insane.

M. de Boismont has analysed the reports of 4595 cases of suicide, in such a manner as to exhibit, in a tabular form, the presumed causes of this catastrophe. We must, however, premise that we attach much less importance to this table than does the author. The assigned cause is, in most cases, simply the obvious or presumed immediately exciting cause. To discover the real cause, we must go back further in the history of the victim's life; we must know more of his physical organization, more of his psychical *indoles*.

Presumed causes of suicide in 4595 cases:—

1. Drunkenness . . . . .	530	} 1309
Poverty, misery . . . . .	282	
Pecuniary embarrassment, reverses of fortune, cupidity	277	
Misconduct . . . . .	121	
Idleness . . . . .	56	
Want of work . . . . .	43	} 1089
2. Insanity . . . . .	652	
Ennui, weariness of life . . . . .	237	
Feeble, exalted, sad, or hypochondriacal character	145	
Acute delirium . . . . .	55	
3. Domestic griefs . . . . .	361	} 672
Griefs, disappointments . . . . .	311	
4. Diseases . . . . .	405	405
5. Love . . . . .	306	} 360
Jealousy . . . . .	54	
6. Remorse; fear of dishonour, of legal prosecutions	134	134
7. Gaming . . . . .	44	44
8. Pride, vanity . . . . .	26	26
9. Various motives . . . . .	38	38
10. Unknown motives . . . . .	518	518
Total		4595

Analysis of this table will at once show that the purely moral causes, as distinguished from those moral conditions which are associated with physical disease, are greatly exaggerated. It would convey but a very imperfect idea of the influence of insanity, if we were to assume that the proportion of cases of suicide due to this cause is accurately represented by the figures in this table. If we add together all the cases of class 2, we have 1089 cases out of 4077 (excluding the 518 cases, cause unknown) or about one-fourth only assigned to mental alienation—a pro-



portion, we hesitate not to say, very much below that which observation justifies. We are not amongst those who are led away or dominated by what are called statistical tables. A statistical table, to be worthy of the name, requires that the constituent facts shall have been rigidly sifted, and accurately recorded and classed. The proper use of a statistical table is to *lead* to the discovery of aggregate facts or general laws. But when, as in the case before us, a table is constructed according to a predetermined theory, the general laws are anticipated, not deduced; and whether or no the table represent facts, that is truths, at all, is a matter of accident. Who, for example, can estimate the number of cases in this table classed under the heads of drunkenness, misconduct, diseases, that might not with more justness be transferred to insanity? Where a rigid and exact observation has not governed the synthesis, the construction of a statistical table, then a rigorous analysis must be applied to the table, and the probability is, that under this process it will crumble to pieces again, and be resolved into its individual elements. And this, in fine, is the only course open to the scientific critic in the present case. If we would determine the truth of M. de Boismont's theory, that there is a distinction between cases of suicide from insanity, and cases without mental alienation, we must distrust the inference from his table, reject as unproved and incapable of proof the proposition which states the proportion of irresponsible suicides to the responsible to be as one to four, and seek for the truth by the observation and study of particular cases. The proportion of one insane in seven suicides, given in another place (p. 139), is of course a still further divergence from the truth.

We shall presently cite some examples in proof of the proposition that sane men may commit suicide. We dwell for a moment upon some of the conditions of mental alienation which lead to this act. The influence of imitation is a very remarkable phenomenon, and is well known. Without stating absolutely that in every case of imitative suicide the person was insane, we believe that the exceptions are rare, and that even amongst these exceptions we may trace evidence of defective cerebral development, if not of actual disease. It is obvious from the fact that many of those feeble or diseased organisations yield, as if to an irresistible power, to the fascination of example, are as ready to sacrifice themselves to one example as to another: they hang themselves because others have done so; they throw themselves from the Monument because a recent example suggests to them that mode of self-destruction. Wanting such examples, they would probably discover some means by themselves, or their insanity would become manifest in other ways. It may be true that when a soldier having killed himself in a sentry-box, other soldiers selected the same sentry-box for suicide, imitation was arrested by burning the sentry-box; or that in the Invalides, a pensioner having hanged himself in a doorway, twelve men hanged themselves within fifteen days at the same place, and that this rage for hanging was stopped by bricking up the doorway. It is not a logical inference that these imitators were sane men suddenly wrought upon by the force of example. It would be necessary to search their antecedent history; this would probably afford a clearer explanation of their conduct.

We have already seen that suicide is comparatively rare in women ; but another fact in female suicide is also established, namely, that the greater proportion of cases take place within the ages of fifteen and fifty-five. Now, it will be observed that this period is precisely that of the preponderance of the reproductive system. We believe that the presumption is very great indeed, that any case of suicide happening within this epoch, is directly associated with some disorder of the blood and of the nervous system, arising from permanent or temporary morbid conditions of the sexual organs. We are especially confirmed in this opinion by the experience of Dr. Barnes, a physician who is not only well versed in the study of mental alienation, but who, by his extensive observation of the diseases of females, enjoys peculiar opportunities for studying their morbid psychological symptoms.

The influence of pregnancy and of parturition is familiar to all, although not, perhaps, sufficiently understood in all its bearings. In the tables of M. de Boismont, we find no less than twenty-seven of the women who committed suicide were pregnant. Menstruation, especially some forms of abnormal performance of this function, is often attended by states of mind that cannot be distinguished from temporary mental alienation—states in which vertigo, despondency, hallucinations, and suicidal or homicidal ideas harass the patient, and make her afraid of herself. But it is especially at the critical age, at the decline of the menstrual function, that these symptoms are exhibited in all their intensity. They are then frequently attended by attacks of delusional and maniacal hysteria, hysterical paralysis, and even epilepsy. In many cases, such patients retain sufficient moral control to dominate their morbid thoughts and impulses, sometimes they conceal them altogether from those around them, but sometimes it is certain that they succumb to their malady.

The forms of alienation which have the greatest influence in the production of suicide, are : monomania, with depression ; exaltation and mania may lead to suicide, through the illusions which accompany these states ; hallucinations ; general paralysis, occasionally ; and sometimes an apparently sudden access of insanity.

But in tracing the history of suicide, and describing the various mental phenomena associated with it, it is impossible to pass over a remarkable form of mental alienation which may be discerned by its peculiar features through all the ages of civilisation. Seneca has thus described this disease :—

“The evil which oppresses us is not in the spot which we inhabit, it is in ourselves ; we are powerless to bear anything, incapable of enduring pain, impotent to enjoy pleasure, impatient of everything. How many call upon death, when, after trying every change, they find themselves plunged again in the same sensations, without being able to experience anything new ! Life, the world, is a burden to them ; and in the very bosom of luxury they exclaim, What ! always the same thing !”

This disease had a name derived from the Greek—*athumia*.

In the time of Seneca, suicide seems to have been a true contagious disease. Christianity modified, but did not remove this affection. The cloisters often became the refuge of its victims. No psychological



physician of the present day could paint it more vividly than has been done by St. Chrysostom and St. Jerome. The latter describes a different form of the disease, clearly arising from bad hygienic and moral modes of life:—

“There are monks,” he says, “who, through the dampness of their cells, immoderate fastings, disgust of solitude, excess in reading . . . fall into melancholy, and who want the remedies of Hippocrates rather than advice from me. . . . I have seen persons of both sexes whose brain had been affected by too much abstinence, especially amongst those who dwell in cold and damp cells. They no longer knew what they did, nor how to conduct themselves, what to say, or what to keep silent.”

The condition here described by the ecclesiastical historians of the middle ages assumes more distinctly the characters of hypochondria and lypemania. They gave it the name of *accidia*. Cesarius relates some examples in his “*Dialogus Miraculorum*,” composed in the thirteenth century. The following is one:—A nun of advanced age, of exemplary piety, becomes all at once troubled and tormented by the evil of melancholy—the spirit of blasphemy, of doubt, and scepticism. She falls into despair—refuses the sacraments; then, believing herself condemned to eternal fire, and fearing that, according to the threat of her confessor, the prior, her body will be buried without honour in the fields, she leaps into the Moselle.

The “*Speculum Morale*” of Vincent de Beauvais contains the following graphic description:—

“*Accidia est quedam tristitia, aggravansque ita deprimit animam hominis, ut nihil ei agere libeat, et imo accidia importat quoddam tedium bene operandi . . . Filie accidie multe sunt, quod multis modis per accidiam peccat homo. Ejus autem filie sunt hec: dilatio, signities, sive pigritia, pusillanimitas, inconstantia sive imperseverantia et inquietudo corporis, evagatio mentis, ignorantia, ociositas, verboritas, sive multiloquium, murmur, taciturnitas mala, indiscretio, gravedo, tedium vitæ, impeditio bonorum, impenitentia, desperatio . . .*”

These writers speak with a kind of horror of these cases, as if it were a scandal to the religious houses that they should have occurred; they scarcely considered the sufferers as diseased, but rather as being deeply guilty. The revival and spread of the sensualist doctrines in the eighteenth century gave a new turn and new features to that stock of *ennui*, or melancholy, which has probably never ceased to afflict the human race. The religious aspect gave way to one of an opposite kind. Rousseau, in his “*Saint-Preux*,” Goethe in “*Werther*,” depicted the new features of this mental disorder. And, in the present century, the “*René*” of Chateaubriand, the “*Raphael*” of Lamartine, reproduced scarcely different types of the same disease. Each of these characters of romance is led by the author to the contemplation of suicide.

M. de Boismont contends, in opposition to Esquirol, that insanity has no part in these suicides from *ennui*—from melancholy.

“The ideas,” he says, “education, and doctrines of the time perfectly account for this condition of the mind. It is by no means necessary to be mad in order to be gnawed at the heart, at the present epoch, by *ennui* and



weariness of life. When no one is sure of the morrow; when reputation, property, fortune, have nothing stable; when Conservatives and Socialists begin all their writings with this phrase—*We travel towards the unknown*; when, looking around us, we discover nothing but ruins—not an institution standing; when intellect seeks for shelter beneath the sword;—do you believe that the tranquillity of soul of which Seneca speaks is at the command of the greater number? This foreboding of approaching evil, is it not general? In seeing the people rush like torrents in search of pleasure, do we not understand that they seek to fly from themselves, and turn aside their eyes from the ill that is at their doors? Is it not the faithful image of the Jews at the siege of Samaria, crying out, ‘Let us drink and eat, for we shall die to-morrow?’”

We have only to remark upon this painful picture of the state of feeling in Paris during the anarchy of 1850, that however true it may be as explaining the recklessness of life and disposition to suicide there at that time, it by no means accounts for the perfectly analogous phenomena which have at all times, and in all countries which history or observation informs us of, existed, although, perhaps, sometimes in unequal extent. The perpetuity and universality of these sentiments and propensities bespeak a more inherent, more profound, and more intimate relationship to the physical organisation of man than M. de Boismont represents.

Out of the 4595 reports which have served for the foundation of M. de Boismont’s researches, the number of notes, letters, scraps of verses, or other documents, left by those who destroyed themselves through *ennui*, disgust, despair, scepticism, indifference, materialist convictions, amounts to 237. They are divided into two series: the first comprises those in whom spleen, *tedium vitæ*, succeeded to some grief or suffering—secondary or acquired *ennui*; the second, those suicides in whom reverie, melancholy, always existed—original, primitive *ennui*. It is obvious that the second class, at least, of original *ennui* can hardly be accounted for on any other supposition than that of being connected with primitive somatic peculiarities. It would probably be more correct to add these cases to the list of the insane.

To the same list must be added a very large proportion of those who, in M. de Boismont’s classification, are described as having committed suicide in consequence of disease. The following passage is entirely in accordance with our own experience, and reflection upon its import might have satisfied the author of the error of his classification:—

“There is an organ whose sufferings appear to have a marked influence on suicide,—that is, the stomach. The predominance of sad ideas in those who digest badly has long been observed. Chronic gastritis, gastralgie affections, cancer, predispose to sadness, melancholy, suicide, insanity. Without denying the part of the brain in hypochondria, it must be admitted that this disease often has its point of departure in the stomach, intestines, and ganglionic system. As soon as hypochondriacs cease to suffer, sad ideas vanish as if by enchantment. Another remark which we have many times had occasion to make, is that the gastralgies which had brought about serious perturbations in the digestive functions alternate with mental diseases, and that on the appearance of insanity all the disorders of the digestive functions cease.”

We might pursue this analysis much further, but we have shown

enough to prove that an immensely larger number of suicides than that stated by M. de Boismonst must be transferred to mental alienation as the true cause.

A point upon which it is of deep interest to entertain clear ideas, is whether we ought to recognise a distinct form of insanity, of which the disposition to suicide is the pathognomonic character. If it be true in nature that suicidal insanity, as a species or type apart, exists, it is exceedingly important to establish on clear pathological facts and demonstration. A careful analysis of particular cases—not a statistical conglomeration, which, for the most part, has no other effect than hiding from our sight that clear knowledge which special clinical observation supplies—will enable us to solve this question. This analysis will speedily prove one fact,—namely, that a first case of suicide occurred in a monomaniac afflicted with illusions, that a second occurred in a maniac during a paroxysm of frenzy, that a third occurred in a patient afflicted with general paralysis, that a fourth occurred in a confirmed hypochondriac, and so on, until we arrive at the positive discovery that cases of suicide are observed in any and every form of insanity. We trace the particular histories further back, and we discover that in many of them the disposition to suicide was a development subsequent upon other manifestations or symptoms of insanity: rarely, indeed, if ever, will it be established that suicide sprang up in the mind as the original, essential symptom of the disease. Having gone thus far in the analysis, it will be found that we have eliminated by far the greater number of cases of suicide, or suicidal propensities, from the inquiry. In the immense majority it will be seen that suicide and suicidal thoughts are but an epiphenomenon, a symptom of some well-known form of insanity. There remain a small class of cases which, as they are more difficult of analysis, occasion greater difficulty in the endeavour to assign them their true place. These are the cases of sudden suicide in which little or no antecedent account of the victim's true somatic and psychical condition can be obtained; these are the cases analogous, at least in their appearance, to impulsive homicidal insanity, as it is called. Now, it has been clearly proved, for many of these cases of so-called impulsive homicidal insanity, that some marked bodily or mental disorder existed for a period more or less prolonged, before the manifestation of the homicidal act or attempt; and in others of these cases, subsequent observation of the patients has furnished demonstrative evidence of the existence of some well-recognised form of insanity. In other cases, again, it may be fairly doubted whether there was any insanity at all,—that is, whether they were not purely cases of murder. The application of this analogy to the assumption of impulsive suicidal insanity is perfectly legitimate. We are entitled to conclude that more minute history of the antecedents, and more frequent opportunities of observation after the suicidal attempts, would reveal distinct evidence of some one of the common forms of insanity. In some few cases, moreover, it would be perfectly arbitrary to assume that there was any insanity at all. The cases, then, which seem to favour the theory of a specific suicidal insanity, dwindle down to an evanescent



point, and scarcely leave enough of fact whereupon to base an argument.

A survey of the modes of death resorted to by suicidists will supply numerous interesting illustrations of the different habits of thought, customs, laws of different countries and classes, and, in some cases, throw considerable light upon the mental condition and form of mental alienation of the victim. This is also the point which most deserves to arrest the attention of the medical jurist.

The different modes of self-destruction observed in Paris are classed as follows:—

- |                          |                         |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Asphyxia by charcoal. | 6. Cutting instruments. |
| 2. Drowning.             | 7. Poisoning.           |
| 3. Strangulation.        | 8. Crushing.            |
| 4. Fire-arms.            | 9. Abstinence.          |
| 5. Precipitation.        |                         |

Other returns for the whole of France place submersion and strangulation at the head of the list.

The mode by asphyxia is especially resorted to by women. This circumstance is accounted for by the universal use of charcoal for domestic purposes in Paris, and the consequent familiarity in the management of it. If we compare the favourite modes adopted in England with what is observed in France, we shall find some remarkable differences. We must in this place premise, that generally excellent as is our system of registering the causes of death, and its admirable administration by that accomplished statist, Dr. Farr, it has failed to furnish us with the same amount of detailed and complete information upon the subject of suicides which is collected in France. Several causes concur to impede the collection of trustworthy information in England. The inquisitions of coroners' juries are often, nay, in most cases, conducted with much inferior minuteness and care than are exercised in France, where an *expert* is charged, in every case, to make a full report. With us, too, there is a disposition amongst coroners' juries to seize upon the most trivial circumstances in order to make a colourable justification for a verdict of "Temporary insanity." The parsimony, and often culpable indifference, of county magistrates, too, by refusing the necessary funds for conducting efficient and skilled investigations, frustrates all hope of ascertaining the cause of death in many cases. The vain, if not blasphemous verdict, "Died of the visitation of God," is still, in many parts of the country, the refuge of ignorance, indolence, or indifference. Under this, or some other vague term, is doubtless concealed many a death by suicide or by foul murder.

We must therefore abandon the desire to present any extended comparative view of suicide in the two countries. We commend these considerations to our author, who, in his love for statistics, has overlooked here, as in other instances, grave defects in the collection of the individual facts, such as must render many general conclusions utterly fallacious. The determination of the relative frequency of the various modes of death is, however, one thing which the facts in our possession enable us to effect. Out of 232 suicides in this country, there were



91 cases of hanging, cutting instruments were used in 47, poisoning 45, drowning 29, precipitation 10, and fire-arms in 10 cases. Asphyxiation, then, so common in France, is unknown amongst us—a circumstance obviously accounted for by the little use of charcoal. It is deserving of especial remark, that poisoning rises to a much higher rank in England. M. de Boismont notes 157 cases only of poisoning out of 4595, whereas in England the cases of poisoning are quite one-fifth of the whole. How is this explained? Also very easily. In France the sale of poisons is restricted by the most vigilant legal provisions. Here nothing is so simple as the obtaining poison enough for any purpose of suicide or murder. It may be said that this makes little difference in the result; that in France, where poison is difficult to obtain, charcoal is always at hand; that the commission is in no degree checked or encouraged by the restriction or freedom of the sale of poisons; that, in short, those bent upon suicide, failing in one means, have only to select another. Even as regards suicide this is not altogether true; the slightest delay or disappointment in compassing the means first sought may save the intended victim from himself. But in relation to the facility of obtaining the means of committing murder, there cannot be a doubt as to the necessity of imposing the most rigorous restrictions upon the sale of poisons.

The influence of season upon the production of suicide in France seems to be remarkable. Thus, in ten years the highest figures are observed in the months of May, June, and July; the lowest, in November, December, February, and January. Grouping the months in series of four, the following result is obtained: out of a total of 4595, there happened in the first four months of the year 1491, in the second term 1837, and in the last four months 1267.

M. de Boismont's figures show an annually-increasing number of suicides in France and in Paris; he fails in demonstrating that the proportion of suicides to population also increases. The proportion of suicides in Paris, relatively to those in the departments, is considerably greater; and M. de Boismont has sought to show, by an elaborate analysis, that the influence of Paris and Marseilles radiates into the surrounding country, raising the proportion of suicides in the districts nearest to these great centres.

The facts collected by Dr. Bingham show 184 cases of suicide, in 1844, in America. Out of 172 cases in which the season is indicated, 104 were committed in the hot months. The principal mode of death was hanging. It is stated by Leuret and M. Boudin that suicide is far more frequent amongst the black population than the white; and Dr. Baly has shown that violent deaths are twice as frequent amongst the blacks of New York as amongst the whites.

In Belgium there are recorded 620 suicides during the four years from 1835 to 1838, the whole population being 4,260,631.

In Prussia, on the authority of M. Morel de Maréville, there occurred 15,103 suicides in the ten years from 1834 to 1843. In 1843 the population was 15,447,440.

M. Boudin states that in Austria the proportion of voluntary deaths, which stood at 85 in 100,000 of population during the period from

1819 to 1827, rose in the period from 1828 to 1844, to 102 in 100,000.

M. Hübertz, the Danish statist, states that between 1835 and 1844, there occurred in Sweden an average of 407 violent deaths yearly; that in Copenhagen there are about 45 suicides annually.

The figures from Russia are probably not very exact. The following statement, however, by M. Herman, seems to justify the conclusion that the serfs are not so much reconciled to a life of slavery as is sometimes represented. Out of 652 suicides occurring in the western part of the central provinces of the empire in 1821, 458 occurred amongst the serfs; and in the following year, out of 673 suicides, the serfs again figured as 498.

In Mahometan countries suicide is believed to be rare.

M. de Boismont devotes a long and interesting chapter to "the Physiology and Symptomatology of Suicide." In this title he again declares his conviction that suicide is not always a pathological question. He opposes the doctrines of Esquirol, who insisted strongly upon the delirium of suicidists. The truth, as it so often does, lies between the two extremes. *Ni jamais, ni toujours*, is a maxim especially applicable here. M. de Boismont has exceeded by depreciating the share of insanity; M. Esquirol, by assigning to it a too absolute part. We have already said that the possibility of responsible suicide is not to be proved by the indistinct evidence of statistical tables, but by well-observed and well-sifted individual facts. Now, if we apply this test, we shall certainly be struck with the absence of everything indicative of insanity in the conduct of some of the victims—unless, indeed, we regard the act of suicide itself to be such an indication, which is simply begging the question, and placing it beyond the range of serious inquiry. The cases which to our mind prove to demonstration that suicide has been committed by persons of sound mind in the ordinary medical and legal meaning of the term, are those of suicide in companionship, of which our sentimental neighbours present so many singular examples. Two young people encounter an obstacle to their union which appears to them irresistible. In their impatience, they, or rather one of them in the first instance, become disgusted with the world; they discuss between them the project of suicide; their resolution formed, and the preparatory arrangements got up with all the theatrical display conventional on these occasions, they shut themselves in a room, stop up the crevices, light the charcoal braziers, and expire in each other's arms. In some instances the anxiety to be discovered locked in an embrace is so great, that couples have tied themselves together with a shawl, lest in the act of death they should fall asunder! Now, in a deed of this kind there is folly enough, wrong-headedness, and even criminality; but is this insanity? Perhaps yes, in *one* of the lovers—the one that has proposed the mutual suicide, and fascinated his paramour into consent. But it is against the law of probability that *both* were insane.

There are yet other cases which, in this world of struggling interests, disappointments, and conflicting passions, every now and then startle the public by their attendant circumstances. That sharp misery may,



in metaphorical language, turn the brain—that the consciousness of guilt, the dread of infamy and punishment, may so overpower the better reason as to suggest self-destruction as the readiest escape from sufferings and the intolerable gaze of the world, are facts too painfully and too frequently illustrated by tragic deeds to admit of doubt. Are we to conclude that, in all the cases of this class, misery, and the sense of guilt and degradation, however fearfully real, have caused insanity, disease? If we admit this, we can scarcely stop at this point; we cannot avoid the ulterior logical conclusion that the same causes, the same passions, have produced insanity—that is, disease—in those cases where, not suicide, but homicide, is the climax. It is to lay down a doctrine for suicide which would infallibly be applied to remove all responsibility for murder. Where is the evidence of insanity in the case of John Sadleir, the gigantic speculator, who at the end of his resources, no longer able to ward off the day of reckoning with his defrauded victims and with society, takes the last fatal resolution, perhaps long contemplated, that ended his career? Does insanity appear in his conduct, or in his preparations for the catastrophe? He had bought the poison beforehand, he had waited for the night, he had walked a long distance to a retired spot, where he might accomplish his purpose without fear of interruption, and be secure from officious help. He had provided himself with a vessel capable of holding an ample draught of the poison; and, should that fail, there was the razor at hand. We see here the stern will of a desperate man, who dreaded life for the shame, degradation, and infamous punishment which was the condition of its preservation. His last letters breathe, indeed, a sentiment of remorse—they declare his incapacity to witness the misery of his victims; but another feeling is also manifest: his career of undetected fraud had touched its end, he no longer hoped to cover the crimes of yesterday by new ones to-morrow; it was the scorn of the world, shame, and infamy, that he could not face. Did any one suspect insanity before he committed suicide? The most trivial circumstances arguing eccentricity or singularity always rise to the memory after the fact, and are ostentatiously elaborated before the coroner's jury into presumptive evidence of insanity. In this case even such evidence is wanting. There is nothing but the act itself to support the presumption of insanity. And let us reflect for a moment upon the consequences into which we should be drawn if we admit that the act of suicide, *per se*, or doubtfully supported, is a proof of insanity. Suppose that John Sadleir had survived his attempt, would the proof of insanity have been weakened? Not one iota. Esquirol has shown that one-half the attempts at suicide fail. He must, then, have been acquitted if put upon his trial for his commercial crimes. A step further, a step from which there is no logical escape: suppose another man, steeped in crime, and feeling the hand of justice upon him; he has but to simulate an attempt at suicide to turn the wrath of society into compassion, and pass from the gaol into the asylum. Unless, then, we are prepared to surrender every safeguard of society—to destroy responsibility altogether, we must be jealous how far we carry the materialist doctrine of insanity.



We have taken some pains to show that M. de Boismont has very much underrated the influence of disease. It is an error as great, a danger as fearful, to exaggerate it.

In taking leave for the present of this strangely fascinating and deeply important subject, we feel ourselves called upon to offer some apologies to the able author of the work before us for the omission of more detailed reference to many topics which he has handled with remarkable vigour and effect. We have been tempted, on several occasions, to offer our own commentaries upon the questions suggested in the text, rather than to attempt a task in which we could scarcely hope to succeed—namely, that of presenting a full and clear analysis of the abundant matter collected by M. de Boismont. For the most ample collection of facts—for the most methodical digest of facts and opinions illustrating the history, nature, social and medico-legal relations of suicide, we refer our readers to the book itself. There is one part of the work to which we would especially invite the attention of our medical friends who are engaged in the treatment of the insane—we mean that in which the author details his method and experience in the treatment of patients afflicted with suicidal tendencies. It is at once the most practical, and that in which M. de Boismont's great experience, sagacity, philanthropy, and sound judgment are most conspicuously displayed.

## Part Third.

### Foreign Psychological Literature.

#### *Relations of Anatomy to Psychiatry.*

By DR. F. W. HAGEN.

DR. HAGEN commences a very elaborate examination into the claims of anatomy to throw light upon mental affections, by some general remarks upon the progress of medical science, of which psychiatry is a branch, and one which, he remarks, has hitherto been viewed with some doubt and suspicion. The cause of this is "want of time" to pursue this definite branch of study whilst there are such multifarious claims upon the attention of the medical man. He must be physician, surgeon, and obstetrician; whilst in keeping pace with the scientific pursuits of the day, he must be engaged now in physiology, now in chemistry, now in microscopic research, and again in vivisection and natural history—all indicating clearly the necessity for some division of labour, if rapid progress be desired. Another cause of the comparatively unsatisfactory state, as yet, of mental pathology and therapeutics is the general change in the character of medical research, and the evils attached to a transition state of science. Whilst in times past medicine was almost entirely founded upon theories which were chiefly mere formulæ of words, it is now based upon observation

of facts, and deductions from them. But, although the old building has been thrown to the ground, the materials for the new and projected one are not yet collected; the science is unconstructed—meanwhile “the sick will be healed—healing is the end and aim of medicine, and its fulfilment cannot be delayed until we have brought our researches in anatomy, physiology, and chemistry to an end.” Hence the small assistance as yet derived by therapeutics from science—it remains chiefly empirical.

As a contribution to the advancement, or, at least, the *definition* of our knowledge in one department, Dr. Hagen proposes for investigation the four following questions:—

1. What morbid changes in the brain or its membranes have been found in the examination of the bodies of the insane?
2. In what relation do these stand to the psychical symptoms?
3. Is there between these symptoms and these changes any certain and constant relation?
4. In what relation especially do the anatomical lesions stand to the *entire psychical* derangement?

Dr. Hagen commences the answer of the first question by excluding from consideration many morbid products sometimes found—as lymph, cysts, canceroid developments, fibrous tumours, tubercle, and exostosis—as these occur *very rarely* amongst the insane, and, on the other hand, produce (or are conjoined with) very unimportant and variable symptoms often when occurring amongst the sane. Well-defined *inflammation* of the substance of the brain, suppuration, and red or white softening, are also (he states) very rare, or at least not *more* frequent amongst the insane than the sane—on the same grounds adhesion of the membranes is excluded from special notice.

A much more difficult point is that connected with *congestion*, which has always played an important part in all theories devised for the explanation of disordered mental phenomena. “Indeed, nothing is more captivating than this congestion-theory. Thus, the brain-substance is disordered, *because* its functions are disturbed—inflammation is not indicated; yet there must be something organically wrong—what can it be but the blood?” All this is shown to be very unsafe. Congestion may exist during life, and may be vanished before the body is opened—it may only come on during or after death; and even when clearly indicated as present both in life and after death, the question appears legitimate as to whether the congestion caused, or was caused by, the mental derangement.

Finally, it must in this, as in all changes, be remembered that the insane have to die by means of certain pathological alterations, or that such accompany their death; and that these may or may not be the same as those which caused the abnormal mental phenomena during life.

Dr. Hagen found in sixty-eight examinations of the bodies of the insane, made during five years, only twenty-two cases of congestion of the brain. From the particulars given of the mode of death in these twenty-two cases, he shows clearly that in three-fourths of them the congestion only occurred during the act of death.



After further showing the difficulty of defining in many cases the normal and the congested condition of the brain, he concludes that hyperæmia is not the proximate cause of insanity, but either a synchronous phenomenon, a distant accessory, or a sequel to it.

Hæmorrhage into the substance of the brain is very rare in the insane, and the previous remarks are applicable to it. It is found more frequently in the cavity of the arachnoid, and is then most commonly attended with certain physical results, as paralysis, &c., as well as the fundamental psychical disorder. Inflammation of the membranes of the brain is more common than these hæmorrhages; yet we seldom find the actual inflammations, but only their products—thickenings, adhesions of the membranes to each other, to the brain, and to the cranium, &c. “These are considered weighty matters—the neighbourhood of an inflamed membrane, it is thought, must disturb the functions of an organ; but I cannot even recognise this as a causative. In the sixty-eight cases above mentioned, I have found (including the slightest cases) twenty-nine instances of such inflammatory products or results.” Nineteen of these occurred in paralytic patients; five others were extremely slight, such as are found often in the bodies of those who have never suffered from mental disorder, or anything more serious than habitual or periodical headaches; one was adhesion of the dura mater to the skull in an old man; one was of very old standing, history imperfect; one was a long-continued drunkard, with evidences of disease in the kidney and many other organs; one had suffered repeated falls on the head; and the last had severe habitual headaches, in a paroxysm of which he died. From this analysis Dr. Hagen concludes that inflammation of the membranes is not an “essential, but (so to speak) an accident of insanity.” “I do not deny, however, that a brain whose membranes have been inflamed, may be deteriorated thereby. *Ceteris paribus*, it will have less power of resistance to certain morbid influences than a sound brain, and especially to that process (whatever it may be) which sets up any form of insanity. But this process is something quite distinct from such inflammation, thickening, or adhesion; and *either may exist without the other*, just as disease of lung, heart, or kidney may exist without insanity; although when this has once begun to develop itself, each will have a tendency to aggravate the other.”

To serous effusions our author is as little inclined to attribute definite causation, as to the former morbid changes. These he found twenty-nine times in the sixty-eight cases, but doubts whether in most of the instances the effusion did not come on during or after death. Oedema of the brain he also considers in the same light.

The remarks upon atrophy of the brain are important, but scarcely admit of compression, and are too extended for extract entire. This change, as well as thickening of the skull so often co-existent with it, is shown clearly, by a similar course of reasoning to the above, not to be an essential element of insanity in any of its forms, but an addition, a casualty. One observation concerning the mutual connexion between thickening and atrophy is interesting:—



"The atrophy is often supposed to be consequent and dependent upon the thickening of the skull; but if this were the case, the cause being purely mechanical, the corresponding ventricle should be compressed and diminished in size; whereas, in true atrophy, the contrary is the case—the ventricle is larger than the uncompressed one."

After some interesting observations on the deformities of the skull in cretins, idiots, and others, Dr. Hagen asserts his conviction that usually the morbid changes indicate "only the effects, sequelæ, and results of the morbid processes which have destroyed the *life* of the patient. If an insane person dies by violence, or by any intervening illness not affecting the brain, the *rule* is, that we shall find *nothing*! Thus we had (in the sixty-eight) six or seven cases where actually nothing abnormal was found. The opinion of the older writers, that usually no morbid change was to be perceived in the brains of the purely insane, is so far strengthened by our researches, that we consider the appearances such as do not afford the proximate cause for the explanation of the morbid phenomena." This agrees with the opinions of Esquirol, Pinel (the elder), Georget, Lelut, and others, that the morbid changes are not the cause of the insanity, but are connected with the paralyzes, convulsions, and epilepsies so often united with it.

Dr. Hagen looks hopefully to the future, not for additional revelations from the well-trodden field which we have passed in review, but to researches in microscopic anatomy. But chiefly he inculcates the necessity of considering man as an entire entity, and *life* as a condition of which the laws, powers, and developments are essentially and indivisibly connected: in the study of their actions and reactions, he considers that the true method of investigation of mental disease is to be sought.

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*Dr. Dämerow's Résumé of the Question concerning Monomania, and Remarks upon Doubtful Alienation of Mind.* (Allg. Zeitsch. für Psychiatrie, 1855.)

(IN presenting an abstract of opinions emanating from authority so high, we must not be understood as pledging ourselves to a belief in their validity, nor as passing any judgment whatever upon them.—REC.)

I remark that the discussions upon monomania in the *Annales Medico-Psychologiques* are brought to a close. I confine myself to the following brief notices:—

In the sessions of December, 1853, and January and February, 1854, the discussion turned upon the distinction between the intellectual faculties and the disposition or moral nature—on this latter as the basis of monomania, and on the uncertainty of the limits of passion and madness. Morel, with justice, remarked, that in the judicial question concerning monomania, he confines himself entirely to *one* inquiry—viz., "Was the man insane *at the time* of the act committed?"—because the insane, as well as the sane, are subject to changes from time to time.

Continuing the subject in February, March, and April, the principal matters discussed were the duality of the brain (Wigan), and the seat of madness; also remarks from Dr. Delasiauoe on the apparent unprofitableness of searching into the connexion of the brain with the soul. The discussion passes more and more into this unprofitable ground.

The concluding discussion of June 26th runs off again into the unconditioned. Garnier asserts that, in his opinion, error and crime are "short madnesses," for which, however, men are responsible. Upon which, Baillarger expressed his astonishment, and repudiated the idea of confounding insanity and passion. Lady Macbeth and a *gourmand* were used as illustrations.

I enter more closely into the argument of Fabret, "On the Non-existence of Monomania."

The memoir is divided into a critical, a clinical, and a practical part.

1. The origin and support of the doctrine of monomania is (according to him) the too physiological (psychological?) direction of the science, and the *exclusive* observation of the predominant idea, a plan both imperfect and superficial.

2. In the second, the clinical part—and this is the essence of the question—Fabret repeats his conviction, that neither in public nor in private practice has he met with a true monomania. In all cases, he says, a universal morbid condition exists, the foundation of the disorder, which at certain times arises into a complete paroxysm, but ordinarily is only *partially* manifested.

Concerning the apparently misleading view, derived from the "physiological" mode of investigation, that anatural connexion exists between a cause and the symptoms of the ascertained mental disorder, Fabret says, that this "genealogy" is generally opposed to observation. *One* cause scarcely ever produces insanity—the nature of the cause, and the character of the malady, stand only exceptionally in any true and definite relation; and *then* they indicate the predominant character of the delirium, and not the ultimate nature of the disease—more frequently than we suppose is the form of the affection exactly opposed to the predicated cause.

3. In the third part are pointed out the consequences of the doctrine of the non-existence of monomania. In the first place, it leads to more careful and extended observation of the fundamental affection, instead of contentedly observing only one symptom. To the reproach of cruelty in denying monomania, it is answered, that the evil is even greater under the opposed view. The recognition of monomania makes impossible the broad line of demarcation which ought to exist between passion and madness, and leaves the determination of this most delicate question to the chances of a judgment not founded upon scientific principles, but upon an *individual valuation* of opinions only derived from *the case itself*. Such being a very brief *résumé* of Fabret's opinions, Dr. Dämerow adds, that "in essence" he subscribes to them. He also states that he knows of no case of monomania (so called) in which there was not a fundamental general psychical disorder.

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In our January number we gave a brief abstract of a very long and elaborate discussion upon M. Moreau's Memoir upon Insanity in its Pathological Relations (see page 106). As an after part of the proceedings turned upon M. Fabret's doctrines, we present a further extract, as giving a slightly different view to that which Dr. Dämerow attributes to M. Fabret.

M. Baillarger is the speaker, and comments upon M. Bousquet's report:—

According to M. Bousquet, M. Fabret finds that monomania does not exist in nature, but only in books, and in the imaginations of the *alienistes*. The consequence of which opinion is, that M. Fabret would admit but one type—viz., mania, which is quite an incorrect representation. I ask permission to reinstate his opinions in their true light. Our honourable colleague adopts and preserves the classification of his master, Esquirol—he recognises, like him, *three* principal types. To leave no doubt on this subject, I will indicate successively, by quotation, the characters assigned by M. Fabret to each of these types.

The first is “general alienation.”

“Maniacs constitute a group quite distinct. In disaccord more or less complete amongst themselves, they are so with entire nature; they mistake the past and the present, and have no care, no forethought, for the future. Thought, sentiment, intelligence, will—all the faculties present the image of chaos.”

The second type is “partial alienation.”

“The possibility of reasoning correctly upon a number of points, gives to those of this class an appearance of calmness and reason, which contrast singularly with the agitation and general disorder of maniacs.”

This appearance always astonishes the ignorant, who picture to themselves insanity always with the decided characteristics of mania. This class is subdivided into “partial *depressive* alienation,” and “partial *expansive* alienation.” The first has for its characteristics the “weakening, slowness, and prostration of the faculties. The intelligence is depressed, and also the will and the sensibility—ideas are infrequent, and their sphere contracted—the physiognomy is anxious, and afterwards becomes heavy and stupid.” The character of the second consists in the “exaltation of all the faculties; the intelligence, the sentiments, and the will are lively and over-excited; the ideas are numerous, rapid, and sometimes fruitful.” These three types are the same as those which Esquirol recognised under the denomination of mania, monomania, and “lypemanie.” M. Baillarger then proceeds to show that M. Fabret, though denying monomania (by name), yet admits it under the title of “partial expansive alienation.” He then proceeds:—

There are, in effect, very different ideas as to the rigorous limitation of delirium. This is an objection made long ago by Cullen, and also by Foville, to whom Esquirol replied. I have attempted, in a former work, to show that pure monomania is more frequent than is supposed; human intelligence is so bad, and manifests such varied



combinations, that one may have certain disordered conceptions, without the conversation ceasing to be reasonable upon an infinity of other matters. We admit, however, that the monomaniacal idea is more frequently *predominant* than *exclusive*. I agree also with M. Fabret, that many facts are related under the name of monomania which are not such. A man, taken with sudden fury, kills his wife and three children with a hatchet, and immediately afterwards recovers his reason. This is assuredly not homicidal monomania. Many pretended erotic monomaniacs, are really maniacs with a dominating erotic tendency. All this is true; but, go as far as we will in these admissions, we do not lose sight of the existence of a *true monomania*.

I pass to the doctrines of M. Moreau.

1. M. Moreau denies monomania altogether.

2. He regards delirium and insanity as *one* malady, of which the hitherto admitted types are *merely periods*.

"1. According to the laws of the intellectual faculties, it is impossible to admit that these faculties can be modified in a partial manner.

"In the lightest, as well as the most severe forms of these lesions, there is necessarily a complete metamorphosis, a radical and absolute transformation of all the mental powers, of the *ME*.

"In other words, *comme on raisonne ou déraisonne*, we are mad or we are *not* mad; we cannot be half deranged, or three-quarters; full face or profile."

There are in the human intelligence two orders of facts, which M. Moreau seems to confound—the natural faculties of our nature, and the *personal power* which governs these faculties.

The personal power is *one* and indivisible; the loss of free-will (in which consists the essence of mental alienation) cannot be divided. Then, when you affirm that we cannot be half or three-quarters deranged, I am quite of the same opinion. A man *is* deranged, or he *is not*—he governs his acts, or he does not—madness can be divided no more than reason; and so far there is no difference between us, so long as we speak only of the *personal power*. But it is otherwise when you say that the faculties of the soul cannot suffer partial lesion; when you confound, for instance, *memory* and *liberty*. Not only may the intelligence be partially modified, but it may be so in all degrees and manners. What are those isolated hallucinations noticed in men perfectly rational? I was told, a few days ago, of a distinguished professor, who for some time has not been able to commence his lecture without feeling almost irresistibly driven to escalate all the seats of the theatre. Are not such facts as these indices of *partial* lesions of our faculties—light and transitory when they concern only such impulses as the one quoted, serious when they amount to hallucinations?

2. I pass to the second point. M. Moreau sees in the various types of insanity only *periods* of one and the same malady—a theoretical opinion which I cannot admit. He postulates that all these disorders are preceded by the same pathological condition—they have their origin in the same lesion of the understanding.

It is this lesion which he calls "*le fait primordial*"—it consists

especially in the *dissociation of the ideas*; that is, according to M. Moreau, the primary and *generative* fact of all aberrations. This remark is important, and I have frequently verified it; but even if there were not frequent exceptions to it, the consequences deduced are not sufficiently rigorous. If we should discover, for instance, that hysteria and epilepsy only arise after some disorder identical in their dynamic nature, must we on that account confound the two diseases? Assuredly not; for the symptomatic manifestations are so different, that there are evidently other conditions more than sufficient to maintain the distinction between the two. We have seen how decided are the differences between mania, monomania, and melancholy; and even if all should originate in a state of brain perfectly identical, it would constitute an *analogy* amongst them, but would by no means obliterate the essential differences in character which separate them.

In conclusion, I believe that the differences amongst us are chiefly verbal, and that essentially, and in matters of fact, we are very nearly agreed, inasmuch as the three great types admitted by Esquirol, and adhered to by Fabret, are generally recognised as the basis of classification.—BAILLARGER.

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We return to Dr. Dämerow. At the conclusion of a paper upon recurrent insanity in the *Allg. Zeits.* for October, 1855, in which he dwells upon the difficulty of deciding upon certain mental conditions, either constituting or simulating partial or complete recovery, he makes the following observations upon doubtful insanity:—

“If these doubtful phrenopathic alternations of exaltation and depression of disposition always and only occurred after fundamental insanity had been plainly developed, then it would not be difficult to pronounce upon their nature; but that is not the case. There are many who, from their youth upwards, are remarkable for their singular conduct and demeanour, for alternate sensibility and indifference, idleness and almost preternatural diligence, strong inclinations and aversions in the choice of a calling; later, for incomprehensible errors and crimes, which are attended with much pain and sorrow to themselves and their friends; yet these are considered to be merely thoughtless, malevolent, or immoral. They do not appear to be disordered to themselves, nor to others, who overlook the *ground* of all this chain of morbid acts, which is often a strong *hereditary predisposition* to insanity: ultimately, through neglect, this condition develops into defined aberration, and the asylum is their destination; or they occupy that doubtful position of unrecognised or mistaken disorder which causes them to be treated as criminals and punished as such—of which class the numbers are very great. The case of Renier Stockhausen is an illustration of this. These doubtful conditions demand our most earnest attention, as well as that of guardians, parents, and teachers, to prevent the development of the hereditary and individual tendencies—of superiors, to prevent the too strict application of compulsory rules—of magistrates, to prevent premature punishment according to law. All ought to be aware that such conditions of mind do exist, and to be careful in the examination of all such persons. How to form a correct judgment upon their condition without direct evidence concerning hereditary or family tendencies, more precise than the subject of the inquiry is likely or able to

afford, I do not know—but well I do know, that these questionable cases, and many others of psychical aberration, are well calculated to raise a doubt upon the absolute propriety of the common demand, Either? Or? as concerning the unqualified responsibility or irresponsibility of certain accused persons; and exactly as the empirical and undoubtedly false acceptance of the absolute unconditional irresponsibility of all insane persons, and (as a consequence of this) of *their irrationality*, appears mild and humane in its application to plainly-developed insanity, so in its second clause does it become cruel to hundreds and hundreds who, although psychically infirm, still possess reason and reflection, and are therefore not considered insane—are not examined in reference to such a view, and are punished with severity as hardened and obstinate criminals.”—(DÄMEROW.)

Whilst upon the subject of doubtful insanity, we take the opportunity to refer again to the case of Renier Stockhausen, a copious abstract of which was given in our last number, together with critical comments by Dr. Jessen upon the modes of investigation employed by Drs. Jacobi, Herz, and Reichartz. In the *Allg. Zeitschrift* for April, 1856, Dr. Reichartz enters into a very long and elaborate defence of his method, and of the judgment to which he was led thereby. As the matter will probably be still further discussed, we await its conclusion before venturing any opinion upon the point at issue.

In the same number of the *Allg. Zeitschrift*, Dr. Dämerow gives again a summary of his opinion on the subject of doubtful cases of insanity.

“1. There are many persons mentally diseased, concerning whom the question never arises, and who are accounted perfectly sane and sound.

“2. There are many who, on account of criminal acts, are examined as to their mental condition, and are pronounced sound and sane, and punished capitally in consequence, although really insane.

“3. There are insane persons, palpably so, who are *not entirely unaccountable for all their errors of omission or commission, but may be considered more or less responsible and punishable.*”

### *Fanaticism or Insanity?* By DR. FRANZ.

(From the *Correspondenzblatt*—June and July, 1855.)

DR. FRANZ was appointed, on the 4th of April, by judicial authority, to examine into the state of mind of three men—the peasant Ziemke, and the two tailors, Gast and Carl Quardocus, accused of murder, under very singular and grotesque circumstances. He says:—

“After careful investigation, I pronounced, on the 30th of April, the preliminary opinion:—

““That at the time of the criminal act, the three men were to be accounted imbecile in the eye of the law.”

“Afterwards I had to determine—

““Whether the accused were still irresponsible; whether they are in proper healthy condition; whether the liberation of Ziemke and Gast would



be detrimental to the public safety; and whether the continuance in prison of Ziemke and Gast would be prejudicial to their state of mind.' "

Then follows a prolonged history of the origin and nature of a religious sect (of which these men were members) called the "Apostolic-baptismal community," which seems to be a composition between the doctrines (or practices) of the Anabaptists and the Irvingites, or Latter-day Saints. They await the "second coming," and believe that the *special* or miraculous gifts of the Spirit are attainable by all who have faith—they have apostles, prophets, evangelists, shepherds, and deacons, all distinguished by special costume. Moreover, they have cataleptic ecstasies; and in them they "*speak with tongues*," and sing also, of which curious details are given. The first society in this district (Rummelsburg) was formed by Carl Quardocus, his brother Gottlieb Quardocus, and one Schruder. Some schism took place, and a new society was constituted, of which Carl Quardocus was the apostle, to which office he was solemnly anointed; then, through him, "the Spirit" appointed Gottlieb Quardocus and Koschnick prophets, Sielaff and Buchholz evangelists, Lenzke and Treblin shepherd and teacher, and Gast deacon. The offices were thus fairly divided, but, alas! the special gifts were wanting—hence perhaps the desperate expedients to be related.

Ziemke being ill, was visited by the brothers Quardocus, who laid their hands upon him. During his convalescence, he heard one day a voice, saying, "Ziemke is the most upright, he must have the highest prophetic spirit." At the next meeting he made himself very conspicuous, "*spoke with tongues*," prophesied and cast out devils from some of those present, and then declared how he had been appointed "prophet." Gottlieb Quardocus then arose and cried, "Who has made thee a prophet?" spit in his face, and wished to turn him out. A general commotion arose, with difficulty for this time appeased, leaving Gottlieb Quardocus still discontented. The proceedings of the next ten days were various, but all seemed gradually to take a direction against Gottlieb Quardocus. His heart was not right, he was not humble, his prayers were not acceptable—all his companions insisted on his "humbling himself." He seems to have been a pertinacious person, who would not be humble; to compel him to which, his brother, Gast, and Ziemke took the singular device of knocking his head against the floor, and otherwise maltreating him till he became insensible; after which nothing more is heard of him, except that his obstinate spirit was supposed to have entered into Koschnick.

On Monday, the 21st of March, there was a meeting for prayer, in the course of which Koschnick announced that he had a revelation, and would prophesy. Gast declared that it was a false prophecy. Koschnick then asked Gast to assist him in driving out the devil, which he attempted, by striking him repeatedly, with blasphemous expressions. Gast finally seized Koschnick by the throat, and strangled him; whilst Ziemke had his hand on his (Koschnick's) head, praying. Carl Quardocus sat by, not interfering. When they saw that Koschnick was dead, they began to be alarmed, and tried to

revive him by prayer and imposition of hands. Gast tried the more directly physical method of breathing on his head, and blowing into his ears and anus! When the police came two days after, they were found still praying round the body. In all these acts, they all stated themselves to be under the immediate influence and inspiration of the Spirit.

Official examination of Ziemke:—

Charles Ziemke is a labourer, 29 years old, of an agreeable appearance. He speaks with much vivacity, and is quite clear and consecutive in his conversation, so long as the subject of religion is avoided. But when upon this theme, a complete change is apparent; he speaks apparently under the belief that he is endowed with a high degree of the prophetic spirit. He acknowledges freely all the above facts. In 1848, he was a democrat; in 1849, he experienced a "strong desire for piety"—he prayed in the fields, and saw the "Holy Trinity," not with the bodily eye, but with the eye of the understanding. He then joined himself to the Apostolic Baptismal Society, and the sequel is as above related. In the oral examination, all questions referring to his external circumstances were intelligently answered.

Afterwards:—

Why did you sell your farm?—By God's command. How was it communicated to you?—By my own mouth. What did you intend to do after that?—God had told me that he would make me a prophet. What did you intend to do with the money?—The Spirit informed me that my wife should have eight hundred dollars, which would keep her till the last day; the other two hundred I was not instructed about. What were *you* to do?—The Spirit said that I and Carl Quardocus were to go to England, and preach the Word. How were your expenses to be paid?—The Spirit was silent on that point. In what condition were you when you received this revelation?—I was in a trance in bed, as if dead; but my spirit was alive and active. What were the words you used in this state?—Hu! Hu! Huwäh! Huwich! I think this last was the name of the devil. How did the devil appear?—That is sacred; we will not discuss it. Why do you believe that you could drive out the devil from Gottlieb, Quardocus and Koschnick by the means you employed?—God has revealed to me that the devil may be ejected by two processes: prayer for those who are humble; violence for those who resist the voice of God. When do you expect the "second coming"?—In three and a half years. Do you think it necessary to commit violence upon any one if God commands it?—Yes. Do you think it right, even if the law pronounces it crime?—If the Spirit orders it; we must prize the orders of God more than human laws: God can order nothing wrong.

The whole examination was of like tendency.

Examination of the tailor Gast:—

Gast, aged 41, appears of a quiet, peaceable, weak character, of limited intelligence, but seems quite rational, except on religious subjects. The following are a few of the questions and answers from which the state of his mind was inferred:



Why are you in the hands of justice?—God has permitted it. How did it happen that you maltreated Gottlieb Quardocus?—I met him in the morning, and just as I was about to give him “good day,” the “Spirit” forbid me to have anything to do with him. Afterwards the Spirit compelled me to double my fist, and threaten him, &c. &c. Do you know that you have killed Koschnick?—Yes! my hand has done it, but the Spirit of God guided it. If you had the circumstances to go through again, would you go even to the death?—When the Spirit of God governs me, I have no more *will*, and I must accomplish what he tells me.

Examination of the tailor Carl Quardocus:—

Carl Quardocus is about 35 years of age, of a mild and weak character, stammers a little, but that disappears when he speaks of religion, at which times he becomes excited. He has been addicted to a sort of enthusiasm from his childhood; has had visions and revelations. During his detention, he had prayed constantly to be enlightened as to the morality of the facts above related. A few of the questions and answers indicate the result.

Of what are you accused?—The Spirit of God has revealed to me this morning that he acted upon Ziemke and Gast, when they maltreated my brother and Koschnick. How was this revelation made?—Since I have been in prison, I have prayed, and asked why I am here. An internal voice has told me that the false Christian doctrine should be exposed by the death of Koschnick. Do you believe in the prophecies of Ziemke?—Yes, because he has often spoken to me of my sins, and of my thoughts, which he could not know. Have you had ecstasies?—No; they only come to those who have the spirit of prophecy; the apostles and evangelists have only the revelations of the Spirit. Do you consider the murder of Koschnick, and the ill-treatment of your brother, as crimes?—It results from the revelations of to-day that these things happened by the will of God, so that appearing before the legal powers, we might make known our doctrines to the world. It is culpable according to human law, nevertheless it is by the will of God. Do you consider all right and proper that passed in Ziemke’s house?—If I must speak as a man, *it certainly does not appear regular*; but it all came to pass by the will of God.

We omit the most objectionable parts both of the history and of the phrases perpetually used by the accused concerning the most holy things.

After an elaborate analysis of the foregoing facts and observations (at too great length to be here quoted), Dr. Franz pronounces definitively upon the irresponsibility of the accused at the time of the criminal act. He considers them only fit for perpetual confinement in an asylum, as the resuming of their usual occupations would surely bring on a recurrence of these delusions and acts of violence. Of Carl Quardocus he gives a slightly modified opinion, considering him not so utterly lost to reason as the other two, yet in such a state as to be liable at any time, under favouring circumstances, to become as insane as they. They are all therefore condemned to perpetual confinement in an asylum.



*Comments upon a Case of Murder.*

By Dr. ZEISSING.

THE following case and opinion are extracted from Casper's *Vierteljahrsschrift* for January, 1856:—

The last sitting of the "assizes" has unfolded to us the bloody picture of a horrible event, most melancholy in its motives, yet explicable, as it appears to us.

A man who, for nine years, had been a good citizen, an honourable, diligent labourer, a tender husband, and an affectionate father, is compelled, by incredible want and misery, to kill his wife and children. The family had long had nothing to subsist upon—bran soup, and on very extraordinary occasions bad coffee, were their entire food—the bread which they could beg was kept as a delicacy for the children. They had no work—they were in debt, and could get no more credit—and they were under notice to quit their miserable dwelling. The man comes home from a three days' book-hawking expedition, weary and exhausted, his pitiful gains swallowed up by the expense of travelling; his wife meets him, and paints in lively colours their misery, and the ill-treatment to which they have been subjected—she prays for death for herself and her children, as the only hope. He seems to resist some time—then falls the whole weight of their misery at once upon him—the most horrible of passions, despair, seizes upon him—finally, he kills his wife and children with a wooden roller. How he conducts himself afterwards, and especially at the judicial inquiry, has no effect upon the estimation in which his crime is held by the law. But the psychologist may accompany him on his dreary way; and viewing the human soul not ideally, but in its reality—not as theoretically it should be, but as it actually and empirically does present itself—he may find evidence, in the demeanour of the accused, that at the time of the act he was not responsible. Under the irresistible dominion of the despair which had compelled him to the crime, he first flies from the spot, half naked, then after a while returns, and again goes out to expiate his fault and fulfil his fate by dying of hunger. After six days of torment, the love of life revives in him; he is too fainthearted to kill himself, and he returns to the neighbourhood of man to beg. But this transient awakening was but the last flickering of his higher faculties; after a short time he confesses fully his crime, and then sinks into a state of the most profound and perfect apathy—nothing is left save the dull, heavy, sensuous consciousness of his crime. He is not capable of understanding or appreciating the whole enormity of the offence—he has finished with himself, with the world, and with life.

For this cause, everything was indifferent to him—for this cause, he related with icy quietness the whole circumstances; and when asked if he preferred life or death, he said they were indifferent to him. In his utter prostration, he could not compare the profit or loss which life or death might bring him. He did not *choose* death, because he no longer knew that death would be the close of a wretched life; he did not *choose* life, because he could not see clearly that death would close for ever the hope and opportunity for repentance, and

would launch him into the dismal unknown and unseen. The law calls him a *murderer*, who deliberately and with forethought kills a man; it is called "*manslaughter*" if without such forethought. The first is punished with death, the second with perpetual imprisonment. To be a murderer in the eye of the law, a man must be in possession of his faculties, of his free-will (*geistig frei*). This freedom of will may be, (1.) *limited*, or (2.) entirely *abrogated*, by the dominion of a passion (*leidenschaft*); that is, he may be in a complete, although temporary, condition of irresponsibility, through a condition amounting to delirium or imbecility. The first case demands a modification of, the second an immunity from, punishment. Thus, has a man killed another whilst in the full exercise of his *free-will*, he is a *murderer*; was this free-will circumscribed and fettered by any passion at the time, so *he has killed without reflection and forethought*, and is only a "*manslayer*;" but was he at the time delirious or imbecile, he is irresponsible—there is no *subjective criminal*, the crime remains *objective*.

We get little assistance from the consideration of the state of mind *before* the deed; for, on the one hand, the law punishes not the mere intention or devising of a crime beforehand, provided it is not carried into effect, or attempted; and, on the other hand, it is psychologically imaginable that a criminal may have devised a crime, and, whilst in right mind, have avoided the commission of it, and yet may subsequently commit it under the dominion of passion. Premeditation is only punishable when it lasts up to the time of action.

If we place ourselves in the position of the accused, who could perceive no escape from starvation but a violent death for his family—urged by the prayers and tears of his wife—we may imagine sufficient cause for mental strife being aggravated to the deepest despair. But it appears perfectly incredible that a tender husband and father should suddenly kill his wife and children, unless at the moment of the deed his *free-will* was overpowered by an irresistible passion—despair. It appears incredible that he should, with the most icy indifference, relate all the facts without any trace of emotion, unless under the influence of a deadening of all the faculties of the soul. This boundless apathy also, in which he was sunk, gives certain indication of the state of mind at the time of the deed, for so complete a collapse can only follow so fearful an excitement.

(Dr. Zeissing concludes from all this, that the man was irresponsible. The jury did not take the same view; almost without consultation they pronounced him guilty of wilful murder. The paper—a very eloquently written one—concludes with some general remarks on the legal relations of mental disease. The editor in a note announces that he does not profess to be responsible for all opinions expressed in the *Vierteljahrsschrift*.)

We have given the above case in full, as affording illustration of the extreme views held in some quarters as to the extent of irresponsibility. The doctrines involved in it appear to us, however, to have a dangerous tendency, as virtually annulling the distinction which must be kept in view between madness and passion. Anger, jealousy,



drunkenness—these may be cases of short madness; but it would be fearfully subversive of any order or law in society, were ungoverned passions to be accepted as a plea for unaccountability. Follow out these doctrines to their logical ultimatum, and any man may be acquitted who only makes his crime horrible enough to be incredible. In their judicial relations, too, they are fraught with danger; for, in spite of dialectics, men will ever think that there exists a line of demarcation between the disease which is *inevitable* and which confers immunity; and the passion or emotion, which is a matter of cultivation or education, a thing partly of volition and habit, and which in their eyes confers no extenuating privileges. If we then attempt to wash out this distinction, our testimony will not only not be received on this individual point, but will be discredited on those which are of paramount importance.

REC.

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*The Causes of Insanity.* By M. TRÉLAT.

IN the *Annales Medico-Psychologiques* for April, M. Trélat continues his inquiry into the causes of insanity, the first part of which was noticed in our last number. Under the head of "Accidental Physical Causes," he mentions several interesting cases, one or two of which are worth abstracting. The first is from Pinel:

A young lady, being over-heated, drank a large quantity of cold water, and continued sitting on the damp ground. The day after, there was severe pain in the back, rigors, fever. Soon after, lassitude, loss of memory, delirium; and at the ordinary period of menstruation, the febrile symptoms are renewed, followed by strange gestures, perpetual talking, and great disorder of the imagination. Recovery took place at another menstrual period.

Then follow illustrations of the effect of sudden falls and immersions in water—then that of blows. A student fell in skating, and struck his head violently—coma and long illness succeeded; the health was ultimately re-established, but the intellect never. Wounds from fire-arms are stated to have produced (as observed in the "Invalides" and at Charenton) either mania, or casually occurring and intermittent melancholy. Typhus fever and certain forms of convulsions are cited as prolific *exciting* causes. In a note to the fever cases, M. Trélat mentions in two cases the singular persistency of *one* illusion or defect. The one kept the idea long after convalescence, that he had long arrears of letters, stowed away in a box, to read. The other was the case of a student, who before his illness had been much engaged in archæological studies, and after his recovery had forgotten every vestige of the science. One day, however, all returned with the suddenness of a veil withdrawn.

The following observations are important:—

"Accessions of mania or melancholy either during pregnancy or lactation are due, like the previous cases, to an *accidental* physical cause. This is the *most curable* form of alienation. We need not be alarmed at the violence of the attacks. We have almost constantly under care young females, recently confined, or suckling some time, who pass through every phase of agitation the



most noisy and disorderly, from the most profound prostration, and the most disgusting improprieties, to perfect restoration. It is in such cases as these that we find some consolation for the infinity of disasters, the numbers of incurables, from primitive defect or malformation which we so constantly meet with.

"General paralysis is very amenable to the great law of hereditary transmission—every day furnishes us with proof of this. In families touched with insanity, epilepsy, and apoplexy at early ages, it is frequently the case that we meet with cases of general paralysis; at the same time, no alienation is so frequently due to accidental causes as this."

Two striking illustrations of the influence of sensual and sexual indulgences are given at length, concluding with these observations:—

"Libertines and drunkards are frequent victims to general paralysis. Among the young women attacked by this cruel malady, a great proportion are prostitutes.

"The abuse of mercury for long periods appears to have produced insanity—the same may be said of opium, quinine, tobacco, and some other drugs."

Under the head of "Moral Causes," M. Trélat gives seven cases, one in a child from fright—one in a young girl, who witnessed the execution of members of her family—one in a young lady who accidentally saw a public execution—three from unkind treatment from husbands—and one from religious terror, induced by a severe confessor.

Pinel relates other cases: three young females were brought to the Salpêtrière very near together; the first had lost her reason, frightened by a spectre, made up by her companions; the second terrified by lightning; the third horrified by having been introduced by accident into a house of ill-fame.

M. Trélat, recognising the influence of all these classes of causes, yet supposes that in many of them there is the hereditary predisposition. He thus sums up his conclusions.

"There exists one *great cause* of alienation, primordial cause, cause of causes, hereditary transmission; *it is a law*. Nevertheless, this law can be modified by *alliances*.

"There are families where all the children are affected, and again others where only part are so.

"There are cases even where the existence of this transmissible tendency, happily modified by matrimonial alliance, only seems to produce salutary effects, such as exalted intelligence, wit, and sometimes genius. We must receive these effects thankfully, when they appear, but not attempt to seek for them, in the present state of our knowledge of cause and effect; the experiment costs too dear occasionally. This great cause generally suffices of itself, and only needs favouring circumstances for its development.

"Far, very far below this, we have ranked all the other causes, physical and moral; the only method is to appreciate them correctly."

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#### *On Goître and Cretinism.*

M. MOREL, in the *Ann. Med. Psych.*, gives a letter from Mgr. Alexis Billet, Archbishop of Chambéry, on the above-named subject, from which we extract a few observations, perhaps somewhat unconnected:

"Certainly it is laudable to take care of the moral and physical education of young cretins, so far as they are susceptible of it; but I believe that we must hope much more from prophylaxis than from therapeutics; for if a child be gravely affected with cretinism from its infancy, the cares of humanity may do much to alleviate its condition, but can scarcely hope for a cure."

The following statistics are given as illustrations of the simultaneity of the occurrence of cretinism and goitre, and the proportions.

In the diocese of Chambéry there are 176,145 inhabitants. The cases are as follows:—

	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Goitre alone . . . . .	303	515	818
Cretinism alone . . . . .	84	79	163
Both combined . . . . .	103	103	206
	<hr/> 490	<hr/> 697	<hr/> 1187

In the diocese of Maurienne, 63,156 inhabitants:—

	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Goitre alone . . . . .	1840	21,0	4010
Cretinism alone . . . . .	172	124	296
Both . . . . .	623	658	1281
	<hr/> 2635	<hr/> 2952	<hr/> 5587

"I partake your opinion that the chief morbid agent concerned in the production of cretinism acts upon the cerebro-spinal system, and thus affects the whole organization of the individual; whilst to produce goitre, when alone, it only produces hypertrophy of the thyroid gland. It is certain that out of those localities in which these diseases are endemic, sporadic cases of each are met with, goitre much more numerous than cretinism. The latter, when sporadic, appears to be generally only a kind of idiocy, which does not present all the characteristics of the endemic affection."

Some interesting details are given in reference to the geological distribution of these maladies, and particularly in relation to iron, which does not appear to be a preservative, as the Archbishop at one time supposed; in one district where there are many iron mines, and but 1217 inhabitants, there are 299 afflicted thus. The chief habitat of these affections is the *lias*—the sulphate of lime, and clay. Those seem most free from them which are situated on the compact lime and chalk strata. There are few examples at an elevation greater than 1200 or 1400 metres.

"You attribute the diminution of these diseases in the locality of Nancy in great measure to alliances from healthy localities. In Maurienne, this means has been tried from time immemorial, but with very limited success; the general condition of the population has been scarcely at all ameliorated. Those young women who came to the district at eighteen or twenty years of age do not contract cretinism, *but are liable to goitre*; and their children are as liable to both as the rest of the population."

"You appear to indulge the hope of causing these sad affections to disappear entirely by ameliorating the hygienic conditions. It is almost the sole point on which I differ from you. I grant the propriety, by every possible means, of *attempting* this by draining, &c.; the effect must be good, but will not be complete, because it can only affect the *secondary* causes. Perhaps more may be hoped from the establishment of cisterns for pure water, and the use of iodized salts, &c. You consider these *hereditary* maladies. I believe them to be

transmissible to the first, perhaps to the second generation. But it appears to me that if an affected family goes into a perfectly healthy district, after the second generation there ordinarily remains no trace whatever of the malady; whilst, if a healthy family comes into an affected district, the children already born are liable to goitre, and those born afterwards are liable to *both* diseases, like the others."

"I have always thought, and think still, that children are *born* cretins, but *become* goitrous. Cretinism attacks the *fœtal life*; it would be prudent to send pregnant women to a healthy district."

In conclusion:—

"I think with you that goitre and cretinism have a common origin; that we must seek the principal cause in the *geological constitution* of the soil *under* the surface, *not above it*; that *this* may exercise its baneful influence in uniting itself to the water, the air, and even to the natural productions used for food; that the unhealthy condition of the dwellings and the other objectionable hygienic conditions are only *secondary* causes, which favour the development of the diseases. It is very desirable to attempt the rectification of these conditions as far as possible, but especially to direct the principles of prophylaxis against those *first* causes which seem to be most potent—healthy alliances, the establishment of cisterns, and the use of iodized salts."

Other communications appear to have passed between Dr. Morel and the Archbishop on this important subject, which we have not had the opportunity of seeing.

### *Alternating Mania and Melancholy cured by Quinine.*

By H. LEGRAND DU SAULLE.

MADAME M., ætat. thirty-four, small stature, lymphatic temperament, habitual good health, sweet and affectionate character, with simple and modest tastes, is received January 25, 1852, under care, a prey to the most profound melancholy, apparently arising from religious influences. There is no hereditary tendency discoverable. Her paleness is almost cadaveric; her weakness intense. For three days she has refused nourishment; she has heard a voice saying, "Fast, and thou shalt be pardoned." She was induced to eat, but retained for some days this extreme depression. On the night of the 29th she began to talk incoherently, to sing, laugh, and shout, and to disturb or break everything near her; exhibiting every symptom of acute delirium. Thus in the evening she was melancholic, possessed with religious feelings; in the morning, she was maniacal, shouting and swearing. Treated by prolonged baths, cold affusion to the head, and morphia.

Feb. 4. The violence has given way to a consciousness of illness and weakness—gradually subsiding until

Feb. 6, when the entry is "Perfect calmness—reason sound, demeanour cheerful. The catamenia have appeared during the night.

Feb. 16. Up to this time the patient has appeared well: but now the symptoms of melancholy reappear; she hears the last trumpet, and is doomed to eternal perdition. From the 17th to the 21st, the melancholy is as profound as on her first entrance, and with the same general tendencies. From the 22nd to 28th, there are again the symptoms of acute mania, as violent as before. On March 2nd, calm-



ness is re-established. The sulphate of quinine is prescribed and taken in increasing doses till the 10th of April; on the 16th of March there is a very slight attack of excitement; after that all goes on well, menstruation is regular and natural, the health is restored, and the patient is discharged on the 31st of May, apparently perfectly well. This is a very graphic instance of the *Folie à double forme*, noticed by M. Baillarger in an interesting communication on the subject to the Academy.

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*Mania and Delirium—Treatment in several cases.*

A YOUNG girl, *ætat.* 19, brought to the Salpêtrière, March 18, 1855, with all the signs of acute mania, shouting, threatening, incoherence and sleeplessness. She was menstruating. About a grain of opium was given at once, and repeated with increase till three grains were taken at one dose. Sickness supervened, causing a suspension of the remedy, but it was again given, and continued till the 20th of April, when the symptoms having in great measure subsided, the dose was gradually diminished. In the beginning of May the agitation returned, and the dose was again augmented to four grains at night. Again there was a marked amendment, and again a reduction of the opium. At the end of May, menstruation occurred so very profusely as to require perfect repose, and to reduce the strength extremely; and the agitation and violence became so marked as to require the strait-waistcoat. The delirium was complete—the opium was again increased, but calmness was not restored till June 15th. From the 10th, iron and quinine were given, always containing the opium. Menstruation again appeared on the 20th, not so violent as before; and there were some indications of excitement, but not strong. These measures continued, resulted in complete restoration in July. It is necessary to add, that during the treatment, she had taken purgative medicines a few times, and a few baths. Opium appears to me to be indicated in all cases of mania, but especially in those which result from, or are attended by, extreme feebleness; it is in such cases far preferable to prolonged baths, which are attended then with real danger. I have seen a young man recently, attacked with acute mania, subsequent to rheumatism and spare diet, treated by 5 grain doses of opium for fifteen days, and completely relieved.

The German and English physicians employ narcotics in the treatment of mental affections much more frequently than we in France; and M. Michéa has rendered us a real service in recalling attention to this mode of treatment. For two years I have resorted to it frequently; and if I have not in all cases seen rapid results from it, I have never, even in the most unfavourable, seen the duration of the cases increased. I have employed opium also to calm the maniacal paroxysms of the paralytic, with the same effects as in simple mania.—(BAILLAGER.)

Another case, interesting from the results of sedative treatment, is related by M. Forget, of Strasbourg. A young, delicate, nervous lady is seized on the 4th Nov., 1854, after a chill, with headache,

depression, febrile symptoms, anorexia, furred tongue, and constipation. The exhibition of a bottle of "Seidlitz water" was followed by great prostration, fever, with nocturnal exacerbation, and subdelirium. About the fifteenth day, it takes the form of furious and prolonged mania. Æther had no power in calming this state, and M. Forget having no faith in other antispasmodics, including musk, prescribed a quarter of a grain of opium every quarter of an hour. At the end of two hours, the delirium still persisting, more opium was given, making altogether 3 grains in three hours. The excitement abated, and calm sleep followed. The pulse was regular, respiration gentle, the skin moist. The details need not be followed—on the twenty-fifth day convalescence was declared.—(FORGET.)

On the treatment of the peculiar and rapid form of mania called acute delirium (*délire aigu*), some remarks of Dr. Jensen, of Copenhagen, are important :—

"We must not forget that this is a *central* hyperæmia, the course of which is that of the idiopathic mental alienation. We must carefully avoid general bleeding, which experience shows to be dangerous, unless in *active* congestion. Bleeding must only be employed to reduce the force of the circulation, to lessen pressure on the brain, or to check convulsion. It must also be remembered that in *passive* hyperæmia, whatever tends to slacken the general circulation, tends in so far to increase the venous *stasis*. On the same account, we must be chary of *local* depletion.

"The methodical employment of cold gives more satisfactory results. It is the best mode of producing the necessary reaction, and of re-establishing the contractility of the capillaries. It calms the patient, relieves headache, and prevents the return of the paroxysms of agitation. The first effect is paleness of the skin, falling of temperature, diminution of the force and frequency of the pulse, and of the agitation: the patient seems to come out of a dream. Afterwards the usual phenomena of reaction. The longer the irritation is continued, the colder the water, the weaker the patient, by so much is the reaction longer in appearing, but also stronger in proportion. The water should be 14° or 16° (Reaumur? or Cent.?), and its application be continued from two minutes at the beginning to ten at last. If it be only to the head, it may be applied for an hour whilst the body is in a hot bath. The most prompt reaction is obtained by irrigation over the body, which is to be wiped dry, and wrapped in warm linen. It may be repeated many times a day.

"After the immediate danger is passed tonics must be used, especially quinine; sometimes, where irritation still continues, opium may be combined with the quinine. It is an important point not to forget to empty the bladder.

"It is customary, on recovery, to put a seton in the neck."

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### *Medico-Legal Cases.*

DR. DELASIAUVE extracts from a Spanish paper the following interesting case of fratricide and attempted suicide, the subject of which was acquitted as not at the time responsible.

Arsanz, æt. twenty-six, had been a soldier, always of good conduct; his health seemed tolerable; he was subject every spring to epistaxis, also to talking in his sleep. The spring of 1854 passed without epistaxis, and from that time, particularly during the night, he was



subject to a certain moral disturbance, for which purging was advised. Travelling with a brother, and sleeping in the same bed, he was attacked during the night by this excitement, fancied that his bed-fellow was going to kill him, and seizing a knife, he plunged it into his neck. He then went out, and slept on the staircase two hours. When he awoke he had some obscure consciousness of what he had done; and on seeing his dead brother, he was in despair, and wounded himself severely. The flow of blood restored his reason, and he called for help, and, after some time, told all the circumstances. He was examined by two medical officers, who reported upon the soundness of the *intellectual* faculties. The judge, satisfied that so unusual an act must have its origin in insanity, summoned the Dr. Angel Antonio Diez. He, together with the others, made repeated observations, and observed a strong tendency to melancholy and nocturnal febrile attacks. From these and some other circumstances, they reported that Arsanz had acted impulsively, and without moral liberty. Upon this the prisoner was acquitted.

Dr. Delasiauve regrets that there was no evidence as to the manner of life of the accused as to sobriety. He objects also to the *liberation* of the prisoner; as if equity demands his acquittal, public safety demands his *seclusion*.

On the subject of the after liberation of persons confined after the commission of great crimes, such as incendiarism or murders, under temporary insanity, there is a discussion related in the *Ann. Med. Psy.* for April and July, 1855, in which M. Moreau, M. Delasiauve, M. Parchappe, M. Maury, M. Archambault, and others express very strongly the necessity of great caution, even after apparently perfect recovery for a long time. Cases are given illustrative of the speedy return of the morbid tendency even where the restoration has appeared most complete.

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On the 15th July, 1854, Dr. Morel, in conjunction with two other physicians, was summoned to examine into the mental condition of the widow Georgel, aged 68, who had killed her grandchild, æt. 21 months, with a hatchet, on the 8th April.

Dr. Morel takes his data from three sources—the physical condition, the answers to questions and present conduct, and the previous history.

1. In the first, there is nothing particularly interesting, beyond a general obtuseness and some gastric irritation.

2. The general conduct is marked by great depression and indifference, she speaks to no one, but seems to be generally fearful. She says she cannot pray, because *elle s'y embrouille*. She says that she has always been unhappy—that she loved the child, and the child loved her—that she never thought of killing her, half an hour before—that *she could not die herself, nor the infant either* (this is constantly repeated)—that she *thinks* she is sorry, but cannot be sure that she should not do it again—finally, they may do what they like with her,—she is a miserable, unhappy wretch, and always has been, and is abandoned of God.

She was ætherized on the 23rd July, without any *objective* effect—she seemed on awaking to have some transient hallucinations—but it



had no effect on the general stupor. Dr. Morel remarks that in patients suffering from melancholia with stupor there is no excitement from æther. The subsequent verbal examination elicited nothing new, and ended as all did, with "do with me what you will."

3. It appears that she had passed a most unhappy life with her late husband, and had not been herself an amiable character. She had had five children, and each confinement had been attended with circumstances of distress from the ill conduct of her husband. On one occasion she tried to commit suicide, by throwing herself into a well; on another, she went out in her chemise, and with bare feet, to pass the night in the snow, and asked a peasant whom she met to kill her. Twice she attempted to set fire to the house, saying she could not get warm. She had been twice bled for symptoms of excitement by the *sage femme* of the district—she wished the blood to be allowed to flow, that she might die. It appears that her mother and grandmother died insane.

*Conclusions.*—The widow Georget is insane—she was so for a year before the murder; she was so at the time of the act; her condition *now* is one of melancholy with stupor, which deduces itself logically from the preceding pathological state. The tendency to suicide is strongly pronounced—she is in despair, and believes herself abandoned of God. Her condition appears to have begun by melancholy, which has passed through all its phases, with its pathological consequences, suicide, incendiarism, intermittent exaltation, murder. Most probably she is destined to finish her days in the most perfect dementia. (Signed) Morel.

(Since the report was written the evident mental affection has much further developed itself, and a diarrhœa has set in, followed by extreme marasmus, which predicates a speedy end).

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Le Sieur J. R. (age not stated) shot his step-mother in the presence of his father, on the 10th November, 1854, with a pistol, loaded a long time before by his brother—he immediately ran into the kitchen among the domestics, and said, "I am mad, I have shot my step-mother." He was arrested, and M. Devergie, M. Calmeil, and M. Tardien were called upon by the authorities to give an opinion on his state of mind.

He appeared perfectly calm and intelligent—no delirium of any kind was observable. He confesses fully the deed, and said it arose from an impulse mysterious, inexplicable but irresistible. He does not conceal that his step-mother had been from the first an object of extreme aversion, and that his mind was always much occupied with the sentiment—the reasons alleged appear trivial in the extreme.

There was nothing very remarkable in his childhood,—some sudden gusts of passion were reported, but nothing of importance. As he grew up he appears to have acquired morbidly sensitive ideas. His hands and feet perspired, and he dwelt so much upon that fact, as to say that his life was valueless on that account. He was subject to epistaxis, and had a tendency to hypertrophy of the heart. There was some family predisposition to alienation on *both sides*.

The report pronounces him to have been the subject of "transitory mental alienation," for these reasons:—

- "1. His expressions immediately after the murder.
2. His not concealing himself afterwards.
- 3 and 4. The account he gave of the development of the act, which was very characteristic of homicidal monomania in general,—the formula being almost invariable, as to irresistible impulse, with which (say the reporters) he could not be familiar, as he knew nothing of legal medicine.
5. He said if his father had spoken one word to him when he went into the dining room, his reason would have returned—that it did so immediately after he had killed his step-mother."

The legal summary is, that J. R. was, on the 10th Nov., not in the possession of his free-will (*libre arbitre*), but in a state of veritable mental alienation, and that he cannot be considered responsible before the law,—that he became *sane* immediately after the deed, but has by no means lost the liability to the recurrence of a similar paroxysm,—that he must therefore be considered dangerous and kept sequestered.

In the *Journal de Médecine et de Chirurgie Pratiques*, a case is related of the condemnation of an Englishman, named Piers, long resident at St. Omer, for the murder of his landlord. Evidence is adduced to show that he had long been subject to hallucinations of hearing. On one occasion he had fired a pistol at two men in the street, because he supposed they were talking of him disrespectfully—whilst, in fact, he had never been mentioned. On the 17th April, 1855, his landlord was talking with a neighbour in the courtyard about indifferent matters, when Piers, who was shut up in his chamber, saw them, and imagined they were talking of him, and insulting him grossly. He opened the window and politely requested the landlord to step up stairs for a moment. He did so, and had scarcely entered the room when Piers took a pistol and wounded him mortally. When arrested, he related all that had happened, and said he had only done his duty,—he had heard the insult, and he should have been dishonoured if he had not resented it immediately. When asked what was his intention in asking Berthier into his room, he replied, it was to kill him.—"But the act you have committed is assassination, the most horrible of crimes."—"The insult was worse than my crime."—"If you were in the same circumstances again, should you act the same?"—"Assuredly I should."

Three physicians examined him, and unanimously declared that he was the play of hallucinations of the ear,—that these had caused him to commit a crime of which he evidently did not understand the gravity,—and that he should be confined in an asylum. The jury would not take this view, but convicted him of murder, "with extenuating circumstances;" and he was sentenced to imprisonment for life, with hard labour.

There is a long and interesting communication from M. Aubanel, of Marseilles, on this subject, in the *Ann. Med. Psy.*, for April, 1856, but we must defer its analysis to the next Number.



## CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CHEMISTRY AND HISTOLOGY OF THE URINE IN THE INSANE.

BY W. LAUDER LINDSAY, M.D., PERTH.

THE researches, of which the following notes contain the results, were originally undertaken with a view to study the pathology of sugar in the urine of the insane; but they soon merged into the wider general subject of the whole chemistry and histology—or, in other words, the pathology—of the urine in insanity. I have been induced to give them publicity only as a humble contribution to a subject which seems to me to have been unaccountably neglected by psychologists, believing that it is only by the labours, however apparently meagre and insignificant, of individual observers in different fields that reliable data can be accumulated whereon to base scientifically accurate conclusions. The investigation of the pathology of insanity by the microscope and test-tube will tend more and more to place mental diseases in the same category with more familiar nervous affections, and will eventually explode the crude theories as to the nature of insanity which even yet hold dominion over the public, if not professional, mind. There is a great discrepancy between observers as to the condition of the urine in insanity, and especially as to the relation of certain morbid states to particular types or phases of mental disease. These discrepancies have partly depended upon, and have partly given rise to, error; facts and theories have been too indiscriminately associated and confused. The subject, therefore, demands, and doubtless will repay, re-investigation. Much misapprehension has arisen from the overweening tendency to regard insanity as a special disease, having a special pathology and etiology, and demanding a special treatment. Fortunately this doctrine is, in many quarters, now exploded; and we are beginning to apply the same means of investigation to the study of mental, as of ordinary bodily diseases, viz., rigid scientific analysis.

The annotated results are founded on an examination of the urine in nearly 80 insane patients—all males—labouring under almost every form of mental derangement. Dementia was the form of insanity in 45·45 per cent. of the cases examined: chronic, recurrent, or paroxysmal mania in 18·18; monomania of fear, suspicion, vanity, &c., in 22·07; melancholia in 6·49; and acute mania, general paralysis, and dipsomania in equal proportions, viz., 2·59 per cent. each. The majority were, therefore, cases of dementia, and other chronic, incurable forms of insanity; there were very few recent cases, no epileptics, and, at the period when the urines were examined, no patient laboured under maniacal excitement. The patients were in comparatively good physical health; none were confined to bed; and none laboured under specific physical diseases which could in any way interfere with the results obtained. The freedom from paroxysms, or conditions of excitement or violence, and the absence of physical disease, it is important to bear in mind, as throwing a light upon the results; for it seems probable that, hitherto, many conditions of the urine have been supposed to depend on pathological states of the brain, which have been in reality either due to increased metamorphosis of tissue from physical exhaustion, as during or after the incessant restlessness and sleeplessness of acute mania, or to functional or organic disease in other organs, as from dyspepsia, phthisis, &c. The majority of the patients were quiet and well-behaved; the mental phenomena exhibited by them were at the same time most varied. Their ages ranged from 16 to 75—the average being 43·05. All the urines examined were those passed in the morning before rising, or during the night—the *urina sanguinis*. In considering the variety of condi-



tions which the urine of the insane presents to us, we must remember the great variability of healthy urine from the simplest causes, such as alterations in temperature or the nature of the diet; the liability to the production of morbid states by interruption to the functions of the skin and intestines, and the lower torpid vitality which so constantly accompanies or characterises chronic forms of insanity. Before giving general results, I shall review, somewhat in detail, the phenomena observed.

1. *Specific gravity*.—In 38·57 per cent. of the cases examined, the specific gravity of the urine was between 1020 and 1025; in 28·57 per cent. between 1025 and 1030; in 17·14 between 1010 and 1015; in 10·00 between 1015 and 1020; and in 5·71 between 1030 and 1040. In the majority of cases, therefore, the specific gravity was that of healthy urine. The highest specific gravity was 1038; it depended on the presence of a considerable quantity of viscid mucus, probably in the form of sputa. The presence of buccal, bronchial, and laryngeal mucus was undoubtedly also the cause of the high specific gravity in other cases. The lowest specific gravity was 1012, the urine being at the same time pale and watery-like. It occurred in three cases; two of acute mania—one, a boy of 16, the other a lad of 22—and in a case of chronic dementia, a man of 57. In all three cases the urine was acid and phosphatic; in one of the cases uric acid, and in another epithelium, were also present.

2. *Colour and smell*.—In 46·75 per cent. of the cases, the urine was noted as clear; in 16·80 turbid; in 44·15 it possessed a light amber colour; in 10·38 it was of a dark amber, or brownish red, colour; and in 31·03 it was pale and watery-like. From the proneness to enter into a state of decomposition—probably from the general presence of a certain amount of mucus—a considerable proportion of the urine speedily became ammoniacal, some very rapidly and strongly so. The formation and evolution of carbonate of ammonia in these cases were generally accompanied by the deposition of prismatic phosphates. In a number of cases there was no appreciable odour, or it was faintly diabetic; in the remainder it was ordinarily urinous.

3. *Reaction*.—In the greater number of cases, the urine was acid to test-paper. In 14·28 per cent. however, it was neutral; and in 10·38, alkaline. In the latter cases, however, it is probable that the urine was in various stages of decomposition, a considerable interval having elapsed between its evacuation and examination. The alkaline specimens were all ammoniacal and phosphatic. There is every reason to believe that all the urines would have been found acid, had they been examined at the moment of being voided. While urine may be alkaline from the presence of fixed alkalies, it is more generally so from an ammoniacal condition which is usually the result of decomposition. Indeed, it would appear from recent researches that urine, as secreted by the kidneys, is always and normally acid, but that it may be made alkaline by diet and medicines, and by disease of the urinary passages and other causes of decomposition.\*

4. *Sediments*.—In the majority of cases there was no appreciable sediment. In 23·37 per cent., there was a mucous sediment, generally small in amount; in 10·38 the sediment was granular and whitish, consisting chiefly of phosphates; in 7·79 it was muco-granular, containing frequently phosphates, generally with one or other of epithelium, mucous corpuscles, uric acid, and oxalates. In 9·09 mucus was present in the form of minute floating flocculi. In a few cases the sediment consisted chiefly of epithelium and mucus; in one, of uric acid; in none, of the common urate of ammonia.

5. *Pigments*.—In 10·38 per cent. of the urines examined, a marked pink or

\* Dr. Rees on "Alkaline conditions of the Urine," in "Guy's Hospital Reports," 1855.

reddish colour was developed on the addition of nitric acid, subsequent to the application of heat, sometimes in the cold. In 5.19 per cent. *blue pigment* was found in the sediment attached to cotton tubes, hairs, &c. This blue colouring matter I have observed more abundantly in other urines, particularly in that of cholera, where I have met with it both in the sediment, and as a copious deep Prussian-blue froth or scum, or simple concentration by evaporation, or on the addition of nitric acid subsequently thereto.\* Chemists have not yet accurately determined the nature of this pigment. By some it is supposed to correspond with the indigo blue and cyanurin described by Haller: by others its development is thought to depend on, or to be connected with, the therapeutic action of benzoic acid in some cases.† In connexion with this subject, it is interesting to note the discovery in the urine, by Dr. Hassall, of indigo. The presence in urine of the latter substance, or of a pigment similar thereto, has lately been investigated by Sieherer, whose results, however, do not appear to be decisive as to its nature.‡

6. *Urea*.—In 53.24 per cent. of the cases, urea was easily and abundantly detected. The nitrate of urea produced, on the addition of nitric acid to the concentrated urine rapidly forming, a solid mass generally of a tawny colour, composed of an aggregated mass of tables or scales. In 36.36 per cent. the formation of the nitrate was more gradual or slow; and it occurred in the form either of a loose spongy mass, composed of an aggregation of delicate scales or plumose crystals, in that of a thin pellicle, or of floating stellæ, composed of masses of needle-shaped or plumose crystals. In the latter case the masses of nitrate frequently had a silky lustre, and fibrous radiating texture. In 11.68 per cent. the nitrate was found almost instantaneously on the addition of nitric acid, showing the presence of urea in large quantity. Of 9 patients in whom this occurred, 6 were cases of chronic dementia, 2 were recent religious melancholia, and 1 was a monomaniac [of suspicion]. The ages of the patients varied from 27 to 54, the average being 41.66. Dr. Gilchrist, of the Montrose Asylum, has brought under my notice a case in which the nitrate of urea was formed at once and in abundance on the addition to the urine cold and as excreted. I have never met with it in such abundance. When we consider that urea may be regarded, along with sulphuric acid, as an index to the amount and rapidity of the process of metamorphosis of the albuminous tissues of our bodies, and that it may be held to represent two-thirds of the whole nitrogen excreted, we must look upon the presence of such apparent excess of urea in the urine as a pathological state of some import. We know that increased activity of the respiratory function—of the oxidative process, augments the production and discharge of urea and sulphuric acid. In 10.38 per cent. it is noted that no urea was detected. This arose from the urine being in a state of decomposition, the urea having been converted into carbonate of ammonia, the elements of which were easily to be found. In these cases the urine was generally ammoniacal, foetid, and phosphatic. In 18.18 per cent. there was marked effervescence on the addition of nitric acid to the concentrated urine; and in a like number of cases a pinkish or reddish tint was developed on adding the acid. In some cases the urea was easily detected after an interval of one or two days: more generally, however, it underwent decomposition within a short period after the urine was voided.

7. *Uric acid*.—In 16.88 per cent. of the whole cases examined, uric acid in some of its ordinary crystalline forms occurred, either in the sediment, scum,

\* "The Development of a blue colouring Matter in the Urine of Cholera," "Med. Times and Gazette," May 12, 1855; or in "Histology of the Cholera Evacuations in man and the lower animals." "Edin. Med. Journal," March, 1856.

† "Pharmaceutical Journal," July, 1855.

‡ "Annalen der Chemie und Pharmacie," April, 1854.



or as a coating of the sides of the urine jar, or in all these situations. In 12·98 per cent. of the urines in which uric acid occurred, it was met with in the form of lozenges, rhombs, or conglomerate crystalline masses of a yellow tint. In 2 cases only did it occur as minute colourless lozenges and needles, and in one only as small rosette-shaped crystals. It was unassociated with any other urine-sediment in 66·66 per cent. of these cases; in 16·66 it occurred along with epithelium scales and mucus corpuscles; in 8·33 per cent. phosphates, and in a like number of cases, urates occurred in the same sediment. In 83·32 per cent. of the cases in which uric acid was found in the urine, therefore, it may be said to have been the only crystalline deposit. Of 12 patients in whose urine it was detected, 8 laboured under chronic dementia, 2 under monomania, and 2 under melancholia. Their ages varied from 26 to 67, the average being 45·33. Contrasted chemically with urica, uric acid is now generally considered a transition product, the result of an inferior degree of oxidation. Hence, the formation in and discharge from the body of uric acid implies some interference with or imperfection in the respiratory function, or some abnormal excess of food or effete tissues destined ultimately to be converted into urica. Uric acid and urica differ in the laws of their metamorphosis. The former varies with the activity of the respiratory or oxidative function; it diminishes in the urine in proportion as respiration becomes more rapid and free; while the latter, under the same circumstances, becomes increased in amount.

8. *Urates*.—In only 3 cases did the common *urate of ammonia* occur, and then but to a small extent. One patient was a case of chronic mania, æt. 42: the urine was acid, of specific gravity 1032, and was turbid with urates: the sediment consisted mainly of amorphous urates, with a few epithelium scales and crystals of uric acid. Another was a case of chronic dementia, æt. 58, in which urate of ammonia was associated with the urate of soda. The third was likewise chronic dementia, æt. 40, in which urates were associated with prismatic phosphates. In the latter case they occurred in the globular form. It is matter of surprise that the urate of ammonia should have been met with so rarely, seeing that it is a frequent deposit in the healthy urine from slight changes in temperature, exercise, or diet. In one case of chronic dementia, æt. 58, *urate of soda* occurred in the scum and sediment, in the form of large, yellowish, globular masses, pierced or covered by crystalline spicules. The urine was neutral; specific gravity 1032; and the sediment contained, in addition, urate of ammonia and phosphates, in the form both of the ordinary prisms and enormous plumose crystalline masses.

9. *Phosphates*.—The urine was found to be phosphatic on testing by heat and nitric acid, or triple phosphates were found in the scum or sediment, in 42·85 per cent. of the whole cases examined. Of 33 patients whose urine was thus phosphatic, 15 laboured under chronic dementia, 7 under chronic mania, 3 under melancholia, 3 under monomania, 2 under acute mania, 2 under general paralysis, and 1 under dipsomania. The ages of the patients varied from 16 to 75, the average being 40·54. In 24·67 per cent. of the whole urines examined, they were found phosphatic on applying the heat and acid test: in most of these cases prismatic phosphates were likewise met with in the sediment or scum, in some cases not. In 33·76, the phosphates occurred in the scum or sediment in the ordinary prismatic form. These prisms varied much in size: sometimes they were very large and well formed; occasionally in broken fragmentary masses; rarely as minute acicular crystals. In only one case did they occur in the form of stelle—in a paralytic labouring under the results of dipsomania, æt. 70. The urine was 1015, alkaline, pale, turbid, and contained a copious white sediment, consisting of small prisms and stelle of triple phosphate. In 3 cases enormous crystalline masses—some of them resembling the crystals of alum—occurred: they appeared also to be phosphates



in an unusual crystalline form. All were cases of chronic dementia, the ages being respectively 58, 35, and 28. In one case they were associated with ordinary prisms of the triple phosphate and with the urates of soda and ammonia: the urine was neutral, and 1032. In the second the urine was 1027, acid, and contained uric acid; and in the third the urine was alkaline, 1022, and contained a copious white sediment, consisting chiefly of common prisms. The addition of reagents, in the course of testing for phosphoric acid, magnesia, &c., developed necessarily a variety in the crystalline form of the phosphates precipitated. *Aqua ammoniæ* threw down a white precipitate, consisting generally of rosette-shaped stellæ, whose radii were frequently plumose. The stellæ differ from the prismatic crystals, in containing a larger amount of phosphoric acid, the former being bibasic, the latter neutral. In the latter form, however, the phosphates usually occur when they are precipitated in consequence of the gradual development of ammonia in the urine. *Hydro-sulphate of ammonia*—probably in virtue of its alkali—also produced a copious white precipitate, likewise consisting of stellæ, associated with small squarish prisms. The limbs of the stellæ were generally granular rather than plumose, and each of their extremities was sometimes tipped with a prism, giving them a peculiar character. If the reagent was preceded by muriate of ammonia and aqua ammoniæ, the radii were more generally plumose, and the prisms were sometimes very plentiful. *Carbonate of ammonia*, followed by *phosphate of soda*, produced a white precipitate, consisting generally of beautiful crosslets or crosslet-prisms, sometimes large and plumose, at other times small and plain. The crosslets were sometimes associated with minute simple stellæ, small square prisms, acicular crystals, with globular or amorphous wreaths in small quantity, and with amorphous phosphate of lime. Similar crosslets occurred, in one or two cases, in the natural urine, on standing, but in very small quantity. The precipitate thrown down by *sulphate of magnesia* followed by muriate of ammonia and aqua ammoniæ, consisted chiefly of stellæ, some of them small and simple, their radii acicular, others larger, with plumose or moniliform limbs: associated with these were a few delicate plumes, crosslet and simple prisms. In 6·49 of the whole urines examined there was a phosphatic scum. In only one case was this distinctly and beautifully iridescent and sparkling with large prisms, which also copiously coated the sides of the urine jar. The case was chronic mania, æt. 40: the urine was neutral, pale, and 1028, and the phosphates were associated in the sediment with octohedral oxalates. Of the phosphatic urines, the triple phosphate was found alone in 53·12 per cent., and with epithelium and mucus corpuscles in 21·87, making in all 74·99 in which it was unassociated with other crystalline matters. In 12·18 per cent. it occurred along with oxalate of lime; in 6·25 with urates of ammonia or soda, and in 3·12 with uric acid. The most phosphatic urines were not those of the oldest men, or of the most acute or most chronic cases; they were peculiar to no age, and to no type or phase of insanity. At the same time it may be mentioned, in connexion with the researches of other observers, that in all cases of maniacal restlessness or excitement—which were few and mild—as well as in the only cases of general paralysis, the urine was phosphatic, though far from being the most phosphatic. It is also necessary to allude to the fact, that in the majority of cases, phosphates were found only after the urine had been allowed to stand or decompose, to a certain extent; in which circumstances healthy urine frequently exhibits the same phenomena. The extent of decomposition could generally be estimated by the intensity of the ammoniacal odour. Notwithstanding the number of cases in which the urine was phosphatic, in no one case did the earthy phosphates appear to be excreted in absolute excess. This absolute excess of phosphates, it appears from the paper of Dr. Rees already quoted, is comparatively rare: he met with it only in mollities ossium, scrofulous and ricketty children, and a few of the rarer forms of

dyspepsia. The mere presence of a copious phosphatic sediment in alkaline or ammoniacal urine, is no index of the excretion of an increased quantity of earthy salts. It has been supposed that the phosphates in the urine bear a somewhat definite ratio to the phosphorus in the brain, and that, *pro tanto*, they may be regarded as the indicators of the "expenditure of nervous force." The accuracy of this conclusion, I think, admits of doubt, when we consider, not only that the phosphates appear in the urine in all forms and phases of insanity, but in every species of ordinary physical disease; in other words, under the most opposite circumstances. There is a great discrepancy between observers as to the data on which such conclusions have been based. The most recent advocate of this opinion is Dr. Sutherland, of St. Luke's Hospital, London, who asserts, as the result of a series of investigations and analyses, that a plus quantity of phosphates occurs in the urine during the paroxysms of acute mania; and that, during the exhaustive or subsequent stage, as well as in acute dementia, and in the dementia of the paralysis of the insane, a minus quantity is found, under which circumstances it denotes the "expenditure of nervous force."\* I am not in a position, from my own experience, to disprove Dr. Sutherland's assertions; but it appears to me that he has taken too limited a view of the subject. Cabanis speaks of the brain in acute mania being highly phosphorescent; Couerbe found a plus quantity of phosphorus in the brain of acute mania, and a minus quantity in that of the idiot; and Dr. Sutherland states that a plus quantity of phosphates exists in the blood of acute mania, and a minus quantity of phosphorus in the idiotic brain. I must also demur to Dr. Burnett's doctrine, as at least not yet fully borne out by fact, that "to the phosphatic diathesis the greater number of forms and cases of mental disease owe their origin;" and that an excess of phosphates in the brain is "perhaps the true psychopathic interpretation of all mental exaltation."† Along with the triple phosphates was generally associated the amorphous granular phosphate of lime, which also occurred with the oxalate of lime and other urine-sediments.

In all the urines *phosphoric acid*, *lime* and *magnesia* were always easily detectable by reagents, but they varied somewhat in amount, more so apparently than the *sulphates* and *chlorides*, which were uniformly present in large quantity. Similar variations in the proportions present of the *phosphates of lime* and *magnesia* occur in various abnormal conditions of the system, and even in health. We know that the phosphates of lime and magnesia are daily excreted in the healthy urine, bearing to each other a definite ratio, which becomes altered in disease.‡ The same phosphates are also excreted in the fæces; and those leaving the body by this channel generally bear a ratio to those passing off in the urine. In connexion with the excretion of the earthy phosphates, it is interesting to remark that an unusual drain of them from the system is almost invariably attended with emaciation. Such at least has been found to be the case in strumous disease; for instance, in strumous children, whose urine frequently resembles that of the insane in containing uric acid, oxalates, and phosphates. Phosphatorrhœa, as the continuous and unusual drain of phosphates by the fæces and urine, might not inappropriately be called, is a symptom of importance in connexion with the subject of cell-growth: we know that phosphate of lime, for instance, is one of the essentials to cell-formation in the tissues. It has recently been suggested by a German physio-

\* "Cases illustrating the Pathology of Mania and Dementia." "Medico-Chirurgical Transact.," vol. xxxviii., 1855.

† "On the Pathology of the Urine, and the relation which that fluid bears to other excretions in mental diseases." "Asylum Journal of Mental Science," Oct., 1855.

‡ Neubauer, "Researches on the quantity of Earthy Phosphates in the Urine;" "Lancet," April 26, 1856.



logist,\* that the variations in the excretion of phosphate of lime, which depends on fluctuations in the metamorphosis of tissue, constitute the chief, or a chief, cause of the differences in the weight of our bodies from day to day. In regard to the laws which regulate its production and excretion, phosphoric resembles uric acid; and the proportion excreted bears a ratio to the amount of nitrogen discharged from the system in the form of urea.†

10. *Oxalates*.—In 15·58 per cent. of the whole urines examined, *oxalate of lime* existed in the sediment, and always in the form of octohedres, sometimes large and well-formed, more frequently small, seldom in great quantity. Oxalate of lime existed, therefore, nearly in an equal proportion to uric acid. Of 12 patients in whom it occurred, 3 laboured under chronic dementia, 2 under chronic mania, 2 under monomania, 2 under melancholia, and 1 under general paralysis. The ages of the patients varied from 27 to 56, the average being 42·25. Of the urines in which oxalate of lime occurred, it was met with alone in 59·33 per cent., with epithelium in 25 per cent., and with phosphates in 16·66 per cent. In all the urines, the addition of *oxalate of ammonia* caused, on standing, the deposition of a white granular sediment, consisting of masses of minute octohedres of oxalate of lime, associated, generally, with more or less dark, amorphous, granular matter, probably phosphate of lime. In some cases a few small, delicate, prismatic phosphates were intermixed. It has frequently been asserted that the oxalic diathesis, or oxaluria, is essentially connected with lesions of the nervous system; and some authors have gone the length of associating them causatively with special forms of mental disease. But, as in the case of similar errors in regard to the phosphatic diathesis, it is probable a too limited view of the subject has been taken. The fact has not been ascertained, or has been ignored, that oxalates occur in the urine in almost every form and phase of mental disease, and in a great variety of ordinary physical diseases, that is, under the most opposite conditions; and that while they may, and perhaps do, in the majority of cases, result from the metamorphosis of tissue, or of the products of the decomposition of tissue, they may equally be derived directly from vegetable foods, or from the products of the destructive assimilation of nitrogenised foods. Oxalic acid in the urine is now generally supposed to result from the decomposition of uric acid, which, we have already seen, is produced by an inferior intensity of the oxidative metamorphosis of effete tissues than is necessary for the formation of urea.

11. *Epithelium* and *mucus corpuscles*.—In 31·16 per cent. of the urines examined, epithelium scales were present in greater or less quantity in the sediment. They were generally large, transparent, and of normal form and size; at other times they were variously elongated and shrivelled—sometimes fusiform or caudate, and dark or granular. Occasionally they were present in as great amount as in *Catarhus vesicae*. Of 8 patients, in whose urine an epithelial sediment occurred, 4 laboured under monomania, 3 under chronic mania, and one under general paralysis. The ages of the patients varied from 26 to 56, the average being 43·75. In 37·5 per cent. of the urines containing an epithelial sediment, the epithelium scales were associated with mucus corpuscles; in 25 per cent. with phosphates; in 25 per cent. also with uric acid; in 12·5 per cent., with urates, and in a like number of cases with oxalates. In 14·28 per cent. of the whole urines, *mucus corpuscles* were present in the sediment. They were generally associated with epithelium scales, but not uniformly. Sometimes they were very abundant, mingled with a stringy, viscid mucus: in these cases they were probably due to sputa, accidentally intermixed

\* Dr. Beuche, of Göttingen, "Ueber die Wirkung des Nordser-Bactes, Eine Physiologisch-Chemische Untersuchung." Göttingen, 1855.

† Bidder and Schmidt, "Der Stoffwechsel, Eine Physiologisch-Chemische Untersuchung," Mitau and Leipzig. 1852.



with the urine. Like the epithelium scales, they were frequently aggregated in masses. They usually exhibited the reactions of pus under acetic acid; sometimes they were distinctly nucleated, the nucleus being eccentric, and becoming bifid or double under the action of acetic acid. They were sometimes associated with the "*large organic globules*" of some authors, which in the urines examined appeared to be occasionally mucus corpuscles of unusual size, but more generally bodies having a different origin and character. They sometimes resemble mucus corpuscles, except that they are much larger, and show no nuclei even under the influence of acetic acid. Usually they are more granular and dark, sometimes tinged with pigments, and they vary greatly in size. They were present in only 6·49 per cent. of the urines examined, associated or not with the "*small organic globules*" of some authorities on urology, which were much more frequently met with under a great variety of circumstances. It appears to me to admit of little doubt that these bodies are morphologically altered blood-corpuscles, and that they can only acquire a pathological significance when present in large amount in the urine. They are generally minute, globular, colourless bodies, smaller than the blood corpuscles, but varying much in size and distinctness. *Blood discs*, unaltered, or so little altered as to be readily recognised as such, were present in only two cases. One of the patients was a monomaniac, æt. 22: the urine was acid, and 1028. The mucous sediment contained a number of small whitish or reddish specks, which were found to be bloody coagula, and which exhibited, under the microscope, normal red discs, with a few very transparent epithelium scales. The other was a case of chronic dementia, æt. 41: the urine was 1030, acid and phosphatic: the few slightly altered blood discs, as well as a quantity of mucus corpuscles, appeared to be derived from sputa which had got accidentally into the urine.

12. *Sugar*.—In 29·87 per cent. of the whole urines, sugar, in small quantity, and in 5·19 per cent., in large amount, was present, if *Trommer's test* can be relied on, which, however, I very much doubt. The results, though ambiguous and unsatisfactory, are, however, of such a nature as to justify, in future, the search for sugar in the urine of the insane. I have not had an opportunity of applying all the other sugar tests so as to arrive at definitive results. Meanwhile, however, I would strongly recommend the subject to the attention of psychologists and pathologists. One of my chief aims in the foregoing enquiry was to ascertain whether, and to what extent, sugar is excreted in the urine of the insane. This is not the place to detail the theoretical and analogical reasoning which led me to expect it. The four cases in which Trommer's test, that is, the sulphate of copper and potash test, appeared to indicate distinctly the presence of sugar in the urine, were 1,—Case of chronic dementia, æt. 35, urine clear, amber-coloured, 1027, phosphatic, with a copious white mucogranular sediment, containing uric acid. 2. Case of chronic dementia, æt. 58; urine 1032, neutral, phosphatic, containing urate of soda. 3. Chronic dementia, with paroxysmal mania, æt. 27, urine 1015, acid, clear, pale. 4. Case of general paralysis, æt. 42; urine acid, clear, amber-coloured, 1030, phosphatic, containing octahedral oxalates, epithelium scales, and compound granular bodies. In the majority of cases—in healthy urines, as regarded sugar, the addition of a few drops of solution of sulphate of copper merely caused a blue discoloration. On the further addition of a few drops of aqua potassæ, a greenish-blue muddiness or turbidity was produced, and a precipitate of the same colour thrown down. The subsequent application of heat merely increased or hurried the precipitate or precipitation. In some cases the flocculent, pale greenish-blue precipitate, on applying heat, rapidly became dark red, and subsided, the supernatant liquid being of a sherry colour; or it fell as a dark loam-coloured flocculent mass. In other cases the precipitate by aqua potassæ was changed to a light red or brownish red by heat, the

supernatant liquid assuming a sherry colour: sometimes the liquid possessed this colour, while the precipitate remained pale or greenish. In a few cases the addition of sulphate of copper produced a precipitate [phosphate of copper] similar to that caused by aqua potassæ; a circumstance which, of itself, gave rise to the suspicion that sugar was present. Aqua potassæ dissolved this precipitate, forming an azure-blue solution or fluid, similar to that generally produced in healthy urine by the simple addition of sulphate of copper. With heat, the fluid behaved as above mentioned. These reactions varied even in the same case, according to the freshness of the urine, the period at which it was voided, and the nature and amount of the reagents added. This variability in the results is not, however, of itself surprising, seeing that Baudimont has lately found that, in diabetic urine, the sugar varies in amount, in the same case, at different periods of the day, being sometimes nearly altogether absent. For example, diabetic urine, voided in the morning, contained the merest trace, while that passed a few hours after dinner exhibited a considerable amount of sugar.

13. *Albumen, &c.*—In not a single case was the urine albuminous. All the urines were tested for the presence of *metallic salts*, without their detection in any case, by sulphuretted hydrogen, or hydrosulphate of ammonia. In a few cases *fatty matters* and *vegetable debris* were found; but these were evidently derived from the food and contained in sputa.

The chief results obtained, and the conclusions to which they point, may be shortly tabulated as follows:—

- I. In the majority of cases the urines examined were clear, amber coloured, and acid; the specific gravity between 1020 and 1020; and the urea normal in amount: in other words, they were essentially healthy.
- II. The triple phosphates formed the most frequent crystalline sediment; oxalate of lime and uric acid occurred in nearly an equal number of cases: epithelium, and perhaps also sugar, were present in a considerable proportion of cases.
- III. While, in a large proportion of cases the urine was phosphatic, in no case was there evidence of an excessive excretion of earthy phosphates from the system.
- IV. The phosphates occurred in every form and phase of mental disease, and did not appear to bear any definite ratio to the nervous energy or the "expenditure of nervous force."
- V. No states or conditions of the urine appear to be peculiar to, or characteristic of, certain forms or phases of insanity.
- VI. In a large proportion of cases in which sediments existed in the urine, these were not of a nature incompatible with physical health, or necessarily indicative of disease.
- VII. Morbid conditions of the urine, when they were found, existed under the most opposite circumstances, both in regard to the mental and physical state.
- VIII. The urine of the insane differs in no essential respect from that of the sane; and it undergoes variations from precisely similar causes.
- IX. When peculiarities exist, they are more probably due to the physical than the mental state.



## LUNATIC ASYLUMS IN IRELAND.

OWING to the judgment pronounced by the Court of Queen's Bench in Dublin in January last, ignoring the validity of the appointment of chaplains by the Executive Government of Ireland in the Belfast District Asylum, and, as a consequence, in all the other public asylums in that country, it has become necessary for the Government to apply to the Legislature for power to make legal what has been solemnly declared to be illegal, as is palpable from the third clause of the Bill—"to Explain and Amend the Acts relating to Lunatic Asylums in Ireland" (No. 2)—now before us, which is as follows, viz. :—

"All appointments of officers for such Asylums, and all salaries of such officers fixed or granted, and all matters and things heretofore done by the Lord Lieutenant, or by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, with respect to such appointments, shall be and remain good, valid, and effectual, but subject to the powers and provisions hereinafter contained."

It remains to be seen if Parliament, before which the Bill is at present, will give its sanction to this *ex post facto* species of legislation, which of all others is to be looked upon with a very jealous eye, perverted as it might be to the most unconstitutional of purposes. The first clause of the Bill states that, "in citing this Act, it shall be sufficient to use the expression, 'the Lunatic Asylums (Ireland) Act, 1856.'" The second clause has reference to the interpretation of terms, viz. :—"Asylums" shall mean "Asylums for the Lunatic poor." "Officer" shall mean and include "Managers, Chaplains, Physicians, Surgeons, Apothecaries, Matrons, Attendants, and Servants." This, we think, is a pretty enlarged, if not an offensive and levelling interpretation of the term "Officer." In the army, what would be thought of classing officers and privates in one category? In civil life and civil employment a little less insulting interpretation of officer and servant might have been adopted; and in no public institutions is it of more consequence to be rather on the particular than the loose side of using fit and proper terms, and observing due punctilio, than in establishments set apart for the treatment of the insane, where so much depends upon and is to be accomplished by the prestige of position, and the moral weight and influence such gives to those in their chief charge. And here we may state, that we think this is the fitting place again to express our decided opinion, that the time has now fully arrived when an effort should be made to give up the barbarous and unscientific nomenclature in common use as regards Institutions for the Insane and their inmates, and in their stead to adopt one more in harmony with the advancing intelligence of the age, and of a less offensive nature. The opportunity now presented by this Bill should not be lost by the Inspectors in Ireland, and others in authority, of disusing such terms as Lunatic, Manager, Matron, &c., all of which are highly objectionable, the first being absolutely wrong as applied to insanity, being under and affected by lunar influence and changes; the second leading to the notion that the medical man in charge—as, we presume, manager has reference to—has to break-in and restrain a number of animals instead of treating human beings under disease; and the third savouring strongly of the prison and the workhouse. Insane person, Hospital or Asylum for the Insane, Resident Physician or Medical Superintendent, and Superintendent of Females or Housekeeper, respectively, should be substituted for the above most objectionable terms. We therefore call the particular attention of the Inspectors, Drs. White and Nugent, to these points, in the full expectation that they will use their official influence in a matter of some importance, as we conceive this to be; for after all, there is something in a name, Shakspeare's dictum notwithstanding to the contrary that, "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet." Besides, we do not know if it have struck others as it has ourselves, that, if the term "manager" remain, any individual, any layman—educated or uneducated—a half-pay officer, or other totally unsuited person, might be



appointed to an office no doubt intended, by a mental reservation, to be filled by a member of the medical profession, as it should, and as is and must be the case in this country, as well as on the continent and in America. Why, then, should so all-important a post of duty be left thus open to the caprice of any public functionary, no matter how high his office—even that of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to be professionally filled up, who, by clause eight in the Bill, is to have the patronage of appointing “the Manager, Matron, and Visiting Physician?” The fourth clause stands thus—viz.,

“The Lord Lieutenant and Council shall, from time to time, in the case of every such Asylum established, or to be hereafter established, fix and determine the number and description of officers for every such Asylum.”

According to the above clause, the Lord Lieutenant and Council might, if they pleased, appoint a posture master, a professor of gymnastics, a dancing master—and far more objectionable officials might be attached to asylums, if the course we have named could be considered exceptionable—in fact, any number of persons they pleased—so unlimited is the scope of this curiously framed clause; but the eighth one is, we presume, a set-off to it, being quite antagonistic in its powers—viz.,

“All officers of every such Asylum, other than the Manager, Matron, and Visiting Physician, shall be, from time to time, appointed by the Governors, and, whether now holding office or hereafter to be appointed, shall be removable at the pleasure of the Governors.”

So that here we have, in one plan, the executive empowered to make appointments to an unlimited extent, and, in another, the power vested in the local boards of governors, of “removing all officers at their pleasure other than the Manager, Matron, and Visiting Physician”! The farce of blundering legislation could no farther go than this. For any public functionary or functionaries to be given so arbitrary a power as to remove an officer “at pleasure” is seriously to be deprecated, as it might be brought to bear in a manner nothing short of oppression, and yet without any remedy to the aggrieved party. No one could be considered in the light of a public servant who might at any time get his dismissal at the *pleasure* merely of a superior authority. Under such circumstances he is the servant of an irresponsible party *pro tanto*, and will be tempted accordingly to become a tool or worse in the hands of those who can place the screw upon him at any moment. This ought not so to be.

The remaining clauses of this Bill are as annexed—viz.,

The Governors of such Asylum shall, from time to time, subject to the approbation of the Lord Lieutenant in Council, fix the salaries to be paid to such officers respectively; but, if the Governors shall neglect so to do, or if the Lord Lieutenant in Council shall disapprove of the salary proposed for any officer, it shall be lawful for the Lord Lieutenant in Council to fix and determine the same.

It shall be lawful for the Governors, with the approval of the Lord Lieutenant in Council, from time to time, to alter the salaries to be paid to such officers respectively.

The Manager, Matron, and Visiting Physician of every such Asylum shall be, from time to time, appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, and, whether now holding office or hereafter to be appointed, shall be removable at the pleasure of the Lord Lieutenant.

It shall be lawful for the Governors, on the recommendation of the Inspectors of Lunatics, or of one of them, to direct that any officer who is incapable, from age, infirmity of mind or body, or otherwise, to discharge the duties of his office, shall be superannuated, and shall receive such yearly superannuation pension as, upon consideration of all the circumstances of each case, shall appear to be just, not exceeding such proportion of his salary and allowances as hereinafter mentioned (that is to say, for above fifteen and less than twenty years' service, a pension not exceeding two-thirds of his salary and allowances, and, for above twenty years' service, a pension not exceeding his salary and allowances).

The several salaries and superannuation pensions, now or hereafter to become payable, shall respectively be advanced, paid, presented for, and raised in like manner as any other moneys advanced or raised for supporting and maintaining such Asylums respectively, under the said recited Acts, or any of them.

Whereas pauper lunatics only can now, by law, be admitted into any such District Lunatic Asylums, and there are others of the industrious classes suffering from insanity who may be benefited by treatment in Lunatic Asylums, but whose relatives are unable to meet the expense of Private Asylums, and are not willing to accept gratuitous relief, and it is expedient that some provision should be made for such classes: Be it, therefore, enacted, that it shall be lawful for the Governors of any district Lunatic Asylum (subject to any orders to be made by the Lord Lieutenant in Council) to receive as inmates any persons not coming under the description of pauper lunatics (but to be treated in all respects as if pauper lunatics, clothing only excepted), on such terms as to payment or otherwise as the Governors shall deem proper, and the moneys so received as payment for such persons shall be applied to the support and maintenance of such Asylums.

It shall be lawful for the Lord Lieutenant in Council, from time to time, to make any general or special orders regulating the admission of such lunatics not coming under the description of paupers, or prohibiting the admission of such persons.

This Act and the said recited Acts shall be construed together as if one Act.

The superannuation clause is a redeeming one in this Bill, as the absence to the present time of any such provision for so meritorious a class of officers, has been long and justly considered a great grievance. The only suggestion we would venture to make on it, is, that those officers who had served "above twenty years" in the unceasingly onerous and responsible duties of an Asylum, should certainly be given the option of retiring on their well-earned pension, if they pleased, without requiring the preliminary "recommendation of the Inspectors to the Board of Governors" for such, on the plea of "incapability from age, infirmity of mind or body, or otherwise, to discharge the duties of his office." A little more liberality in this respect, would not have deteriorated from the purposes of the measure now under consideration.

The clause making provision for the reception of a class of patients not hitherto contemplated in the District Asylums of Ireland, appears open to many grave objections. Far be it from us to say a word against the relief of those, the subjects of mental derangement, who are neither paupers nor sufficiently in the enjoyment of the means of being placed in a private Asylum. We consider that the case of such unfortunately circumstanced persons is deserving of the utmost amount of sympathy. But to place this class, as is intended, in common with the ordinary inmates of a pauper Asylum, would, in our judgment, be nothing short of a "cruel kindness." If no other plan can be devised, an entirely separate and distinct portion of the District Asylums should be set apart for their care and treatment. Besides, it would lead to endless disturbance and jealousies, to mix up the pay and pauper inmates together. The former, and their friends, would still be soliciting and expecting additional indulgences and attendance—the latter, seeing, or suspecting even, anything of this kind, would not be slow in resenting it, and thus an under-current of dissatisfaction and envious feeling would be constantly at work, which would soon destroy that harmony of action so essential in any public establishment, especially those for the insane. The step, no doubt, is a benevolent one; but we are quite confident a wrong method has been taken to carry it into effect. No element of discord, however remote, should be introduced into the details of our public Asylums. The rights of the pauper insane should not, then, be trifled with, or experimented upon by the Legislature. At present, however, we can say nothing more on this important subject.



## THE "PRIVATE LUNACY COMMITTEE" AND THE COMMISSIONERS IN LUNACY.

WE have received a printed circular, published at the instigation of a "Private Committee," formed to protect the interests of those connected with private asylums for the treatment of the insane. It refers to an official communication made a few months back by the Commissioners in Lunacy to the proprietors of all the private asylums, requesting them to keep at their respective establishments for the inspection of the Commissioners in Lunacy at the time of their visitation, a list of the patients under care and treatment, *stating exactly the amount paid for their board and maintenance!* Before making the slightest comment upon the question at issue, we beg to say that we are in entire ignorance of the gentlemen connected with this "Private Committee," and, in fact, we had no knowledge of its existence, until we received, by post, the printed circular referred to. It would appear that the opinion of Her Majesty's Solicitor-General (Sir R. Bethel) has been taken on the point, and this able and distinguished lawyer is clearly of opinion that the Commissioners in Lunacy, in exacting such a return from the proprietors of private asylums, have exceeded the authority vested in them by the Act of Parliament under which they act. Sir R. Bethel, however, judiciously suggests that those connected with private asylums should respectfully protest against the course which the commissioners have adopted, and leave, for the present, the matter in their hands. We consider this excellent advice, and we hope it will have proper weight with those to whom it is addressed. We have no doubt that the Commissioners in Lunacy will, in deference to the opinions of one of the most accomplished and erudite lawyers of the day, either withdraw their circular altogether, or materially modify its requirements. It is certainly very desirable that the Commissioners should possess the power of ascertaining in certain cases whether a sufficient sum is allowed and appropriated for maintenance and medical care, and to this reasonable power no sensible man can raise an objection; but we must confess we cannot recognise the justice of the attempt to compel every proprietor of an asylum to expose his private pecuniary affairs to the inspection of the Commissioners in Lunacy, or any person deputed by them to officially inspect the private asylums for the insane existing in this country. It has the appearance of being an un-English and inquisitorial mode of procedure, and cannot be otherwise than objectionable to gentlemen of refined and sensitive feelings. We feel satisfied that the Commissioners, in carrying out the provisions of the law, are only influenced by the purest and most honourable intentions, and that they will, in deference to the opinion of the "Private Committee," re-consider their questions at an early meeting of the Board, and will (if they are satisfied that they have inadvertently exceeded the powers legally intrusted to them) at once meet the objections that have been raised, and withdraw the circular which has given such offence. We again state that the Editor of this Journal was not consulted in respect to the formation of this Committee, and does not even know the name of a single individual associated with it.



THE JOURNAL  
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AND  
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OCTOBER 1, 1856.

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Part First.

Original Communications.

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ART. I.—ON MONOMANIA.

It is related that Pinel, on one occasion, took a lady to look over the arrangements of the Salpêtrière. Having passed through several wards, the lady suddenly stopped, and asked where the insane people were, and if she might not be allowed to see them. By this she meant the violent insane; and after visiting them, she would doubtless leave the hospital with the full conviction that there were *two* perfectly distinct forms of insanity at least—an opinion which the most cursory glance at the inmates of any such establishment would tend to corroborate.

This man was yesterday perhaps a man of science, of genius, of extended philanthropy, piety, and benevolence. Look at him, and listen to him now,—his irregular and disorderly actions, his incoherent, perhaps blasphemous words, in which you may nevertheless trace the partial mechanical reproduction of vanishing ideas,—his indiscriminate, aimless violence—all betray a mind utterly overthrown, at war with itself and with the world. This woman was yesterday gentle, modest, affectionate, and fulfilled all the relations of life with prudence and propriety. See the contrast: “her timidity is changed into boldness, her gentleness to ferocity, her conversation consists of abuse, obscenity, and blasphemy; she respects neither the laws of decency nor of humanity; her nudity braves all spectators; and in her blind delirium she menaces her father, strikes her husband, or strangles her child.”\* A little while, and this will have passed away, but to

\* Esquirol.

leave the unhappy victim a wreck, a caricature upon intelligent life. Pass on to another ward, and enter into conversation with that handsome, intelligent-looking grave gentleman in black. He evinces a mind well stored with ancient and modern lore; he can illustrate any subject upon which you enter with the riches of information and fancy; he discusses the current topics of the day—politics, art, or science, with considerable insight into their principles. Perhaps you detect no disorder of mind, until the close of an interesting interview, when, as a secret, he tells you of visions and special revelations from above, relating to some trivial matter of daily life; or he communicates, under strict injunctions not to betray him, his imperial rank, of which his enemies have deprived him; or his superhuman power, which he only refrains from using because of his love for his fellow-creatures. He is Socrates, and can give you most convincing arguments that he is entitled to be alive now; he is Jesus Christ, and is again subjected to the malice of the world; he is Mahomet; he is Napoleon Bonaparte, escaped forty years ago from St. Helena, and has been living here incognito ever since, for fear of re-banishment,—perhaps he retains his youth after all this, because he has discovered the elixir vitæ. Or he has squared the circle, and is imprisoned for envy by men of science; or he has the philosopher's stone, and is confined because of the political and social influence he might exert through its means.

Look again at that decent mechanic: a few weeks ago he was recognised as a hard-working, honest, upright member of society; but one day he seized a fellow-workman by the throat and strangled him. He had no quarrel with him, and liked him very much, he will tell you; but “he was not humble before God, and the blessed Trinity suddenly appeared and told him to kill him.”\* Yet he is mild and amiable in character, and talks with perfect coherence upon all matters within the scope of his intelligence. His neighbour evinces no morbid propensity, save that of setting buildings, &c. on fire. The next has made frequent attempts at suicide, the reasons for which are utterly trivial and futile. That wretched-looking creature in the next room laid violent hands on a favourite child, and then delivered herself up to justice. She did not know why, but the temptation to kill it was irresistible, and she yielded; with the completion of the act her right mind returned, and she became conscious of the crime; no intellectual aberration can be traced.† Here is another, with a look of excitement and importance, who will overwhelm you with a volume of words without connexion; half-formed ideas, causeless and evanescent emotions struggle

\* “Correspondenzblatt,” 1855.

† Vid. Case of H. Cornier.



feebly for expression. He has forgotten the past, feels but imperfectly the present, and thinks not of the future. Lastly, crouching on the ground, or shuffling aimlessly along, is one whose mental development is below that of the beasts that perish. Some of his instincts alone remain, or perhaps these are gone, and nothing remains but vegetative life. Speak to him, and if you attract his attention, the only answer is a vacant stare, or an inarticulate chuckle or cry. Hunger, thirst, heat, or cold, are alike indifferent; the lichen or the sponge have almost as much vitality as he.

Many of these differences are obvious enough, and have been recognised from the earliest times in which mental diseases have been the subject of investigation. Two great forms of insanity have generally been admitted—one in which all the faculties were disordered, and one in which some remained virtually or apparently sound. The earliest classification was equivalent to a division into mania and melancholy;\* by this latter term signifying a delirium or error, partial in its nature and extent. Pinel and Esquirol were the founders of the modern views as to the varieties of insanity. According to them, Idiocy and total Imbecility involve the original absence, or the utter loss of the intellect; Dementia signifies the loss of coherence in the thoughts, with general enfeeblement of the will, the sensibility, *and* the intelligence: Mania, complete perversion of these faculties, generally with exaltation in energy of function; whilst Monomania (here including both Lypomania and Chæromania) signifies a *partial lesion* of the intelligence, *or* the will, *or* the passions. Whilst there is but little difference of opinion on the existence of the first three forms of mental aberration, it is quite otherwise as to the last; and according to the diverse aspects in which the well-marked phenomena have been viewed, and also according to the different preconceived theories as to the absolute and essential constitution of the mind in relation to the unity or diversity of its faculties, widely different have been the opinions expressed upon the nature or existence of Monomania, especially that peculiar and important variety dependent upon lesion of the passions or instincts alone, and called *manie raisonnée*, moral insanity, and insanity without delirium. A dis-

\* Wherever the word "melancholy" is made use of in ancient treatises or observations on insanity, and even in most modern ones, it must be observed that it differs entirely in signification from its social and conventional application. It was, and is yet frequently, used to signify a partial aberration of mind; in many instances, but by no means invariably, attended by depression of spirits. Its etymology is one of the very numerous relics of exploded theories, with which science in general, but ours especially, abounds. In fact, the terminology of mental science is rife with similar instances:—*melancholy* signifying black bile—*folly*, being derived from a word signifying a balloon full of wind—*lunacy* and *mania* both having reference to a lunar origin, &c. &c.

cussion on this subject, involving medico-legal principles of the very highest importance, has been carried on before the "Société Medico-Psychologique" during one entire year, in which the greatest authorities have taken part, in which the most diametrically opposed views have been promulgated, in which learning and candour have both been lavishly expended, yet in which, to use the words of M. Pinel (neveu) "*Chacun est resté avec ses convictions, sans que les arguments et les raisons de ceux qui pensent différemment aient pu le faire changer de manière de voir.*" The conclusion of this long discussion (of which an abstract is contained in the last number of this journal), and the publication of a monograph by the above-named M. Pinel, marked by great ability and research, suggest to us the opportunity of inquiring into this subject (on which we in England are not more united in opinion than our continental brethren, and in reference to which our practice is perhaps still more undecided), and of illustrating it by a few cases on which judgments have recently been pronounced on the continent.

The question hinges upon what is called the "solidarity," the absolute mutual dependence of the faculties of the mind, the oneness of the mind itself. The supporters of the theory of monomania speak of the mind as *compound*, consisting of many distinct faculties or attributes, any one of which may be disordered or subverted independently of the others. The opponents of this theory say that the mind is *one* absolutely, and if deranged, is deranged as a whole; that there may be a *prominent* morbid idea, but that this is only a symptom of a *universal* morbid state. Thus melancholia—which includes melancholia proper, or partial depressive delirium, and chæromania or monomania proper, partial expansive delirium—is described by Pinel as "delirium exclusively on one subject, no propensity to acts of violence, independent of such as may be impressed by a predominant and chimerical idea—*free exercise in other respects of all the faculties* of the understanding." Mania without delirium, "*manie raisonnée*," moral or instinctive insanity, which is essentially included in this question as hypothecating a derangement of *one order only* of faculties, the *affective*, is described by the same writer as involving "no sensible change in the functions of the understanding, but perversion of the active faculties, marked by abstract and sanguinary fury, with a blind propensity to acts of violence."\* It is the existence of this form

\* The opponents of this view either consider all acts of this nature as instances of ungoverned passion; or allowing the insanity, they consider it universal, violence being only the *predominant*, but not the *exclusive* morbid tendency. That many of the faculties of the mind are in what appears to be healthy action, is undeniable; but this fact is accounted for by saying that they are automatically performed.



of monomania which lends a great part of the practical interest to the question, on account of its medico-legal relations. M. Pinel (neveu) says:—"If it is of little consequence, *pathologically* speaking, whether true monomaniacs exist or not, it is otherwise when we examine the question in its relations to jurisprudence; and it is under this point of view that the doctrine merits a serious examination." To illustrate the difference practically between the two contending parties, we suppose that a man commits a murder, and from the utter apparent absence of motive and other circumstances, the question arises as to his sanity. The opponents of the monomania theory examine him. After the most careful investigation, they can detect no present error of *the intellect*, nor any past evidence *save the crime itself*; he is therefore pronounced sane and *criminal*. The supporters of the theory of monomania recognise as an element in their calculations the possibility of a blind impulsive fury arising in an otherwise sane mind, without clear\* warning, and transitory in its nature, passing away with the completion of the act, leaving no trace. The absence of past or present intellectual disorder does not necessarily prove that he was sane at the time of the completion of the crime; and he is not pronounced criminal until after a careful inquiry into all his antecedents, his hereditary tendencies, and his general physiological condition. Esquirol, defining monomania as delirium on *one subject only*, recognises also most fully the disorder of the impulsive faculties without any lesion of the understanding:—"The impulse is sudden, instantaneous, unconsidered, *stronger than the will*; the murder is committed without interest, without motive, most frequently upon those most dear to them."

Such are the opinions held now by one party. Of the other, some object to the word monomania, some to the existence of the thing itself, some to its legal applications; the first class denying that *one* morbid idea ever constitutes the whole affection, suggest the word "Oligomania" instead. The word is not of consequence; but the opinions of the other classes are more important. A few quotations will indicate their view of the question.

M. Moreau says:—"According to the fundamental laws of the intellectual faculties, it is impossible to admit that these faculties can be modified in a partial manner. In the lightest, as in the most severe of these lesions, there is necessarily a *complete metamorphosis*, a radical and absolute transformation of *all the*

\* There is often traceable, (as will be noticed afterwards,) *some* evidence of premonitory disorder, occasionally mental, but more frequently physical, as heat or *boiling* in the head, strange anomalous sensations in the stomach, or bowels, &c., but generally of so slight a kind as only to be remarked upon *after the fact*.

*mental powers* of the 'ME' which combines them."—"In other terms, as we reason, so we rave—a man is mad or *not mad*; he cannot be half or three-quarters insane, deranged in full face or profile." This opinion has the merit of being clear and distinct in its meaning, though, it must be confessed, rather startling.

M. Falret is one of the most uncompromising opponents of the doctrine of monomania. "He has even," says M. Pinel, "in full conclave of the Academy, defied any one to show him a single case." He says somewhat boldly that the believers in the doctrine "*ne savent pas reconnaître le fond malade sur lequel se développent et se perpétuent les idées prédominantes*"—a conclusive statement, though scarcely an argument; and one admitting of no reply.

M. Foville does not deny absolutely the existence of monomania, but limits it extremely. In 1829 he writes thus:—

"Monomania consists in a delirium, partial and circumscribed to a small number of objects. Monomania in its most simple condition is excessively rare; the number of patients who only rave on one subject is *infinitely small* compared to the number of those who are *called* monomaniacs. Under this head are often confounded all those who have some habitual dominant idea. I have only seen two cases which rigorously merited the name; and these two even were affected from time to time with more extended delirium."

In 1834 he expresses himself even more strongly:—

"Let any one examine the hospitals of Paris, of Bicêtre, of Charenton, and he will see that amongst the thousands of insane there is scarcely one *true monomaniac—perhaps not one*. Insanity attacks principally at one time the intellectual, at another the moral or affective faculties, and again the sensations and movements. Each of these may be more or less profoundly affected than the others; and so when the intellect, *without being unaffected*, is less deeply involved than the other faculties, we fall into the error of considering it sound, and calling these monomaniacs. Indeed, it seems to me as though the descriptions of monomania had been written *upon the word*, and not from nature; that is to say, that writers have described what *might* merit the title of monomania, but of which they can find no instance in practice."

These are opinions on monomania in general; but when the question is concerning its criminal relations, the expressions are much stronger. M. Marc relates that on one occasion a magistrate said to him:—"If monomania be a disease, it ought, when it proceeds to capital crimes, to be cured in the 'Place de Grève'—that is, by the guillotine." Another opinion was the following:—"Monomania is a modern resource to screen criminals from the law, or to deprive a citizen of his liberty;—if he is not criminal, then he is mad, and must be sent to an



asylum; or, if he be criminal, he may be preserved from punishment by the same plea."

Sir A. Morison says:—

"Had Oxford, Souchet, Briney, Ovenstone, and others been *punished*, whether by death or otherwise, I leave for others to determine, and cannot help thinking that we should not hear any more of 'irresistible impulse' in the production of crime. There can be no security for life, if the consequences of an act may be evaded by metaphysical conjectures on the strength of morbid impulses, and the impossibility of controlling evil passions. There is not a crime for which, with some show of reason, the excuse might not be made—'I did it because I could not help it.'"

Such are a few of the various opinions entertained as to the existence and nature of monomania. But the differences do not end here. Even among those who admit the affection, there is much diversity as to the amount of responsibility involved in any crime committed by persons so affected. Some consider that a well-ascertained insane idea absolves the subject of it from all *legal* responsibility; others, that the act must be within the province of the delusion; others, again, that even well-marked mania is not always a protection.\* M. Delasiauve says that the incompatibility of moral liberty with a morbid state of mind is *not* absolute; and that they labour under a profound error who consider that all partial delirium implies necessarily the loss of free will, and base upon this circumstance their distinctions relative to legal responsibility. M. Gerdy rather amusingly attempts to cut the knot. He is—

"Astonished that men should introduce every moment *free will* into human action. Man is only perfectly *free* in indifferent matters! when his appetites, his interests, or his passions are in question, *liberty* is an empty word. What signifies the moral liberty of a robber who does not put his project in execution because he sees a policeman's hat? It is worth as much as that of the fox which does not attack the hen-roost because he sees the dog watching him."

As the subject of criminal responsibility will be fully treated in another place, we do not propose to discuss it here,† but

\* See Dr. Damerow's opinions in the "foreign abstract" of last number.

† The following passages from M. Pinel's work claim attention, to render the subject more complete, and to give a fuller exposition of the diverse opinions entertained on so important a subject:—

"It is highly necessary to inquire, in those cases where the insanity assumes an intermittent form, if the individual possesses in the intervals entire command of the faculties, and enjoys *moral liberty*; if he is, in consequence, responsible. Indubitably, we cannot be too cautious in pronouncing upon such cases. Wherever well-defined alienation has preceded a criminal act, we ought to entertain at least the presumption of feebleness of free-will."—"De la Monomanie," p. 60.

"If we wish," says M. Pinel (the elder), "to interrogate the insane upon their condition, in general they elude our questions, or take refuge in obstinate reticence,

inquire briefly into the *nature* of the affections comprehended under the names of Melancholia or Lypomania, Chæromania, or partial expansive delirium, monomania, mania without delirium, moral or impulsive insanity—all expressive of a disorder of some *one* faculty or order of faculties, whilst the others *practically* continue sound.

The differences of opinion on this subject seem to have arisen from the opposed methods of investigation made use of by the different observers. By some the strictly inductive method has been applied,—facts and phenomena have been carefully collated and analysed, and the results have been combined to construct a theory, or rather a formula; since the name given is rather a brief statement of the facts, than a theory to account for them. Hence, when a number of cases have been carefully analysed, in which the passions or appetites have been *morbidly* affected, whilst the intellectual faculties have been *apparently* quite unaffected; or *vice versâ*, one of the intellectual manifestations has been observed to be uniformly in error, whilst the rest, and the volitional and moral faculties, have been *apparently* sound—

or they will answer perversely; it is only by studying their conversation and conduct for many months, by gaining their confidence, and inviting them to unburden themselves, that we can succeed in unveiling their most secret thoughts.”—*Traité sur l'Aliénation*, p. 58.

“It is truly distressing, and most astonishing, to see men, distinguished even for learning and prudence, attempt to support doctrines only founded upon erroneous theory, and opposed to the results of numerous and incontestable observations. It is, indeed, inconceivable that persons unacquainted with mental medicine or science, the study of which offers such difficulties, even to those who devote a life to it, will pronounce upon, and explain theoretically, and without ever having observed the insane, questions purely pathological.”

“The alienists of all countries protest energetically against this illogical judgment of philosophers and lawyers upon a science of which they know not even the first elements.”

“We have observed with pleasure that Dr. Forbes Winslow has entered a powerful protest against pretensions so unfounded, and especially against the opinion of certain English jurisconsults, who refused to recognise that partial insanity ought to involve irresponsibility. He writes with a just indignation:—

“Partial insanity no valid excuse, no extenuation for crime! Partial insanity no plea, no justification in criminal cases! How monstrously unphilosophical, how wildly fallacious, how opposed to positive facts, how absurdly illogical, how grossly unjust, how repulsive, how abhorrent to every right-thinking, to every humane mind, and to every Christian and philanthropic heart! Apply this judicial, antiquated, and absurd dogma to the great mass of miserable and irresponsible lunatics at this moment legally in confinement, and two-thirds of them would be immediately made amenable to the law for their conduct! If partial insanity can be clearly established, who would be bold enough to declare or define the precise limits of the disease, or to sketch the boundary line separating a responsible from an irresponsible state of mind?”—*Journal of Psychological Medicine*, July, 1854.

“On the contrary, we have seen with pain that Dr. Mayo, a distinguished alienist of Great Britain, does not coincide in the opinion of almost all those who have devoted themselves to a study of mental pathology. The number for April, 1854, of the journal directed by Dr. Winslow, contains a very just criticism upon his doctrine.”—*De la Monomanie*, par M. Pinel, neuveu, p. 61.



these have been called cases of monomania. On the other hand; the opponents of this theory have attempted the *à priori* system of investigation, and have reasoned from assumed cause to effect. They set out with the hypothesis, that the mind is *one and indivisible* (which may be very true); and that its faculties are absolutely mutually dependent (which seems to admit of doubt); and, therefore, that one faculty can *only* be perturbed by the whole mind being subjected to the disorder, (which appears to be contrary to observed facts.) So far it is only theory; but the converse practical application is more serious. The former party acknowledge that the instincts and impulses may be even criminally excited whilst the *mind* remains sound, and the subject be consequently considered irresponsible; whilst the latter, in the absence of any indication of a fundamental intellectual malady, consider these manifestations to be mere passion, and, therefore, criminal.

A few illustrations will serve to render the examination of these conflicting views more practicable.

For our purposes it may be sufficiently accurate to say, that the psychical manifestations of man develop themselves under the forms of understanding (or reason), volition, emotion, and instinct (including appetites, &c.). Each one of these may be the subject of *exclusive* disorder, according to some, of *predominant* disorder, according to others.

The understanding manifests itself in a variety of ways, (and this involves no theory,) as perception, conception, attention, memory, comparison, imagination, judgment, and others.

For purposes of illustration, we first select perception, which is universally recognised as a *mode of operation* of the mind. Now this class of phenomena require special organs for their manifestation, and we recognise the possibility of one or more of the divisions being entirely wanting, as the sight or hearing, without the mind being radically affected. But as that may be considered dependent only on physical conditions, we must inquire further into the general and universal perception. It is not necessary to do more than allude to those instances in which the senses are strong to the utmost point of refinement, or blunted almost to inertness; without the judgment being increased in the one case, or the imagination dimmed in the other—though these facts speak volumes against the “solidarity” of the mind, or the absolute mutual dependence of the faculties. But how does perception comport itself under *abnormal* circumstances?

The senses (on which perception is dependent) are subject to *illusions* and *hallucinations*. Selecting the latter for investigation, as less evidently dependent upon the *organs* themselves;

we find—1. That they may exist independent of any mental derangement; 2. That they may be *one* symptom of such derangement, coexistent with many others; and 3. That they may *be*, or *constitute*, such derangement, the entire of the other mental phenomena being duly and healthily developed, so far as any known means of discovery serve.

Of the first position, two very striking instances are on record illustrating the persistence of all the reasoning faculties, whilst perception (or conception) was for the time utterly perverted. The first occurred in the person of Nicolai of Berlin, who relates himself how on one occasion, when suffering from mental agitation, he saw the figure of a deceased person standing in the room. He was naturally alarmed, and went into another apartment, where the figure followed him. By-and-bye, other figures appeared walking about, some of dead persons, but the greater number of the living; sometimes people of his acquaintance, but generally strangers. After some time they spoke, "either to one another, or to him. Their speeches were short, and never disagreeable." He saw them for two months, at home and abroad, in great numbers, even crowds; and whether his eyes were open or shut. He never from the first believed in the reality of these images. He could always distinguish the phantom from the reality, though the former had every semblance of the latter. "I knew extremely well," he says, "when the door only appeared to open, and a phantom entered, and when it really did open, and a real person came in." The calmness with which these *spectra* were observed, and the philosophic analysis of the laws of their appearance, and the ever distinct recognition of their unreal but *subjective* nature, are all very instructive, and indicate clearly that one faculty may be disordered, yet the others be lucid and acutely analytic.

Dr. Bostock refers to this case in his "Physiology," and recounts his own experience of something similar, when labouring under febrile symptoms and great debility, though, as he states, entirely "free from delirium."

"After having passed a sleepless night, I first perceived figures presenting themselves before me, which I immediately recognised as similar to those described by Nicolai; and upon which, as I was free from delirium, and as they were visible for three days and three nights, with little intermission, I was able to make any observations."

These spectra, unlike those of Nicolai, always followed the motions of the eyeball; and the most distinct of them were figures with which he had no acquaintance. Then followed a succession of images on a small scale, as it might be medallions, of objects or faces entirely unknown.



"During all this succession of scenery, I do not recollect that, in a single instance, I saw any object with which I had been previously acquainted; nor, as far as I am aware, were the representations of any of those objects, with which my mind was most occupied at other times, presented to me. They appeared to be new creations, or at least new combinations, of which I could not trace the original materials."

Not long ago a little boy, about six years of age, described to us, how he could not fall asleep at night, because he saw "lamps and sparks," and sometimes "faces looking in at the door." He was not alarmed. These were the consequences of a transient disorder, and completely passed away. The other senses are liable to be similarly affected. All these are instances of morbid perceptions, and perception is a mental faculty;—yet it would be an entirely gratuitous assumption, and one subversive of all useful generalisation, to hypothecate a fundamental derangement of the whole mind.

2. Hallucination, as one of many symptoms of insanity, is too frequent and well recognised to require much comment. The insane see visions, and hear voices, through which they live in a world quite apart from their fellows, and under the influence of which it is that most of their acts of violence are committed. A voice says "kill," and they obey blindly, impulsively. This form of hallucination most frequently attends the moral, instinctive, or impulsive alienation. Numbers of reports testify to the apparent soundness of the intellectual faculties, in cases where motiveless murders have been committed in obedience to a voice heard commanding the act. Doubtless, however, here, the intellect which acts upon this hallucination must be deranged in itself.

Some time ago, a gentleman was temporarily under our care, who had a strong tendency to mental disorder. At that time it was evidenced only by the idea, that all the company in which he happened to be at any time was laughing at him. Otherwise, the ideas were vigorous, and the thoughts deep and active. Very soon after, he became maniacal, and was confined for some months. As the extreme violence and delirium diminished, he obtained some knowledge of his situation, and actually simulated calmness so well, as to be set at liberty, under surveillance of a brother. His very first act was to contrive some means of temporary separation from his companion, and to blow his own brains out in the public road.

3. Hallucinations, *with a belief in their reality*, sometimes constitute the entire detectible derangement of the mental faculties. Nicolai and Bostock were sane—they knew perfectly well that their spectra were all *subjective*. M. Berbiguière, the author of "*Les Farfadets*," *the Goblins*, was insane: he had hallucinations, and believed in them; his imagination was so struck with

the idea of goblins, that he saw them everywhere. He himself published an account of them in three large volumes. No mischief occurs but by means of these goblins—they interfere with his stable—they make his chimney smoke—they stop his watch—they make him sneeze. It is the goblins that cause bad weather—without them there would be neither hail, rain, nor thunder. We are deceived as to the causes of sudden death; we talk of apoplexy and the like; no such thing! it is the goblins that strangle them. The goblins put stumbling-blocks before people to trip them up—they are the cause also of many pregnancies in girls, whom others ignorantly suppose to have been seduced.

M. Berbiguière confesses that, sometimes these goblins occupy him so much that his *ideas become confused*. M. Baillarger has some pertinent comments on this case.

“If monomania must always be strictly limited to one false idea, assuredly Berbiguière was far from being a monomaniac. Yet the author of ‘The Goblins’ was assuredly neither a maniac nor an imbecile. There was no slowness nor prostration of faculties; on the contrary, he was an active and intelligent man, with *no incoherence* in his ideas. *Aussi a-t-il pu rédiger un ouvrage de longue haleine, et le faire imprimer.*”

We have dwelt thus at length upon disorders of perception, as affording an illustration of the independence of the *elementary* faculties. Nor is this inquiry useless; for upon such hinges the entire question of the *solidarity* of the mind. If one faculty, or one class of intellectual faculties may be deranged, leaving the others intact; we cannot deny the possibility that those of passion or volition may in like manner be affected, the intellect remaining perfectly sound, its exercise overpowered or remaining in abeyance.

Disorders of subjective sensation afford additional argument for the comparative independence of the faculties. Cases of hypochondria are very frequent where the person is convinced that something living is in the body; yet he is fully competent to the discharge of all the duties of life. A very striking instance is given by Dr. Prichard, from Jacobi.

“A man, in other respects rational, of quiet and discreet habits, laboured under the impression that a person was concealed in his belly, with whom he held frequent conversations. He often perceived the absurdity of this idea, and grieved in acknowledging and reflecting that he was under the influence of so groundless a persuasion, but could never get rid of it. It was very curious to observe how, when he had but an instant before cried ‘What nonsense! is it not intolerable to be so deluded?’—and while the tears that accompanied those exclamations were yet in his eyes, he again began to talk, apparently



with entire conviction, about the whisperings of the person in his belly."

To the same class belong those more rare cases where a man fancies himself a bottle, a crown-piece, a barrel, or anything equally absurd, or fancies that his legs are made of glass or butter. Sensation is impaired, comparison and judgment are inefficient on this one subject to correct the impression; yet all this does not prevent the individual from acting in other respects like a perfectly rational being, and fulfilling every relation of life in the most exemplary manner.

So far, then, as regards the elementary faculties, the question seems tolerably clear, without entering even upon an important branch of evidence derived from the over- or under-development of the various faculties in reference one to the other; where perception or memory, for instance, may be preternaturally acute and tenacious, whilst comparison or judgment may be almost reduced to inactivity.\*

When, leaving perceptions and sensations, the derangement has reference to the reception of a morbid *composite* dominant idea into the mind, the question becomes by so much the more complex, as there are different elements in this idea; and for the soundness of the remaining faculties, viz. those not involved in the erroneous conception, we have to trust to our own powers of investigation, or to those of others, rather than clear obvious

\* Striking instances present themselves constantly of excessive or deficient development of single faculties, without the others being in any way affected. Frequently, also, certain parts or *conditions* of a faculty are hypertrophied, if we may use the expression, the rest remaining normal. Thus in memory, one person may have an almost preternatural memory for words, for numbers, for places, or for persons exclusively, the faculty being almost *nil* in regard to the others. We are acquainted with a gentleman who will play over an elaborate piece of music, which will from that time be fixed in his mind; yet if he hears a sentence of twenty words, his utmost efforts would probably be insufficient to prevent half as many blunders in its repetition. After certain fevers, also, some branches of knowledge pass entirely from the mind, either temporarily or permanently, yet leaving the basis of the intellectual powers perfectly intact. Many interesting illustrations of this, and allied facts, are given by Sir A. Morison, in his *Lectures on Insanity*.

Imagination is another faculty which affords strong illustration of the independence of the various manifestations of mind. How frequently is this developed most vividly, even morbidly; where judgment, combination, memory, and reason in general, are even below the average. How frequently is it entirely wanting, or apparently so, when the mind is sound and active in every other respect. But to multiply instances would be endless, as the point of biography in general depends upon the predominance of certain faculties over others.

But more closely connected with our present purpose is the inverse ratio so frequently observed to exist between the development of the intellectual and the moral nature. Of this, a most striking instance is related in the *Memoirs of the Duc de Sully*, concerning the celebrated Servin, in whom intellect appears to have been carried to the extreme of cultivation and refinement; whilst morally he was "treacherous, cruel, cowardly, deceitful, a liar, a cheat, a drunkard, and a glutton; a sharper, a blasphemer, an atheist; in a word, an illustration of all the vices that are contrary to nature, honour, religion, and society."

induction. We select for illustration two cases in which the ideas were very persistent, and the intellect in other respects *apparently* very clear.

M. Trélat, at the Bicêtre, had under his care a patient whose life was devoted to the discovery of perpetual motion. After vainly striving against this conception, M. Trélat thought that perhaps the great authority of M. Arago might have happy results upon the patient. Arago, after being assured that insanity was not contagious, accepted the commission to combat the morbid idea. He and M. Humboldt had an interview with the individual, who on being assured that his idea was a delusion, burst into tears, lamenting the loss of his error. Scarcely, however, had he left their presence, than turning to the physician he said, "C'est égal, M. Arago se trompe, et moi seul ai raison."

The next case is one of a singular nature, related by M. Esquirol. Mademoiselle F., the subject of the affection, was accustomed to visit frequently an aunt. One day on leaving the house she manifested some inquietude lest she should unwittingly have carried off in her reticule some *object of value* belonging to her aunt. This became henceforth her dominant idea—she could not touch anything, especially money, lest *something of value* should adhere to her. It was in vain to represent to her that she could not retain a piece of money without its being perceived. "That is true," she would say, "my uneasiness is absurd and ridiculous, but I cannot rid myself of it." If her hands touched anything, she acquired the habit of rubbing them assiduously, lest *anything of value* should adhere to them. If her dress rubbed against anything, it was carefully shaken and examined, lest *something of value* should be hid in the folds. Before sitting down, she examined carefully the seat—if it was loose, she shook it herself, lest *anything of value* might adhere to her dress from it. Sometimes her fears arose to such a pitch that she dare not touch anything whatever, and her attendant had to put her food into her mouth. Her toilette lasted from one and a half to three hours, so careful was she to examine every article of dress, to rub every part of the body, and to comb out almost every hair, lest anywhere should lurk *something of value*. The same minutiae are observed in every action of the day. M. Esquirol observes:

"She does not rave, there is no incoherence—she knows her condition, recognises the absurdity of her apprehensions and her precautions—she laughs at them, sighs and weeps over them; not only does she make efforts to overcome them, but points out the means, often disagreeable ones, by which she thinks it probable her fears may be quieted. She is witty, intellectual, and in good health. It would be



impossible at any time to detect the least disorder of the sensations, reason, or emotions of this interesting patient."

In such a case it would be entirely gratuitous to assert that there was a fundamental aberration of the whole mind, but that M. Esquirol was not sufficiently acute to detect it.

M. Pinel (neveu) relates the case of the Marquis X., who has been monomaniacal for thirty years. He seems to have but one erroneous idea, viz., that he is destined to the throne of England.

The same writer says:—

"A distinguished literary character, affected by a very circumscribed monomania, with hallucinations, has lived twenty years without his malady altering in the least; he believes that by the aid of magnetism his enemies are drying his brain. During many years' sojourn in my establishment, he had written a work, and his conversation was perfectly sane, so long as the subject was not magnetism, or some of his former friends."

Such are a few of the innumerable forms in which the intellect may be partially affected; but monomania, in the great preponderance of cases, affects the emotions, instincts, or impulses.

"Under the influence of an illusion, or an hallucination, of a sensation in the stomach, of a bitter taste, of a strong odour; at the sight of a white powder, of a book on the subject of poisons, the idea of murder or poisoning arises suddenly. The hearing of a sermon, where perdition and hell are painted in frightful colours, striking the imagination of the credulous and fearful, causes them to believe themselves eternally lost. The news of a revolution, or of a political persecution, the loss of a trial, a hazardous speculation, reverses of fortune, by exciting great perplexity, suggest the idea of spies, of arrests, of ruin, of misery: the unexpected death of some dear friend or relative, producing the most profound grief, suggests ideas of murder or suicide, which last for years before they are yielded to: imprudent words, or a light and inconsiderate conduct, provoke the idea of treason, of which the consequences may be fatal. The reading of romances, sentimental conversations, voluptuous images, the too frequent association of the sexes, by exalting the imagination, are the origin of fixed ideas, which terminate in erotomania. By reading medical works, the idea may be engendered of a fearful disease, slowly destroying life. This thought occupies the mind fully, and terminates in hypochondriacal monomania. The exclusive idea of revisiting the native country, is the prelude of nostalgic monomania."—(Pinel, "De la Monomanie.")

"The *irresistibility* of certain acts, their spontaneity, the impotency of the will, are incontestable facts. In some cases the patients present no appreciable alteration of the intelligence or the affections; they are driven by a blind instinct, by something indefinable, by an irresistible power."

M. Brierre de Boismont, the last-quoted writer, seems *now* to hold opinions practically at variance with these, as he is a firm believer in the *solidarity* of the faculties, and even believes that those men who have any one passion strongly excited, must necessarily feel the physical, moral, and intellectual nature thereby disordered. It is somewhat singular that two of his illustrations of this position should be two men, who assuredly had at least *some* faculties in the highest and clearest state of activity—Rembrandt and Molière. There are many forms in which partial, moral, or impulsive alienation of mind manifests itself. We must content ourselves with indicating briefly the types, for the present referring our readers for illustrations to systematic works on the subject.

1. *Theomania*, or religious delusion. The subject conceives himself to be in a special manner the object of divine favour, or wrath. Religious ecstasy or terror take complete possession of him : he has visions of angels or of the Trinity ; he hears voices which command him to offer a human sacrifice, and he kills those who are nearest and dearest to him. Or it assumes a purely melancholy aspect, under the idea of final perdition. This is a very obstinate form of the affection.

2. *Demonomania*.—Two affections have been noticed under this name—one a true mania, the subjects of which were called Demoniacs ; the other a monomania, in which the patients had the idea that they were possessed with a devil, and would use the most grotesque means to expel him ; in other respects being apparently sane.

3. *Pantophobia*.—The subject of this form has the free exercise of reason in some respects, but is in a state of perpetual terror. He will take no food, lest it should be poison : every one whom he meets is an enemy watching him ; every natural occurrence is an omen, &c. &c.

4. *Hypochondriacal Monomania*.—The varieties of the form are innumerable, all having reference to the physical or functional condition of the body. The sufferer labours under a fearful, an incurable affection ; he has living creatures in his stomach, heart, or head ; every sensation is connected with danger or approaching dissolution ; or he is dead, or his sex changed, or he is some other animal. This last delusion has been classed by itself as Zoanthropia. Some interesting instances are recorded in Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy."

5. *Erotomania*, or Love Madness.—This is a *sentimental* affection, as distinguished from the *physical* disorders known as Satyriasis and Nymphomania. It appears to have but little connexion essentially with sexual sensations. The mind is perpetually fixed upon one object ; in its pursuit everything else is



disregarded ; blows, ill-treatment, and neglect are all inefficient to cure the propensity. It gives rise to fearful jealousy, which may cause homicide. It most frequently terminates in suicide or general paralysis, and, next to Theomania, is the most obstinate of these affections. A very interesting case is related in the "Correspondenz-blatt" for February 29, 1856.

6. *Dipsomania*.—A maniacal insuperable tendency to the abuse of alcoholic liquors, very frequently accompanied by intense horror of the practice, but inability to conquer it. It is to be distinguished from mere drunkenness. M. Esquirol observes:—"Si l'abus de liqueurs alcooliques est un effet de l'abrutissement de l'esprit, des vices de l'éducation, des mauvais exemples, il y a quelquefois un *entraînement maladif* qui porte certains individus à abuser des boissons fermentées. Il est des cas dans lesquels l'ivresse est l'effet du trouble accidentel de la sensibilité physique et morale, qui ne laisse plus à l'homme sa liberté d'action." A medico-legal inquiry into a case of this nature, when the intellectual faculties were perfectly sound, will be found quoted from Dr. Eulenberg, of Coblenz, in the "Annales Medico-psychologiques" for January, 1856. It is an extremely obstinate affection.

7. *Pyromania*.—A morbid disposition of mind, leading to acts of incendiarism without any motive. This may be either impulsive or reasoning. It occurs chiefly, but not exclusively, in young people. M. Marc gives many instructive cases, and Dr. Fritsch, of Rössel, in Prussia, relates a case which became the subject of medico-legal investigation, in the "Correspondenz-blatt" for September, 1855, in which he gave the opinion that the boy was not mentally deranged, and consequently responsible. The question has frequently been brought before our courts of justice of late years, with varying results. This form is not so difficult of cure as some others.

8. *Kleptomania*.—A propensity to steal in an absurd and motiveless manner. A gentleman confessed to his spiritual director that in spite of all efforts he could not resist the tendency to appropriate what was not his own. The priest having permitted him to steal, under the condition that he *always returned the articles*, he was quite content, picked the priest's pocket of his watch during confession, and returned it immediately afterwards. Some most interesting cases clearly connected with morbid excitement are related by M. Renaudin in the "Annales Med.-psy." for April, 1855.

9. *Suicidal Monomania*.—Many forms of mental derangement are accompanied by a tendency to suicide: in some this morbid propensity seems to exist almost without any other delirium. This is also sometimes impulsive, sometimes reasoning,

but very frequently imitative.\* It often accompanies the homicidal variety. The curability of this affection, when well established, is always subject to doubt; as, from various well-authenticated cases, there seems to be no limit to the period of time which may elapse in apparent soundness; and yet the propensity may return, and the act be finally accomplished. It occurs most frequently in adults, but sometimes in children of the tenderest years, illustrations of which may be found in our "Foreign Abstract" for April. Interesting details and cases are also contained in Dr. Winslow's work on the "Anatomy of Suicide."

10. *Homicidal Monomania*, manie sans délire, manie raisonnée, fureur maniaque, moral and impulsive insanity.—Such are some of the names given to a most important affection, under the influence of which a person, in whose intellect no flaw or imperfection can be discovered, may be suddenly urged on to commit murder unpremeditated and motiveless, and be considered irresponsible according to law, because of unsoundness of mind. Here it is that the two parties above alluded to are most completely at issue; and it is probably from unwillingness to admit this form of mania, that the *independence* of the faculties of the mind (from which the existence of such a form is logically deducible) has been so strenuously denied, and the theory of "solidarity" invented. It must be confessed that both these views have difficulties of no ordinary weight attached to their reception; for whilst the adhesion to the one would have a tendency, if not applied with extreme caution, to shield criminals from punishment adequate to the crime, the adoption of the other would frequently lead to the execution of irresponsible beings. No question in the range of science can be of more importance than this—none more difficult—none requiring in each individual case more caution, knowledge, and acuteness in its determination. No wonder that some are disposed to cut so gordian a knot by the assertion that such cases are impossible.

M. Esquirol seemed in 1818 to believe that in *all cases* of homicidal mania there was some detectible trouble of the intelligence. In 1838 he corrects the opinion as follows:—

"Since that period (1818) *I have seen* mania without delirium, and I must submit to the authority of facts. The following observations demonstrate that if the insane, deceived by delirium, by hallucinations, or by illusions, kill; that if the insane, affected by *reasoning madness*, kill, after having premeditated and reasoned upon the homicide they were about to commit: there are others, monomaniacs, who kill by a blind instinctive impulse—they act without consciousness (*sans conscience*), without passion, without delirium, without motive;

\* Vid. Art. on "Mor. and Crim. Epidemics."—April.



—they kill by a blind, instantaneous impulsion, independent of their will.”

There are many varieties of manifestation of this tendency : some are influenced by chimerical and irrational motives ; some have no motive at all, but feel impelled to commit the act of violence, against which they continually, and sometimes effectually, struggle. Conscious of their excited condition, they beg to be confined, or they implore the object of their blind fury to leave them. Some again, act suddenly, instantaneously ; the will being overpowered by the impulse. There is no interest, no motive ; most frequently the person killed is a child, or one most loved.

M. Esquirol concludes, 1. “That there is a homicidal monomania, sometimes accompanied by intellectual, sometimes by emotional disorder ; sometimes by impotency of the will, which deprives the man of moral liberty.”

2. “That there are signs which characterise this species of madness, and which, at least in the majority of cases, serve to distinguish insanity from criminality.” The circumstances to be considered in forming a judgment on such cases are those preceding, during, and after the commission of the act. The constitution must be taken into account as to excitability ; the habits of life as to peculiarity or eccentricity—something of this will often be found. The hereditary relations must be inquired into for traces of insanity. Those subject to this affection are generally found to have been of mild and amiable dispositions, and of religious impressions ; but for some time, slight changes will have been remarked. The act may be coincident with puberty, or some physical irritation. Often preceding it, there may be traced headaches, and undefined disorders of sensation in the bowels and other parts. The crime may again be distinctly traceable to imitation, as before remarked.

At the time of the act, the differences between the criminal and the maniac are very strongly marked. The former kills from motive or interest, those who oppose his schemes, or whom he dislikes ; the latter kills, without motive, those who are dearest to him. After the deed, the criminal flies, conceals himself, denies the fact, professes insanity sometimes, and adopts every conceivable method to screen himself. Nothing can be more opposite than the conduct of the monomaniac—he completes his murder, and the orgasm has passed away ; he remains by his victim, and gives full details of the murder, aimless and motiveless.

Often the consciousness of the enormity of the act comes upon him with such force, that he attempts suicide, or delivers himself up to the hands of justice, imploring that he may be put to

death, to escape from his despair. A careful and conscientious examination of circumstances like these would generally conduct to a correct judgment. The question at issue between the opposed parties on the subject of monomania, is as to whether these cases are instances of true derangement, or (in the absence of any detectible intellectual disorder) of mere unbridled passion and *unresisted*, but not *irresistible* impulse; and hinges upon the *independence*, or the "*solidarity*," of the faculties of the mind.

We have found strong reasons for believing that the *elementary* faculties, at least, are in great measure independent of each other, in their *normal* condition. That A may be developed to the highest point, whilst B and C are almost non-existent; and that any one may be excited by casual circumstances whilst the rest remain unaffected. And as a considerable proportion of pathological changes are only permanent and exaggerated conditions of physiological states, it is reasonable to suppose that one of these faculties may be even morbidly modified, all the others remaining sound.

Observation and analogy alike inform us that the same holds good in the more complex operations of the mind, such as those involved in the ideas of relation, judgment, &c. Whether it is the same with regard to the *active faculties*, must be decided in some measure by observation, although analogy seems very explicit on the point. Now the most careful observers say that these are as independent as the former; and it must be remembered that our knowledge of mental phenomena is derived exclusively from observation. We have no *à priori* information on these subjects; the independence, and the solidarity of the faculties are alike theoretic, if not supported by observation. If, therefore, it is shown on good authority that one class of faculties, for instance the moral, are disordered, whilst the intellectual faculties remain sound, and that crimes are committed under morbid excitement of the impulses or instincts, which overpower and annihilate volition, whilst at other times no psychical aberration can be detected, we are compelled to believe in the independence of the faculties, unless we discredit the evidence. It is certainly possible to object, as does M. Falret, that there is a fundamental morbid change in the entire mind, but that the observers have not been acute or careful enough to detect it. To this there is no reply, as it would be a gratuitous assumption, and one of a nature to subvert all scientific evidence.

In conclusion we feel justified in believing:—

1. That the mental faculties are *virtually* independent, though very closely connected, functionally, in their normal condition.



2. That they may be morbidly affected, partially, or separately; one faculty being exaggerated, weakened, or perverted, whilst the others remain sound.

3. That such partial affection may constitute a disease properly enough termed monomania, or Oligomania, which may affect exclusively the intellect, the will, the appetites, or the passions, and that such cases are frequently met with.

4. That this disease is not a *period* of the more extended manias; but inasmuch as the connexion between the faculties is so close and constant, when one or a few have been disordered for some time, the delirium frequently, though by no means invariably, becomes extended, and the mania becomes general.

5. That crimes are committed of a serious nature under these conditions, for which the individual ought to be considered totally irresponsible; he being moved by the *same* unconscious and ungovernable impulse that many animals manifest under the stimulus of certain colours, odours, &c.

6. That motiveless, aimless, unnatural and anomalous crimes should always be carefully examined, as probably belonging to this class.

7. That much precaution is necessary in acknowledging the cure of any monomaniac once guilty of incendiarism, attempts at suicide, or homicide—though it is possible that such cure may in certain cases be complete.

The social relations of monomania, together with remarks on the diagnosis, prognosis and treatment, we defer for the present, our limits compelling us to pause.\*

## ART. II.—WOMAN IN HER SOCIAL RELATIONS, PAST AND PRESENT.

IN an early number of this Journal, woman was considered psychologically; let us now shortly view her in her social and political relations. The student of history, when once his attention is called to the fact, must regard with some surprise the scanty mention made of the female sex in those annals which profess to treat of the birth and growth of the nations of the earth. Where history merges into the golden land of fable, he will indeed find women playing a conspicuous and important part in the affairs of life; it was for a woman that Troy was ten years besieged by all the myrmidons of assembled Greece; in the quarrel caused by a woman that the fields of upper air resounded with the conflict of angry deities, while Scamander flowed

\* The Editor of the "Psychological Journal" does not hold himself responsible for all the opinions expressed in this article.

purple with the blood of heroes. It was for wrong done to a woman that Tarquin and his race were expelled the Roman throne ; it was a woman who rallied the energies of Britain, and vanquished the descendants of Brutus, at what is now our modern town of Colchester, till forced to yield herself in a less victorious field. But lower down the stream of each nation's life, the traces of women so utterly disappear, that the student is tempted to ask himself whether there really were any wives, mothers, and maidens, in those days, bearing the same equal numerical proportion to husbands, fathers, and youths, as they do at the present day ; or whether armed men did not rather spring full panoplied from the blood of fallen warriors, to hate, to fight, and to destroy, to make experiments in legislation, and to matriculate in various forms of legal and illegal murder, till they too gave place to the generation which should succeed and do likewise.

In no book is this utter absence of the female element more strangely noticeable than in the most erudite and philosophical production of late years—Mr. Grote's "*History of Greece*." In twelve thick volumes, containing the result of the labour of a life, full of carefully arranged information concerning the most fruitful epochs of ancient time—the years in which not only politics, but literature and the arts attained a development to which we may well question ourselves if our own be indeed superior, we find no more mention of women than that Sappho had a great gift of song, that Socrates was afflicted by a cross wife, and that Pericles rejoiced in the love of that one woman of old Athenian days, whose majestic and beautiful image stands out all the more prominently from the field of ancient history, because it is so solitary, so entirely unique. Then how many pages of Gibbon or of Hume may the reader devour, asking vainly, "Were there any women ; what did they do, what did they say ?" This one perhaps, went to rescue her husband from prison, or that one died a martyr, or a third held gallantly her lord's castle against the besiegers, till he could hasten back to the rescue from some distant war. Of the first eight centuries A.D., we chiefly learn that Alfred's mother taught him to read, and that Christianity was welcomed into England by "a Queen of Kent," witness any number of cartoons by ambitious British artists. In France we have Brunhilda, wife to Sigebert (575), and the queen of Charlemagne, that fair Fastrada, for whom he mourned with such inconsolable bitterness ; but here we trench once more upon the world of fiction, for the story runs off into magic rings and such veracious ornaments of history. As to Haroun al Raschid, the third in the illustrious trio of monarchs who ennobled the ninth century, his very name is



synonymous with all manner of wild and witty fable, and whatever were the accredited exploits of that great hero of eastern romance, even Professor Smyth could not have extracted a single golden grain of truth from the chronicles in which

“The tide of time flow’d back with me,  
The forward flowing tide of time:  
For it was in the golden prime  
Of good Haroun al Raschid.”

Yet through all these centuries before and after Christ, the human race was, as now, wrought up of two inseparable elements: “male and female created He them,” and the influence of the woman penetrated subtly into every cranny of the social edifice. The religious ideas of each age were fostered and diffused by women as surely as they are at the present day;—the morals of the time were such as their education, their consent, allowed in practice;—the universal ideal of the nation could be neither higher nor lower than the level of that all-pervading, all-influential body of female opinion. A moment’s thought will show this: no idea could prevail in a society, were it in every household a matter of question and disunion; the women must either oppose or succumb to any given dogma, large or small. If they oppose, they ultimately modify; if they succumb, they enforce it with the weight of prejudice added to that of reason. Whether it be by dint of beauty, of tears, or of *finesse*, the uncultivated woman is equal in fact to the uncultivated man: if he loves her, she sways him; if he beats her, she conspires against him; if he denies her a voice in the council, she takes care to exercise it at home. If he misuse her fine nature, he finds that he has created for himself a torment more intense, because nearer, than any other can be; his wine is turned into vinegar, his roses are changed into scorpion’s tongues, so that the silence of history in reference to women, while it is amply significant of the public estimation in which they were held at any given epoch, is in no wise significant of that natural and indestructible balance which the Creator made when He “formed man in His own image, male and female created He them.”

We are therefore cast back upon those traditions which we have before alluded to as flowing down to us from the hidden sources of history proper, through many a picturesque and winding way; and these, however little they may represent the outward fact, do in reality contain the very kernel of the past life of a nation, giving at least the ideal to which it was directed, clothed in the costume and surrounded by the accessories of those historical epochs in which the traditions developed. As we ascend into the heroic age, and ask of the legend, the epic, and

the drama, what manner of men the primeval epoch bore, we find the two sexes playing nearly equal parts in the game of existence ; a grand heroic game as it is painted ! It is true that wives and daughters were strictly reduced in theory to a condition of obedience—that Iphigenia bows before the knife, while contending warriors wrangle over the fate of Helen, as though she were a stock or a stone ; but we nevertheless find them the centres of great movements, the inspirers of great passions, holding in their slender hands the thread of many a mighty fate.

“Thebes or Pelop’s line,  
Or the tale of Troy divine—”

So that such legends represent life more truly than any number of chronicles of wars—than any diagrams of political constitutions ; for it is not the outer framework of the history of a country which can give food for thought, or teaching for practice ; it is only the inner reality of life as it was lived among its people, which can do this : knowledge of what were the moral elements of their society ; how they moved and spoke and dressed, how they wooed and wedded, and buried their dead ; of what manner was their worship, and upon what rested their hope and their faith.

And when, by the help of these poetical pictures, we come to ask ourselves what, in the earliest times of which we can form any image, was the relation of women to society considered in the aggregate *political* sense, we are inclined to say that it possessed a sort of rough equality with that of men ; that where political constitutions were so simple that to wield arms under some strong and valiant hero, and to take occasional part in the deliberations of camp or council, were the chief political duties of the husband, the wife who bore and reared the young warriors, and took her full half share in the simple exertions demanded by the needs of primitive existence, could hardly be said to hold an inferior place, or be less of a citizen than he himself.

But when society became more complex, when distinctions of rank were defined and cemented by interchange of service and privilege, when Lynch law no longer prevailed for the redressing of evils, but the Areopagus and the Forum, the Witenagemote and the Parliament, came to supersede the rough and ready machinery of earlier ages,—then, amid the linked spheres of what we consider a more perfect political system, women found no place. The sex cannot be said to have held any relation to the state during the historical eras, except in that singular and anomalous instance when, as in our own country at the present day, a woman filled the highest post in the realm, presiding, in the capacity of sovereign, over that government in whose behalf,



had she been of lower degree, she would not even have possessed the privilege of giving a vote towards the election of the meanest official.

Parallel with the rise of elaborate political systems, sprang into being those arts and sciences which became with men the subject of long study, and the material of severe and learned professions. Not only were women (either by nature, law, or custom) debarred from the profound investigation of the one, and the careful practice of the other, but even amateur attainment was considered apart from their sphere of duty, so that a still further division was created between the sexes, and the pair who in barbarian life pursued in divers manners, but in strict conjunction, the simple aims of physical existence, came at length to have scarcely any interests in common, save those which spring directly or indirectly from love. The student finds himself, therefore, reduced to ask how the laws which were framed by men bore upon the other sex, happy if a vivid imagination, the power of seizing upon a few meagre and scattered hints, combined with subtle analysis of the state of feeling which dictates any given law, and into which such a law must again react, afford him any help in reconstructing for himself something like a real colour-picture of that past which lies buried, for the casual reader, under a mountain of dates and names and dry records of facts, bearing indeed on certain interesting problems of legislation, but having little relation to any of the more vital questions affecting the moral growth of humanity. Not that we would under-estimate the value of conclusions in favour of democracy, of equal taxation, and impartial criminal law; yet our most valuable facts on such subjects must be drawn from modern *social* investigation, not from historical records or abstract deduction. It sometimes seems to us that history, as at present availably written (for it requires somewhat of the imagination of the poet to seize and employ, like Carlyle, the more rich and subtle hues of historical truth), and politics as at present conducted, are nearly as abstract as mathematics themselves; that the fate of nations is played with by those in whose hands lie their more external destinies, much after the manner of a game of chess. The soldiers are but as animated pawns, Russia against France becomes a scientific question of weight and resistance; but descend into those home regions from whence the material of the war is drawn, from whence the bare facts of the chronicle are distilled, and how would the scene change; how vivid, how full of life, of the pain of parting and the joy of meeting, it would become. The automata are animated, it is no longer the nation merely, no longer Britannia with her lion, or Gallia with her cock and tricolor. The women start into

their pristine equality of interest ; they are the mothers of soldiers and sailors, and assemble by hundreds, weeping in the morning twilight to see them depart ; they are the wives of the bread-winners, and each tax, each change in the administration, sends a subtle thrill from the Lords and Commons through the needs, the sympathies, and the sorrows of the women to the farthest corner of the land. Let us therefore inquire what have been the laws relating to women in various ages and countries, that being a very rough, but almost our only means of attaining to something like an idea of the real social condition of the sex.

We find in Michaelis's "Laws of Moses," first volume, 34th chapter of the English translation, by Alexander Smith, D.D., various particulars collected together concerning the legal position of Jewish women. Among the Hebrews, wives were commonly bought, according to the practice of the East. The case was the same among the Arabs and Syrians. In the language of the latter, *mechiro*, or the *sold*, is equivalent to the *espoused*, just as in the German Chronicles of the middle ages we find it stated that A B *bought* C D, that is, married her. The Arabs have, along with their religion, carried this practice far into Asia, and established it in countries where, before their conquest, it had no footing ; and Arireux, in his Travels, says that among the Mahometans there are three sorts of wives—*married*, *bought*, and *hired*. Polygamy, in raising the demand for women, sets as it were a price upon them ; and as in Jewish days a girl was under the control of her father and brothers, this price would naturally be exacted. It does not appear, however, that the rule was invariable, since Sarah and Rebecca seem to have held positions of power and freedom incompatible with being the subjects of sale ; and the presents which Abraham's servant brought with him when he came to seek a wife for Isaac, were, however rich, presents, and not purchase-money. But we find Jacob giving seven years' labour as the price of Rachel ; and even in the most poetical of the marriages recorded in the Scriptures, that of Ruth, we find the spirit of the contract to prevail externally ; for Boaz called the elders together, telling them that he had *purchased* Ruth to be his wife. A large number of women, both Jewish, and of foreign birth taken in war, were virtually slaves, and occupied definite legal positions as servants or as handmaids. These were all in a measure protected by the Mosaic regulations. For instance, a master who did not choose to marry his Israelitish handmaid himself, was not allowed to retain her, deprived of the joys of domestic life, but was obliged when any one—such, for instance, as a near relation or an intending husband—expressed a wish of redeeming her, to let her go at reasonable ransom. The whole sex was, however, in a



state of miserable legal slavery: where there were sons, they seem to have exercised a certain authority over the fate of their sisters, even during their father's lifetime; where there were none, "an heiress durst not marry without her tribe, and seldom did marry out of her family." Again, Jephtha, having offered to the Lord as a burnt-offering the first living thing which should meet him on his homeward return from the war, is welcomed by his daughter "with timbrels and with dances. She was his only child: beside her he had neither son nor daughter." But he having opened his mouth to the Lord, could not go back, and appropriated her in fulfilment of the vow, with much lamentation indeed, but no apparent opposition on the part of her companions. It was not her war, nor her vow; but being as much her father's property as a sheep or a goat, she came under the category of "the first living thing."

Egyptian manners were very different. Herodotus affirms that throughout Egypt it was customary to marry only one wife; and "if the authority of Diodorus can be credited, women were indulged with greater privileges in Egypt than in any other country." We learn from Wilkinson various details—such as that women reigned as sovereigns; that they were not secluded as in Greece; part of the worship of the gods was entrusted to their management, and that not in processions and ceremonies, but under enrolment in regular priesthoods; "and if we are not correctly informed of the real extent and nature of their duties, yet, since females of the noblest families, and princesses, as well as the queens themselves, esteemed it an honour to perform them, we may conclude the post was one of the highest to which they could aspire in the service of religion." It is worthy of remark, that direct mention of priestesses is made in that Rosetta stone which is one of the principal antiquarian objects of interest in our British Museum. The pictorial illustrations which we possess of Egyptian life give us more idea of social customs than antiquity generally vouchsafes to the student; and we may mention in passing that we see in the strange frescoes which that clear climate has preserved, various indications of the domestic avocations of the women, of their weaving, and use of the distaff, of their practice of music, and sometimes, unfortunately, of their being too much addicted to convivial entertainments!

In an article contained in the *Westminster Review* for October, 1855, the reader will find a variety of curious information concerning the women of Arabia, of China, the Indian Archipelago, and many other "far contrees" of this habitable globe, where men and women are living together under various laws, all characterized by the same general feature, that of regarding the latter as articles of property. The Pagan Arabs not only bought

their wives to the number of eight or ten, "but actually exchanged them with each other." Mahomet, reducing the number, did away altogether with the right of exchange; but "the father still disposes of the daughter in marriage, and a payment to the father or guardian is necessary to legalise the marriage, and the least sum allowed by the law is ten dirhems, or drams, of silver—about five shillings." In other respects, the exclusive habits of Mohammedans in regard to women are well known. The Hindu laws also make marriage a matter of bargain; and that from the earliest times of which any record is obtainable. Mr. Mill, the historian of India, "is convinced that the life of Hindu women is a life of the most abject degradation." This conclusion is based on the study of the Hindu law. The romantic literature of the country gives a very different impression, and must be taken largely into account when striking the balance of argument in respect to any people, as it gives the modification induced by the growth of public opinion on the rigour of the law.

Let us now turn to the two greatest nations of antiquity, whose polity and customs have in many ways largely affected our own. We find Grecian women "always in a state of tutelage, perpetually in the power and subject to the direction of their fathers, husbands, or other legally appointed guardians." (*Westminster Review*.) An heiress's son, when he came of age, was empowered to enjoy his mother's estate, allowing her a maintenance. If a woman were cited into court, the form used was—"We cite A B and her guardian," she, alone, being a nonentity. Mr. Grote informs us (vol. vi., page 133) that "the free-citizen women of Athens lived in a strict and almost Oriental recluseness, as well after being married as when single: everything which concerned their lives, their happiness, or their rights, was determined or managed for them by male relatives; and they seem to have been destitute of all mental culture and accomplishments." Women were located at the back of the house, often in the upper part; and it is sufficiently indicative of the excessive strictness of their seclusion, that when the Athenian women stood at the doors of their houses to inquire the fate of their husbands after the defeat at Chæronea, it was considered discreditable to them, *and to the city*. Athenian women, it is true, took part in religious processions, but were then always veiled.

At Sparta the liberty enjoyed was much greater. Only married women wore the veil; maidens went abroad uncovered; and Mr. Grote tells us that "Xenophon and Plutarch represent the Spartan women as worthy and homogeneous companions to the man. The Lycurgean system (as these authors describe it),



considering the women as a part of the state, and not as a part of the house, placed them under training hardly less than the men." The reader may here note an exception to the assertion made at the opening of our subject, that in the historical eras women could hardly be said to hold any relation to the *State* at all. Nor was this a political, but rather a physical relation, arising from the great importance assigned to the bodily condition of the Spartan citizens, and consequently to the training of the mothers who bore them. Mr. Grote continues as follows:—

"Female slaves are good enough (Lykurgus thought) to sit at home weaving and spinning, but who can expect a splendid offspring, the appropriate mission and duty of a free Spartan woman towards her country, from mothers brought up in such occupations? Pursuant to these views, the Spartan damsels underwent a bodily training analogous to that of the Spartan youth, being formally exercised and contending with each other in running, wrestling, and boxing, agreeable to the forms of the Grecian agonès. The presence of the Spartan youths, and even of the kings and the body of the citizens, at these exercises, lent animation to the scene. In like manner the young women marched in the religious processions, sung and danced at particular festivals, and witnessed, as spectators, the exercises and contentions of the youths, so that the two sexes were perpetually intermingled with each other in public, in a way foreign to the habits, as well as repugnant to the feelings, of other Grecian states."

The law, however, dealt as hardly by women in Sparta as in other communities. They were disposed of in marriage according to the will of fathers and guardians: if the parent died without determining the fate of his daughter, it became a legal question "to whom, among the various claimants, the best title really belonged." This is analogous to the modification of that early Athenian law by which an heiress and her inheritance belonged to the family, and the consent of the kinsmen was necessary to her marriage; for it was afterwards allowed that her father might dispose of her *by will or otherwise*; but if "he died intestate and without male children, his heiress was legally compelled to accept her nearest kinsman, not in the ascending line, as her husband." Nay, it seems that dying husbands could, and did, bequeath their wives to other men.

We must also observe that, in other respects the law and feeling of Athens were "as unjust to women as they are in all barbarous, and we may add, in all civilized countries," adultery being only recognised and punished on the part of the woman, wholly overlooked on that of the man.

We now come to Rome, whose system of laws lies at the foundation of much of our own constitution, and here we are met by the somewhat discouraging fact, that the laws regarding

women, rigorous in republican days, gradually expanded into a most remarkable fairness and equality in those very centuries when the empire was approaching a disgraceful decline and fall. It is unpleasant to connect the epoch of some of the worst women the world has ever seen with the very changes we are desirous of effecting in our own country; but since the connexion will probably be used in argument by those who think it advisable to retain our system as it is, it may be well to direct the attention of the student to those other causes which degraded Imperial Rome—the concentration of wealth in metropolitan cities, undue and unjust taxation, the decomposition of an immense unwieldy empire—various causes which are not working in our modern civilization, and which education, and the different industrial position of the female sex, forbid us to imagine can again recur.

We cannot here do better than quote a passage from the “Report of the Personal Laws Committee on the Law relating to the Property of Married Women,” lately published by the Law Amendment Society.

“In the earliest period of the Republic, the rights and conditions of married women were entirely subordinated to the absolute power of the head of the family, or *paterfamilias*. The wife passed into the husband’s possession under the marriage contract, which pursued the forms of a sale. He had absolute power over her as over a slave, even, as is alleged by some, to life and death. She had no dowry; she could not possess property: and whatever came to her hands immediately became the property of the husband. The injustice of these regulations was, however, felt by the great legislators of the commonwealth.”

And the following extract from Fraser, on *Personal and Domestic Relations*, describes the condition of the Roman wife at the best period of their laws:—

“The Roman wife was not held to be sunk in the husband, but after the marriage she remained as capable of independent action as before. Each could possess and enjoy property; and whatever one acquired, the other could have no participation in. The wife’s debts could be recovered only from herself, and the husband’s were effectual only against his own person and property. But the presumption in any case was in favour of the husband; and unless the wife established by legal evidence that the property was hers, the husband, his heirs, or his creditors, could demand it.”

Again,

“The mode in which the independence of a Roman wife, as to property, was maintained, was as follows: Previous to marriage, a portion of the wife’s property, called *dos* or dowry, was set apart for the ex-



penses of the wedded state. The administration of this settled property was committed to the husband, and, if it were of a perishable nature (*res fungibiles*), he became absolute owner of it; but, if land, he had no power of alienation, not even with the wife's consent, except under very special circumstances. All her other property, moveable or immoveable, whether acquired before marriage or after, was entirely under her own authority and control, and was called *paraphernalia (bona parapherna)*."

In other respects the laws of Rome changed no less. Women were freed from tutelage, and the change was wrought in great measure by the help of one of the forms of Roman marriage called *usus*. This provided that the woman passed from the power of her father into that of her husband, by remaining an unbroken year in his house; but if she absented herself for three nights, a *trinoctium*, she remained in her own familia. In this she followed a *general* law of property, of which ownership was acquired by continual possession. The patricians, appreciating the value of the remedy thus afforded in shielding them from some consequences of intermarriage with plebeians, caused a formal recognition to be made by law of "the interruption of possession as a means of preventing the wife from falling into the power of her husband." The annulment of infant betrothal followed, and increased facilities for divorce, giving to women the same defences as to men, till at length the whole code presented the first and last specimen of just legislation on these points that the world has seen.

With the fall of Rome came the destruction of her social system; but wide and sweeping as was the torrent of barbarism, such remnants as the Roman ruins scattered far and wide over Europe, and mixing their stately strength with the Gothic picturesqueness of Arles, Nismes and Avignon, were not the only traces which remained of her influence. We find some apposite remarks in M. Guizot's "Lectures on European Civilization," which we proceed to quote.

"A municipality like Rome might conquer the world, but could not so easily retain and govern it. Thus, when the work appeared completed, when the entire west, and a great portion of the east, became subservient to Rome, this prodigious number of cities, of small states, formed for independence and self-existence, became disunited, and detached themselves in every direction. This was one of the causes which led to the foundation of the empire. It was necessary to change the form of government for one more concentrated, more capable of maintaining union among such discordant elements. The empire attempted to bind together and to unite this widely diffused society. \* \* \* We observe at the fall of the Roman empire the same fact which we recognised at the foundation of Rome, viz., the predominance of the municipal character and government. The Roman world reverted to

its pristine condition ; it was formed by a confederation of cities, and after its dissolution, the same, or similar cities, remained."

The municipal institution and the idea of an empire, M. Guizot considers to be the elements which Roman civilization has transmitted to that of Europe ; "on one side the principle of liberty, on the other that of a general and common civil legislation,—the idea of absolute power,—the principle of order and servitude." To these let us add the example of a code of laws respecting women, which for wisdom and enlightenment have never met with a parallel ; and since, in other directions, the revival of Roman law in the middle ages has so powerfully influenced our own, inducing changes in feudal jurisprudence which have gradually penetrated to the roots of our social life, we may hope much from a clear statement and wide dissemination of its principle and practice in regard to the female sex. And however little it may be the custom to think one of as great value as the other, society will assuredly find the condition of half its component elements no less important than any question of town government. That federal system which combines the greatest amount of local action with the most implicit obedience to a central power, as in the example of the United States of America, is acknowledged, (save for the blot of slavery in this particular instance,) to be the ideal dream of politicians, and the legislation which secures to the different members of a human family the most perfect freedom of action, allowing them to move spontaneously around one great central idea of duty, will be found to secure in the end the closest unity and the profoundest peace.

We now come to consider the social ideas of those races which, a few centuries after Christ, poured down upon Rome, till

"Feeble Cæsars shrieked for aid  
In vain within their seven-hill'd towers."

It was not what we might expect, for we find on all hands that in the earliest times of Teutonic invasion, the women held a position of almost supernatural elevation. The early Germans, we are told by Gibbon,

"Treated their women with esteem and confidence, consulted them on every occasion of importance, and fondly believed that in their breasts resided a sanctity and wisdom more than human. Some of these interpreters of fate, such as Velleda in the Batavian War, governed, in the name of the deity, the fiercest nations of Germany. The rest of the sex, without being adored as goddesses, were respected as the free and equal companions of soldiers ; associated, even by the marriage ceremony, to a life of toil, of danger, and of glory. In their



great invasions, the camps of the barbarians were filled with a multitude of women, who remained firm and undaunted amidst the sound of arms, the various forms of destruction, and the honourable wounds of their sons and husbands. Fainting armies of Germans have more than once been driven back upon the enemy, by the generous despair of the women, who dreaded death much less than servitude."

Yet this enthusiastic tone of character did not carry its development on into the increasing civilization of the Teutonic race. The elaborate Roman law was destroyed, and it would seem as if the poetical and religious halo described above ceased to afford protection to female interest; for the feudal spirit, moulding the institutions of each Teutonic nation, deprived women of everything like legal independence. Land was held by military tenure, and the law of primogeniture bestowed the family property on the eldest son, leaving the younger ones to carve their own way to fortune, and the daughters dependent on marriage or the convent. Chivalry tempered the despotism of the feudal tenure among the upper classes, but could have little influence over the lower; and till the era of the printing press, when the literature of the ancients was once more disseminated through those countries over which they once held imperial sway, the female sex was left to its unaided influence for any freedom or authority it might possess.

Having traced the legal condition of women in other ages and countries, it is now time to come to our own, and to ask ourselves what is the present condition of those Englishwomen whom it is the custom to regard as the freest of their sex. And here we are met by great contradictions between the law and public opinion; the former encumbered on all hands with the fag ends of feudalism, the latter according year by year a larger share of freedom and of influence in many directions. The body of educated Englishwomen press against the law which encircles them, with a weight and persistency which will eventually change nearly all the legal conditions of domestic life; though its moral ideal, deeply rooted in the inmost heart of a Saxon and Christian nation, shows little symptom, and we thank God for it, of dissolution or decay.

To be brief, the English law of the present day, according full liberty to the unmarried woman past her minority, replaces the wife in the position of a minor, property and person being virtually in the power of the husband. His power over the one is modified by various legal devices by which parents contrive to secure at least the capital of such property as they bestow upon a daughter, to her and her children; and the action of the Courts of Equity can be invoked, by those who possess money and patience, for the protection of bequests and the redress of any

flagrant wrong. His power over the other is modified by the Habeas Corpus Act, by various statutes concerning the keeping of the peace, and by a strong and ever increasing force of public opinion, which claims for women, of the lowest as of the highest class, an absolute exemption from personal tyranny, and is even inclined to give the husband a *quid pro quo* for every unmanly blow inflicted upon the person of his wife. The practice of the law diverges ever more widely from the theory of the law, and the whole question is in that confused state of germination in which a different opinion prevails on every side.

The law declares that "a man and wife are one person. The wife loses all her rights as a single woman, and her existence is entirely absorbed in that of her husband. He is civilly responsible for her acts; she lives under his protection and cover, and her condition is called coverture."\* Society declares that a man and wife are in many cases essentially two people, each possessing strong individuality, each perhaps practising a different profession or means of getting a livelihood,—perhaps even separated both in the inner and the outer life, and warring at as great a distance as is allowed by the length of their chain. Society, in according education to women, has made them capable not only of managing, but of acquiring property by their own exertions, and has given them the desire to do so. The law declares that "a husband has a freehold estate in his wife's lands during the joint life of himself and his wife—that is to say, he has absolute possession of them as long as they both live." Also, that "money earned by a married woman belongs absolutely to her husband;" and that "what was her personal property before marriage, such as money in hand, money at the bank, jewels, household goods, clothes, &c., becomes absolutely her husband's, and he may assign or dispose of them at his pleasure, whether he and his wife live together or not." Society tries hard to circumvent the law, to contrive strong and cunning settlements, whereby the wife's personal property before marriage may be settled on herself. Society sets up a somewhat complex and crazy machinery to redeem the wife and children out of the power of a bad man, where such happens to be, and is even now making an effort to get that part of the law radically altered which relates to property. And this brings us again to the before-mentioned Report of the Law Amendment Society, which may be considered as the latest and most authentic source of information. It contains in the Appendix various details as to the law in various of the United

\* "A Brief Summary in Plain Language of the most Important Laws concerning Women, together with a few Observations thereon." By Barbara Leigh Smith. John Chapman.



States of America, and sums up the result in the following paragraph (page 11):—

“The United States of America, which for the most part adopted the common law of England, some with, some without, the correctives of courts of equity, have, during a long course of years, gradually modified the harshness of the law which denies property to married women. And in the great States of New York and Pennsylvania, as well as in New England, in Texas, California, and the newly settled States, a married woman is allowed, with more or less modification, the same rights over property as if she were single. In the States where the civil law prevailed, the provisions of the Roman code had already secured independence to married women.”

The Report also specifies the provisions of the French law, which is much more equal than our own, and concludes with a recommendation that a law of property as to married women should be based on the following principles:—

“1. That the common law rules which make marriage a gift of all the woman's personal property to the husband, to be repealed.

“2. Power in married women to hold separate property by law, as she now may in equity.

“3. A woman marrying without any antenuptial contract, to retain her property, and after acquisitions and earnings, as if she were a *femme sole*.

“4. A married woman, having separate property, to be liable on her separate contracts, whether made before or after marriage.

“5. A husband not to be liable for the antenuptial debts of his wife any further than any property brought to him by his wife under settlement extends.

“6. A married woman to have the power of making a will, and on her death intestate, the principles of the statute of distributions as to her husband's personalty, *mutatis mutandis*, to apply to the property of the wife.

“7. The rights of succession between husband and wife, whether as to real or personal estate, courtesy or dower, to be framed on principles of equal justice to each party.”

It may be long before any such law receives the sanction of the British legislature, but the day must come, as assuredly as that of any of those great reforms which have gradually been incorporated in the statute book.

But the relation of the law to women forms but a small portion of the relation of women to society; and the question is now becoming complicated by new elements which rise into view with every new phase of development afforded by the increased education of the sex. How great a change has been effected since the days when the good and learned Elizabeth Carter was a kind of national prodigy for her translations from the Greek, and

concerning whom, a hundred years ago, a report arose in the town of Deal, where she resided, that she was about to be returned as the borough member to Parliament! There are hundreds of women who could now translate Epictetus, and thousands who could write as good poetry as the stately odes and verses perpetrated by Elizabeth Carter, which are perhaps about the level of a University prize poem. A woman of ability possesses, in the present day, advantages in the way of education which in some respects transcend those of men. She has not, it is true, that assistance to a severe mental training which the great schools and universities afford to the other sex, and can seldom, for lack both of teaching and of stimulus, attain to the same accurate technical proficiency in any branch of knowledge as is demanded from an aspirant to one of the learned professions. On the other hand, leisure, freedom from the trammels of one engrossing subject, and keenness of general social sympathy, secure to a really cultivated woman a certain breadth of survey; and where she is not a slave to prejudices of social etiquette, her conversation possesses a universality of interest and a depth of moral insight, which are not often matched, at least in general society, among men possessing even eminent attainments in one or two special directions. This new power may be seen at work on all hands, rousing up discussions on social subjects, striving to force out fresh lines of occupation, creating fermentation in the most orderly homes, and in many cases, where it finds a difficulty in harmonizing with the existing state of things, bringing not peace, but a sword.

No fact is in the present day more noticeable than that the religious systems of England afford no definite or regulated scope for female activity. We have had plenty of exciting convent stories, full of abduction, seduction, and murder; it is now time, in the revolving cycle of opinion, to ask ourselves whether we did well when, at the Reformation, we overthrew all those grand fabrics whose ruins yet stand up in our old towns and amidst our wooded valleys, beautiful even in their decay and desolation. Protestant Germany has its large, orderly hospitals, managed entirely by deaconesses of the Lutheran persuasion,\* and Catholicism directs into many fertilizing channels the fund of energy and kindness at its disposal; but in England a hard Puritanism succeeded the downfall of the old faith, alien in its main features to all the distinguishing characteristics of women, which in fact, from the extreme prominence given both to the Jewish and to the Pauline theology, it more than half-despised. We do not ignore the heroic virtues which the Protestant spirit fostered; the brave women of the Commonwealth, nor those who went out

\* Vide a little pamphlet by Miss Nightingale on the Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth, an institution founded by Pastor Fliegener.



in the Mayflower to found the present race of New England women, who for energy and intellect are the flower of their kind. But we do believe that much was swept away which it would have been wise to have retained, since religious and benevolent women have from that time struggled, in a disorganized and therefore comparatively ineffectual way, to forward those works of charity and mercy towards the fulfilment of which the Catholic Church affords so much training, help, and encouragement.

In a little volume called "*Hospitals and Sisterhoods*," the reader will find details as to Catholic Orders of Nuns which it is not very easy to meet with elsewhere; for in Protestant accounts of the Catholic Church, or in histories of the Reformation, is so slight a mention of the organizations for female activity, that it is evident how little their peculiar spirit and work is understood by the writers. The very Encyclopedias which give elaborate accounts of monks and monasteries pass over the word nun with little more than a derivation. Yet in the opening words of Chapter VI. of the little book above-mentioned:—"It would not be possible to give within the compass of these pages the rise, progress, and extent of the religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church. Every talent committed by God to mankind found in them scope for use." On page 92 may be found an account of the Order founded by St. Vincent de Paul; and apropos of this, we read in Ranke's "*History of the Popes*," vol. ii., page 449, a passage exactly expressive of the marked difference between the practical organization of Catholic, and English Protestant communities. Speaking of the saint in question, the historian observes:—

"The Order of the Sisters of Mercy also owes its origin to him—an order in which the more delicate sex, at a time of life when all the visions of domestic happiness or worldly splendour float before their eyes, devoted themselves to the service of the sick,—often of the abandoned,—without venturing to give more than a transient expression to those religious feelings which were the source and spring of all their toils."

These efforts for the improvement or the consolation of humanity are more happily become of constant recurrence in every Christian land; the education of the poor, the promotion of learning, the mitigation of human suffering, everywhere command attention. Never will such efforts succeed without a union of varied ability and knowledge with religious enthusiasm. In Protestant countries they are too generally left to the energy of each successive generation, and to a sense of the necessities of the moment. But Catholicism aims at giving an unalterable basis to associations formed for such objects, and an uniform direction to the religious impulse which prompts them, in order that every effort may be consecrated to the immediate service of the

Church, and that successive generations may be trained by a silent but resistless process in the same spirit.

If Miss Nightingale, on her return from the East, should succeed in founding any permanent institution for the training of nurses, she will lay in England the first stone of an edifice which may go far to replace those institutions of whose moral value we deprived ourselves somewhat too hastily, when we confounded in one sweeping indignation both use and abuse.

But it was not only in works of practical benevolence that the Catholic Church developed the energies of the sex : Romanism also afforded large scope for the intellectual powers of women, and that in many ways. Female saints seem to have been in as high favour, and to have been as much quoted on spiritual subjects, as those who bore masculine appellations. The reverence paid to the Virgin may be considered as devoted to her supernatural mission and motherhood ; but the saints were mere women who attained their high spiritual rank by their own endeavours after holiness. We find in a work by the Rev. W. Faber\* perpetual reference to the sayings of female saints, to revelations made to them, and to treatises on religious subjects written by them. Father Faber is a convert, and one of the most eloquent of the English Catholic clergy of the day ; and this reference to women is perhaps one of the most marked features of a book whose popularity has been very great.

Apropos of the religious foundations of the middle ages, and the position assigned to women by the Catholic Church, we will here quote an interesting passage from a French work entitled "*Histoire Morale des Femmes*, par M. Ernest Legouv  ." It is well worth a perusal by all who are interested in the subject ; and we are moreover informed in the preface that the ideas upon which the book is based have formed the subject of a public course of lectures delivered by M. Legouv   at the Coll  ge de France:—

"Convents have always been regarded as prisons for women ; and, in truth, no places have heard more sobs and legitimate cries of revolt. Women have, however, only there experienced freedom ; and there only have they been able to show what they were worth. A woman powerful in heart and mind, was stifled in the jail of a German or a feudal marriage ; in the cloister she lived, she acted ; as the superior or head of an order she governed. One who wishes to judge of women, should read the history of the great religious foundations. Worldly goods to administer, souls to guide, regulations to establish, journeys to undertake, law suits to undergo, memoirs to draw up ; all, in fine, which constitutes the mechanism of social, if not political functions, became for them a necessity, and out of this necessity they created a long array of virtues.

\* "*All for Jesus.*"



"The Abbey of Fontevraud exhibits, if one may so speak, a whole series of eminent men in the succession of its superior abbesses: the monks found themselves, as is known, face to face with nuns in relations of submission, of deference, even of obedience.

"The abbess bore the title of General of the Order. The abbess alone administered the goods of the community. The abbess only could receive an adept in religion. The abbess decreed civil and ecclesiastical punishments. The abbess chose the confessors for the different houses of the order.

"Did this concentration of administrative powers in the hands of women injure the prosperity of the institution? Not at all. No congregation was richer or more illustrious. Enemies were, however, not wanting. During six hundred years, and under thirty-two abbesses, not one of those privileges but was attacked by masculine pride or violence; not one which was not maintained by the energy of women.

"We cite the institution of Fontevraud, we might cite two hundred others, for this is no question of a few isolated traits, nor of superior women; it is by thousands, and in every age of the modern world, that women have displayed the true qualities of organisers. Let us mention St. Theresa, that poor barefooted Carmelite, as she called herself, full of good desires, but destitute of the means of executing them, and who succeeded alone, and without help, in founding twenty monasteries in Spain. Let us mention Heloise, who in the government of the Paraclete showed, as directress, so noble and delicate a talent. Let us mention the company of daughters of charity, who sometimes went by tens, twenties, and thirties on to the fields of battle to tend the wounded, as in the wars of 1650 and 1658; sometimes set out for foreign countries, in order to strive against some public scourge, as during the great pestilence which depopulated Varsovia in 1652.

"Finally, the history of Port Royal offers to our eyes, among women free to act, all kinds of firm and spirited conduct. So many signs of firmness, of administrative talent, of the sentiment of duty, of the spirit of business, of active charity, of good practical sense, so much merit of all sorts displayed during several centuries by women, *en masse*, in the only social career which was open to them, disposes, it appears to me, of half the question we proposed to ourselves in this chapter. Women should possess a place amidst social functions in the name of social interest itself."

While Miss Nightingale was pursuing in England those studies which resulted in her fitness for the post of public usefulness she has since occupied, and while Miss Sellon was organizing, in spite of opposition, a semi-Protestant institution under the care of the Bishop of Exeter (and doing noble work in the west of England during times of cholera and fever), an attempt was made in America to open the medical profession to women, and it appears to be succeeding, in spite of the strong feeling of opposition which such an idea would naturally at first excite. Yet it is but an extension of the idea of nursing, which brings women

into quite as many painful scenes, and would be, if efficiently carried out, as repugnant to fanciful and effeminate delicacy. The ladies of the middle ages were distinguished for their leechcraft, and nobody accuses them of having stepped beyond their province. The name of Elizabeth Blackwell begins to be well-known amongst those who feel interest in social questions. This lady was born in Bristol, but emigrated with her family to America while yet a child. Being cast upon her own exertions, by family circumstances, she was for a few years a teacher, but the idea of opening out a new path for women having penetrated, and at length engrossed her mind, she made arrangements for commencing the study of medicine in the family of a physician, and finally sought admittance into some regular college. With great difficulty she found one which would receive her, in Geneva College, New York State, and passed some time there amidst much social opposition in the town, but perfect respect and appreciation from professors and students. She took her degree triumphantly, and received the same afternoon innumerable visits from the ladies of Geneva, who had hitherto shunned her! After attaining this platform, she came to Europe, and resided for some months in Paris, during part of which time she was immured in the Hospital of La Maternité, in company with a crowd of French women of the lower class, training as midwives. This she always described as the most irksome association she had to undergo during her studies, infinitely more so than that of the male students of an educated class. She was afterwards permitted to "walk" St. Bartholomew's Hospital in London, and while residing here made many friends among English people. She returned to New York in 1851, and has gradually built up practice and reputation by force of accurate knowledge and a clear commanding character of a very uncommon order. She has published a volume of lectures, which were delivered to a class of ladies in 1852, entitled "The Laws of Life, with special Reference to the Physical Education of Girls," and which may be bought in London from American booksellers. It contains knowledge, thought, and feeling, which secure it an increasing circulation. This lady has a younger sister, Emily, who has pursued nearly the same path of study, and was for some time a pupil to Dr. Simpson, of Edinburgh. It is at present uncertain whether she joins her sister in New York, or attempts to establish a practice in London.

The relation of the female intellect to the arts is another question which is rapidly rising into importance. It is very certain that no women have hitherto shown the least claim to be associated with men on the higher platforms of artistic eminence; unless we except the name of one living artist, Rosa



Bonheur. However much we may make of the name of Angelica Kauffmann, or of those of the few female students scattered among the Italian schools, no honest mind will for a moment assign to them more than a third-rate place. No woman has excelled in sculpture; we can even remember no statue by one, which has attained any degree of celebrity, except that of the Maid of Orleans, by the daughter of Louis Philippe. We trust, however, that Miss Hosmer, the young American sculptress, now studying under Gibson, at Rome, may ere long vindicate her claim to rank as a true artist. No woman has shown a commanding genius in poetry between the dates of Sappho and Elizabeth Barrett Browning,—a sufficiently wide interval, one would think, for the outcoming of any eminent gift of song. The great oratorios, the great operas, even the madrigals and canzonets are all written by men. The music of the heavenly spheres has never, it would seem, been heard aright by women, nor by them translated into the language of earthly sound. So much must be fully granted, for it is true, and is said on all hands, whenever any appeal is made for the thorough professional education of women in the arts. Yet they possess, as a sex, all those qualifications of sensibility and quick perception, all that fineness and glow of temperament which peculiarly distinguish the artist from other men; and when this is balanced and supported by so large a share of practical intellect as women of the present day do undoubtedly exhibit, why is it that they do not excel in the creative arts? Those who hope little of women will reply that nature never intended, and that domestic duties will not allow of the sustained study and hard work necessary for the attainment of proficiency in any art; that women are intended to appreciate painting, music, sculpture and poetry, and to diffuse their influence through society, not to struggle for the bays. Those, on the other hand, who hope much from women, will say that no genius can force its way through such external disadvantages as those which hamper the sex; that the opportunities of study are in all ways restricted; that the great public institutions are closed to them; that even in youth they are hampered by a thousand silken fetters of domestic life, and that any artist really put into the position of a female student would be sorely inclined to throw brush, chisel and harp into the nearest fire that came to hand. But the truth seems to us to be, that any lengthened discussion on this point is useless, for that the question is rapidly narrowing to a practical issue; the facilities for artistic study, though still far behind those of men, are increasing every day; and so many women have entered the artistic career that social disabilities will gradually disappear. The public is also thoroughly willing to appreciate female work, perhaps even to regard

it more highly, when it is good, because it is a woman's. Rosa Bonheur's great picture of the Horse Fair was greeted with a generous chorus of admiration, and her claims to rank as equal or superior to Landseer discussed on all hands. Mr. Ruskin holds up the Misses Mutrie as flower painters of the first order; and poor Edgar Poe, in collecting those poems which, headed by the "Raven," have lately attained such general circulation among lovers of literature, gave an American's tribute to our greatest female author in these words:—"To the noblest of her sex—to the Author of "The Drama of Exile"—to Miss Elizabeth Barrett Barrett, of England, I dedicate this volume, with the most enthusiastic admiration, and the most sincere esteem." So that women have no cause to complain of due recognition being withheld from them; they have now but to try the question of their powers fairly in an open field.

We have omitted to mention the dramatic art, in which women at least equal men. At the present day there are no actors who may be classed with Rachel, Ristori, and Charlotte Cushman, while Mrs. Siddons, in the memory of our fathers, claims a pre-eminent place.

We have not yet touched upon literary women and their effect on the age, because it is the most obvious part of our subject, and one on which little can be said that will not have suggested itself to the reader. It is in fiction of a profound and passionate order that they have chiefly excelled; and remarkable it is that when they do take up the pen, it is not to depict the external conventionalities in which women are supposed to abide, or those mild passions which poets feign to reside in the female breast, but to plunge into the deepest mysteries of human life, raking and ploughing into experiences upon which men seldom touch. The names of George Sand and Currer Bell are associated with books which have struck at the very heart of modern society; and Frederika Bremer, though her mind is of a more tenderly sympathetic cast, and softened by that gift of humour which is one of the safety-valves of genius, is fond of uncovering the mouths of social pits into which the stoutest beholder can only look and shudder. Women use their pens as dissecting knives, and lay bare social arteries till the blood spouts up, and common-place readers cry out and say it is all shocking and false; but yet people buy the books, and they are worn to rags and tatters in circulating libraries, and pass through edition after edition in defiance of the reviews. How different from the days of Miss Edgeworth and Jane Austen! from their clear, charming, crystalline pictures of life, dealing so artistically with all on the surface and never penetrating beneath.

In other departments of literature women have not done much



of mark, but more and more of the writing of the day falls to their share. In newspapers and periodicals, as editors, as compilers of historical and all manner of other matter, they begin to form a formidable phalanx, and to exercise an increasing influence. And the part they play in the papers, and in particular the wide power exercised by one pen, which still labours on indefatigably in spite of failing health and numbered days,—we allude to that of Harriet Martineau,—suggests the question of what position women will eventually take in relation to the State, for it is evident that while their influence is penetrating in all other directions, it must in time bear influentially on politics. This is the opinion of such men as John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer; the latter observes in his “Social Statics,”—

“It is, indeed, said that the exercise of political power by women is repugnant to our sense of propriety—conflicts with our ideas of the feminine character—is altogether condemned by our feelings. Granted, but what then? The same plea has been urged in defence of a thousand absurdities, and if valid in one case is equally so in all others. There was a time in France when men were so enamoured of ignorance, that a lady who pronounced any but the commonest words correctly, was blushed for by her companions; a tolerable proof that people’s *feelings* then blamed in a woman that literateness which it is now thought a disgrace for her to be without. It was once held unfeminine for a lady to write a book; and no doubt those who thought it so would have quoted *feelings* in support of their opinion. Yet, with facts like these on every hand, people assume that the enfranchisement of women cannot be right, because it is repugnant to their feelings.”

We are, however, trenching on speculations so far ahead of any possible result, that we feel upon dangerous ground, and must pray our readers to remember that there is the widest difference between holding an opinion, based on philosophical grounds however firm and true, and any attempt to force that opinion into facts which are wholly unsuitable for its reception. It is a common sneer to picture “Women in St. Stephen’s,” but there they never will be. St. Stephen’s will have given place to some assembly more orderly and better ventilated, before women take practical part in political life. It is customary to represent theoretical changes as if each were to take place alone. But it is not so, the combinations of society are as infinite and wonderful as the never-repeated patterns of a kaleidoscope; one bit of the system never alters singly, but in new and totally unexpected directions we find adaptations to the ruling idea of the time. Those who care to see the best that can be said on the subject of the enfranchisement of women, will find it in an article contained

in the "Westminster Review" for July, 1851, and also in a small tract on the subject published by Chapman.

We have now gone through the various departments of society wherein women do or may find a place, without a word on the cardinal fact of life for both men and women—their domestic relations. In the first place, it is a subject upon which so much has been said or sung, that its usual aspects are pretty well exhausted; in the next place, its profounder theory involves the whole moral and religious condition of both parties, and cannot be compressed into a paper such as this. Our silence, then, is from no sense of their unimportance, but because we accept the household love and the household duties as the most sacred and perfect manifestation of a noble human character, and consider that their due training and fulfilment depend upon deeper causes and principles than we can treat of here.

### ART. III.—ON THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PHENOMENA OF DREAMS AND APPARITIONS.

[No. II. of a Series.]

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HAVING offered some few general remarks on the external senses, as being suggestive of dreaming under the partially waking condition of the brain, and also when the latter is partially conscious of some atmospherical conditions, when the body is rendered more susceptible to the effects of cold and heat, that these phenomena are suggestive of trains of thought during the state of sleeping, when the dream which is thus induced, although having many discrepancies and contradictions, still preserves a kind of unity in perfect keeping with the disturbing agents which first suggested the particular association, we shall next consider the particular phenomena, when the "mental faculties are some of them in a state of excessive activity, arising from some abnormal condition of health;" premising that the trains of thoughts which are experienced by the sleeper will, in the majority of instances, still indicate his individuality, subject to certain modifications induced by the painful or other states of the body. The following instance furnishes some curious subjects for the psychological reflections and physiological phenomena:—

PARTIAL COMA, WITH FAINTNESS.—Some time since, a friend of the writer had a most singular dream. We cite the narrator's own words. He said:—"I thought myself dangerously ill, so bad that I was not surprised when the physician assured me I was dying; nay, I felt a consciousness that such was the case. My



affectionate wife and dear anxious children surrounded my bed, and seemed deeply sorrowful ; and when I spoke to them, they sobbed most bitterly. It was then that I reasoned with them, and pointed out to them as a source of consolation, that my condition was merely one of transition from the present existence to a better, where pain would cease, and endeavoured to impress them with the fact that this change would be for my own advantage ; that I should give up a life of anxiety for one of unmixed happiness. This was urged to sooth their grief, which was intense. Then I added what seemed to me a more serious declaration : Our parting must be painful ; it is so ordained ; but my faith convinces me that in a few brief years there will be a reunion." He described that for a few minutes he seemed unconscious, and was partially recovered by the sobs of his family ; that he attempted to resume his discourse, when his spirit appeared as if waning, and all external objects became dim and indistinct. The great problem he would soon learn ; and so awfully did his position affect him, that he awoke. But he was in a state of partial *coma*, with drops of cold perspiration on his forehead, and so deadly faint that he then actually concluded that the dream was a premonitory warning "that his time was come."

In this instance it was therefore the peculiar condition of his stomach and nervous system that induced the train of thought which had so vividly affected him (as fainting is an approximation to the state of death), and this sickly sensation, and the incapacity for any kind of movement, had caused the mind to produce the scene just related, which had had all the painful vividness of a real occurrence.

How marvellous are these phenomena of the mental faculties! that as our bodily powers seem on the wane, the immortal spirit acquires a greater and more intense capacity, and by anticipation produces events which may in all probability happen at some future period.

It is, however, not our intention of multiplying examples, but only cite one instance to illustrate each separate phase under each section. Therefore, by the way of contrast, and to render it manifest that disordered conditions of stomach or derangement of other viscera, predispose to dreaming, and that the proximate cause will induce the speciality of the dream.

Mr. M—— A—— was in easy circumstances. He was a hearty man, but liable to great biliary disturbance. His temperament was nervo-lymphatic, and he was very stout in his person, and took very little active exercise. He had had in consequence several attacks of what the ancient writers called *μελαινα χολη*, with its constant results—great depression of spirits, and

what we modernly designate melancholy. But under judicious regimen he had recovered a very fair state of health.

Occasionally, however, he had bilious attacks. When in this condition, he one night awoke in a state resembling insanity. He cried out in a most fearful manner, uttering the most extraordinary noises, until some of the members of his family awoke, and entered his bedroom to ascertain the cause. They found him struggling with fearful energy, striking away with his fists with great force and apparent rancour, as to render it dangerous to approach him. And this state was the more surprising, as he was a most benevolent and kindhearted man. Some of the party addressed him, and discovered that he was asleep, and evidently affected with some painful dream.

It was, however, thought to be a probable cause of his condition that the shirt-collar was too tight round his neck, and was acting as a tight ligature on the carotids, and thus impeded the circulation. By an immense effort and great presence of mind he was approached from behind, or rather at the head of the bed, and the shirt-collar was unbuttoned. It required great caution, from his enraged blows. This plan succeeded, and soon fortunately brought the sleeper relief, and he awoke much exhausted by his previous efforts; and when he recovered his consciousness he retained all the scene which had so affected him. He related that he was attacked in a most ruffianly manner by some thieves, who attempted to strangle him; and that he distinctly remembered that he experienced a conviction that his life was in jeopardy, and he therefore made a vigorous resistance, and struck them with more than usual savagery. It was a battle for existence; for the more he seemed to resist them, the tighter they grasped him round the throat; and in his terror he thought he must succumb, but that his only chance would be to make some one acquainted with his perilous condition. He said, with a good-tempered smile, "I roared out with all my might, 'Murder! murder!'" We have mentioned this was done so lustily as to arouse the sleepers in an adjoining room. It is evident that the tightness of the shirt-collar, induced in all probability by his restless condition, by causing him to slide downwards from the pillows, had occasioned the annoying circumstance; and in this instance the dream may have saved him an apoplectic fit; for, with the constriction round his throat, in a comparatively short time such a casualty might result.

Here is another example, that the state of the body, even when there is not any indisposition, may predispose the particular kind of dream. And the one we select from many others, arises from a striking phenomenon to be indicated. A friend of mine awoke one morning coughing most violently, which ex-



cited in him expressions of anger, as each involuntary spasmodic effort proved unavailing in relieving him; he said in a most pettish manner—"Why do you hold that lucifer match so near me? It's choking me!" His wife, who was lying awake, assured him that there had not been any lucifer match ignited. This, for a moment, rendered him still more irritable, and he coughed with greater violence. And yet he was, evidently, not exactly awake; and when this extreme effort relieved him from the phlegm, he recovered his perfect consciousness, and had not the slightest remembrance of his harsh expressions, and the angry tone in which he had previously uttered his protest, for he said, "How curious it is, that I have just dreamt that one of the children had used a lucifer match quite under my nose, although I told him that it annoyed me; and, the fact seemed that instead of heeding my reproof, he repeated the annoying experiment." Now it was evident that the irritation resulted from an accumulation of foreign matter, which gave the tendency to cough, and the supposed burning sulphur might appear a myth of the partially awakened faculties. But as he was a man of accurate observation, he himself gave a reason for the supposed offensive combustible, for, strange to say, the dreamer was an habitual smoker, having a cigar almost constantly in his mouth. Having a slight cold on his chest, had caused an accumulated deposition on the mucous surfaces, which had, in consequence of his habit, received an empyreumatic savour, and owing to this circumstance was the suggested notion of the supposed cause of his sense of suffocation.

We have a number of notes of dreams induced by some local pain, either from a certain active inflammation or from some position which may produce a similar sensation. A lady of a highly sensitive temperament, with great susceptibility of both mind and body, and with such strong moral perceptions, that she was one of those beings whom nature designed as a Sister of Mercy, had, on one occasion, a most painful dream. She felt greatly distressed because there was a most extraordinary epidemic in the town, which curiously attacked the sufferers on the bridge of the nose, and soon destroyed this important feature. The agony she endured from seeing so many noseless persons affected her greatly, and from her extreme sympathy at such a melancholy occurrence, she awoke; but for some time she could not disabuse her mind as to the reality of her painful vision; as she gradually gained more complete consciousness, she ascertained that her own hand rested on her nose, and had affected temporarily the circulation, occasioning her much pain in the nasal organ. This circumstance had evidently been the predisposing cause of the dream. These instances differ in many particulars

from what is called, by Plato, *Ephialtes*, or nightmare; and they are often classed under this section. But in true *incubus*, or "nightmare," the respiration is seriously affected, and in consequence of some disturbed action of the heart, either mediately or immediately, there are always associations of immovability on the part of the dreamer. The mediate predisposing cause is pressure on the heart, by some uncomfortable position; the immediate tendency arises from gastric disturbance, when the pneumogastric nerve, by reflex action, affects more or less the heart's action.

INCUBUS, OR NIGHTMARE.—From the experience of many observers, and my own, it seems evident that in all cases of *incubus*, a disturbance of the circulation is the predisposing cause, and the dreamer thus affected invariably seems to lose all power over the voluntary muscles, and this condition of the muscular system differs from others to be subsequently indicated.

And, further, we make remark, that in true *incubus* the intercostal muscles are implicated, hence the impotent efforts of the dreamer to resist attacks, and so forth. One example will suffice to illustrate the latter statement. A gentleman of our acquaintance, of a robust and active temperament, and well-formed head, dreamt that he saw a low, dirty-looking boy open his bed-room door, and in the most impudent manner stare him in the face, seemingly without heeding that he was wide awake; that from this circumstance he became alarmed, from a conviction that there were some adult associates at the outside of the bed-room; that he attempted, nevertheless, to speak to the intruder, but he could not, and yet he saw, with a sense of indignation, the juvenile thief open different drawers, from which he abstracted a gold watch, diamond studs and rings, with a handful of notes and a bag of sovereigns; and after packing them up deliberately, the delinquent came up to his bed-side, and with a most impudent leer, nodded his head, and said, "Good night, old chap." The wrath of the sleeper was so great that he tried hard to rise and seize the thief, but could not; he was equally impotent in the attempt to throw something at him, or to make any noise to arouse his servants. But these efforts awoke him, lying on his left side, and his arm pressed against the heart, whilst his lower extremities were cold. We may, therefore, reasonably refer the whole phenomena to the fact, that some of the muscles were deprived of a due supply of blood, and to an excessive supply of this fluid to the brain.

An amusing instance of nightmare occurred to a relation of the writer, induced by actual pressure on the chest. We will relate it in his own words:—

CASE OF NIGHTMARE FROM ACTUAL PRESSURE ON THE



CHEST.—“I had been,” says the narrator, “travelling all day on the outside of a coach, and as the weather was cold, had imbibed a larger quantity of brandy than is my usual custom. It was late at night when the coach arrived at the inn where I had proposed sleeping; and after taking a hurried supper and a glass of brandy-and-water, proceeded to my dormitory. That illustrious official, ‘the Boots,’ had just retired to bed, and so slippers were a luxury I had to dispense with; and as it happened, this was a fortunate incident.

“The supper and grog made me somewhat feverish, and soon I felt a stupor coming over me, and fell into that kind of sleep when one is not altogether oblivious of our own sensations. In this condition I had a most painful dream. It seemed that the coach by which a large party were travelling was upset, and all were thrown helter-skelter; but that one of them fell on me with such force, that it seemed probable, that although my life had been spared in this accident, that it was my fate to be smothered by a huge mass of human flesh, which appeared to press to such a degree, that I felt, if unrelieved, that I must soon ‘give up the ghost.’ I therefore entreated this torturer to remove himself, or he would soon be the death of me, and much oppressed, my indignation was in a furor, as he seemed to be laughing at my sufferings. Then I made every effort to throw him off, and so great was this effort, that it awoke me.\*

“You may judge my surprise, that there was, even to my waking sensations, an actual weight on my chest; and as I breathed, it seemed also to breathe. In the state of my health, and the disturbed condition of the mental faculties (owing to the stimulation of the previous day), it was my veritable belief that I was dying, or else it was some curious condition of fever, so certain it was that this pressure was real.

“Then I listened, and tried to ascertain if it were a reality or a delusion, and had just decided that it must be ‘night-mare,’ when, instead of a ‘dead weight,’ the pressing tormentor slightly moved its position higher and nearer to my mouth. This actually terrified me, although it was years before *burking* had been rendered a practical art. There seemed no time to be lost; so, arousing all my energies, I bellowed out, in no very pious strain, ‘What the d—l are you?’ Instantly something bounced off my body on the floor, which was ponderable evidence that the oppression had not been anything illusive, and I came to the conclusion that it must be a cat,—an animal, by the way, that I feared more than hated. My first plan of operation was to open the

\* It may be worth noticing, that when the dreamer’s sufferings are so intense, that the continuance might affect his sanity, he invariably awakes to a state of more or less perfect consciousness.—AUTHOR’S NOTE.

door, to give the intruder a chance of retreat, and stood with one of my heavy boots in my hand, armed for an onslaught, when a big black tom cat rushed forward, but not before my missile was hurled with such force, that if it did not touch 'Tommy,' it did the door, with so much noise as to disturb the slumbers of the occupants in the dormitory along the whole landing. But as I had gently closed the door, many were the conjectures of the source of the disturbance; and which the next morning, in justice to the company, I explained."

There are other forms of dreaming, in which the muscular system is implicated, either as a cause, or as the servant of the brain and nervous system. The following instance, narrated to us by a gentleman of great talent and philosophical tendency, is now published to elucidate a passive condition of the muscles without any marked effect of disturbed circulation, as in true *incubus*. Its *psychical* character is similar to hundreds of others, furnishing another proof of the difficulty of tracing with any marked accuracy the minutiae which form the varied circumstances of any particular dream. Our friend writes—

"One day I saw two boys in the street, one of them much older than the other. The elder was teasing the junior, who said, in a crying tone, 'It's very cruel, Johnny, to treat me in such a naughty manner; I'll tell father!' I interfered, and chided the tormentor, telling him that his conduct was cowardly and unfeeling, and thus for a time saved the little fellow from any further persecution; for I watched their movements, and observed the elder with his arm placed in an affectionate manner round his brother's neck.

"That same night these meagre materials furnished all the incidents of a dream, which has occasioned some curious matter for reflection to myself and to others to whom the details have been related. I was musing in a field where a number of boys were playing, and watched their gambols with extreme pleasure. But soon two boys near the spot where I stood attracted my attention, as the younger was blind. The poor little fellow complained that he was very thirsty, and he asked his elder brother to take him to the tank on the opposite side of the meadow. He refused, in a rather angry manner; but although the colour came into the face of the bereaved little fellow, he uttered not a word of complaint, only repeated his request in a most urgent and more importunate manner. But his wishes were unheeded. As I had seen this tank, which was constantly filled, being supplied by an under-ground spring, so that the clear, bright, cold water constantly flowed from its sides, and being very sorrowful that the blind boy should suffer from thirst, I proposed to guide him, but could not move. My limbs



were almost instantaneously paralysed. 'Poor little fellow,' said I, 'what will you do?' 'Go myself, sir; I can find the way.'

"And no sooner said than done; for off he ran towards the tank of water, and I trembled lest he should fall in and be drowned. As he took the exact direction to it, without stopping, my anxiety was painful, so that to myself I appeared to be terror-stricken, as I could not move so as to render him any assistance. At length, to my great surprise and relief, he stopped suddenly when within three or four yards from the reservoir. Then he seemed to listen, as if to judge of its distance by the gurgling sounds of the water as it rolled over the sides on the pebbly bed beneath. Having apparently satisfied himself, he suddenly dropped on his knees, and in that laborious way he gradually approached the precious beverage; when it was within his reach, he was bending his head, and drank from the precious stream, and so greatly moved he seemed to be at the comfort he derived from the refreshing beverage, that his own tears flowed copiously, and became so sympathetic, that I awoke."

Our friend said, that he was lying on his back, as easy as possible. There was not any pressure on the heart, there was not any cramping of the limbs, and yet he felt the same incapacity to move his body, as if he had been actually terrified by some sense of imminent danger, or by some marvellous event. The effect only continued for a short time, and his normal volition was restored.

It is certainly a curious case, and we have only one solution for the phenomenon. Taking our *data* from what occurs in the waking state, it may be remarked as a matter of indisputable experience, that terror tends to paralyse the muscular powers. And even in states of ordinary fear, they are rendered feeble in their action, so as to make even a strong man totter. We may, therefore, assume some little difference in the events narrated, that is so far as to their order of occurrence; and that in the first instance our dreamer's *caution* was excited, and hence in his dream, it had the same paralysing power as would have been experienced in the hour of consciousness.

Dugald Stewart thinks, "that in dreaming we are influenced by the laws of association, as we are in the waking state." "The mind," he thinks, "resembles 'the poetical power;' the power of combining and mixing the most heterogeneous circumstances; and thus fashion the most absurd, grotesque, and monstrous combinations." We quote from memory. But these are the views this philosopher propounds.

In our own investigations of the phenomena connected with dreams, we find that the nocturnal vision, which is influenced "by the laws of association," is only when that *dream* has any

reference to recent events or occurrences. That these links of memory may have been formed by reading or conversation ; and even then the circumstances reproduced are somewhat modified, and the *dramatis personæ* are changed, the principal part being sustained by the dreamer himself.\* Before we cite any evidence, we must offer a few remarks on those mental powers which perform a part of the intellectual process principally concerned in reproducing events and scenes which have occurred. We speak of them as perceptive faculties, and their functions, although various, are all essential for the appreciation of all objects of which the external senses can take cognizance. By these powers we take cognizance of individual entities, note their forms, proportions, colours, densities, and indicate their particular functions, their relative numbers, duration, and so forth. It is important for our purpose even to note thus briefly their respective functions. For during the dreamy state, these perceptive powers are often involuntarily excited. That is, they reproduce past impressions when the original objects are no longer present ; and so vividly they appear, that during the vision they have all the same influence in producing pleasure or pain which the things or events in their material reality had done. But the congruous or incongruous scenes which may be presented during our nightly visions, will depend on their being natural and consistent, or disjointed and extravagant, by the accidental circumstance whether one or many of the perceptive faculties are associated in these reminiscences. If there are similar combinations, as in the waking hours, nothing will appear either incongruous or extravagant. If such is not the case, then, indeed, the dream is a mere "fancy sketch." In the mysteries of our being, we find that in dreams there are often past events resuscitated, sometimes with a faithful vividness, but at others commingled and without any definite associations. Yet we think, as a general view, that these unrefreshed and active perceptive faculties more frequently take cognizance of recent scenes. We will cite one of our own from the phenomena subsequently noticed, being interesting in a physiological point of view.

CURIOUS REMINISCENCE DISTORTED.—A friend of the writer, Mr. C. W. Day (author of "Hints on Etiquette," &c., &c.), on his return from one of his journeys in Switzerland, published in one of the monthly magazines a brief account of his perils and adventures. He particularly described an exciting incident at the *Mer de Glace*, in which there is a deep fissure, (the mass of ice having split on some occasion,) but over this gap the traveller

\* This egoism of the dreamer we shall have to refer to as we proceed with our subject.



must spring, or suffer the inconvenience of retracing his journey. And Mr. Day, in his narrative, rendered it highly exciting and graphic. We could see him, so to speak, standing on one of the slippery surfaces of this "sea of ice," and with daring courage hazarding a leap over the gulph, with all the danger of making a footing on the opposite slippery resting-place. The account was very artistic, without being highly coloured, but strictly "true to nature," although slightly idealized.

After reading the very able article, and conversing with the author on some of the details, I became so deeply interested, that on that same night, while in bed, I thought repeatedly of the exciting adventure, until I fell into a rather sound sleep, and dreamt that I was travelling in a foreign land, and was on the confines of an enormous large forest, which seemed to stretch for many miles, even as far as the eye could reach. The evening sun had sunk beneath the distant mountains, and all appeared most beautiful, yet a sense of melancholy oppressed me; for within the forest could be heard a discordant chorus of wild beasts, roaring, growling, groaning, and all seemed as if approaching the spot where I stood; such was my unpropitious position, so far as retracing my weary steps, the attempt could not be made without danger; yet before I could gain the open country, it was necessary to pass a broad, deep ravine,—the waters in it echoed for some time after a stone was thrown into it—this also was like a sepulchral voice, announcing its readiness to receive me as another victim. Over this ravine, with its sunken sea, there was a rude bridge, constructed of deal planks, dovetailed together, and it had no hand-rail to protect a passenger. I have a distinct recollection that in my dream I reasoned thus—If I remain, there was every probability of being torn to pieces by some wild beasts; or if an attempt were made to cross the "bridge of planks," and dizziness overtook me, that death in that case would also be inevitable; still the latter seemed most preferable of the two possible accidents. When I had decided, and had gained the centre plank, I lost my balance and fell, but in so doing I made a desperate effort to grasp the bridge, and succeeded in doing so; the whole weight of my body depending on my left arm, the pain of which was so great that I groaned audibly, and to my great relief my wife awoke me, asking me, "What is the matter?" I replied, Thank God, it is but a dream, but what a fearful one. There were not any symptoms of *incubus*, as in the latter state volition over the voluntary muscles is lost, even to the seeming consciousness of the dreamer. But in this case, there was this phenomenon—I had in my dream exerted the muscles of my arm, suspended by them alone, and had evidently used the same amount of effort as if it had been

an actual event, for the left arm ached to such a degree that it was evident the muscular force, having been directed by a similar act of volition, would have been sufficient to sustain the whole weight of my body even, for a brief period. Nor did the painful sensation cease for two days.\*

We are also tempted to give a case of muscular lassitude, induced during sleep, by showing that long-sustained muscular exercise, even in a dream, may bring a similar amount of fatigue, as when actively performing an equal amount of labour when in the waking state. This, we apprehend, results from the fact, that the muscular force put into requisition requires a similar amount of nervous power as if actively exercised, and that there is a corresponding demand made on the brain and spinal nerves for this purpose.

Mr. L——, a very superior musical artiste, who was an organist of some celebrity at the ——, told us an interesting dream which had occurred to him, and of which, from its effects being so marvellous, he asked us to explain the phenomena. He said that he had been practising, with great zeal and labour, some of Sebastian Bach's most elaborate fugues, until he had acquired the most facile execution, even with the most elaborate; and that he continued these exercises, from finding the highest emotional gratification from them. One night, after his usual daily occupations of teaching music, he went to bed, but he did not recollect whether he had felt more than ordinarily fatigued. He dreamt that he had to play these fugues before a very large congregation, but he found, to his horror, that the pedals would not move, and that it was utterly impossible to give any proper effect to these sublime compositions—that he tried to do so with great and intense anxiety, and with the most indomitable perseverance; but the difficulties increased, and his chagrin and disappointment were great, as he had never anticipated the possibility of such a complete failure. Hence, he added, that he made still greater efforts, trying with all his energy and might to make the pedals act; but with all his additional labour he could not succeed, and under a sensation of despair, he awoke. He said that he was quite jaded, and physically prostrated, particularly his legs and arms, which were not only tired, but they actually pained him, just in the same degree as if his dreamy adventure had been an actual reality.

There is not a doubt that if he had not actually used the muscles of his arms and feet, that he had expended a similar amount of nervous power as if the muscles of both the legs and

\* We shall have some few further remarks to make on this subject in the conclusion.



arms had been exercised under similar circumstances, whilst under the perfect volition of consciousness.

Every physiologist will at once admit that in the latter instances there is a marked difference in the condition of the muscular system in NIGHTMARE.

We are tempted to narrate another instance to prove that precisely a similar class of phenomena were observed—namely, that the state of the muscles in this dream was similar, or nearly so, as if the occurrence had been real, and not a vision of the sleep.

A gentleman who practised as a surgeon told us that he dreamt that he was sent for by one of his patients to go and see a poor fellow who had broken his leg, and that when he went into the house the poor creature was groaning from excess of pain. The limb was much swollen, and red, whilst a portion of the bone was visible on the surface. Some “village bone-setter” had tried to reduce the fracture; but from his great ignorance, he had only tortured the sufferer. The family were in a state of great distress; and altogether, he said, that all his higher motives were urgent to relieve the patient and comfort those around him. He distinctly recollects that he took his coat off, and, after great efforts, he succeeded in bringing the bones in juxtaposition. It was a labour rendered more difficult by the sensitive state of the injured leg and highly nervous condition of the invalid; so that, what with his screaming and groaning and occasional movement and resistance, at the same time roaring out, it was greater torture than he could bear; our surgeon says, he had a repetition of his efforts, but he felt fatigued and qualmish, which sensations awoke him. To some questions we put to him, he declared that his arms were even more tired than if he had actually been performing the same operation; and he also thought that the positive muscular effort he had been making was similar in its waste of power and consequent exhaustion.

Having entered on this inquiry with the view of unfolding the phenomena of dreams, and with the hope that the views submitted would have some practical advantage, we shall proceed with our subject, and shall next consider the many anomalous forms which are experienced by the dreamer when under the influence of narcotics or alcoholic compounds.\*

\* The writer of this Essay has tried experiments on himself, with the view of ascertaining the specific effects of narcotics (opium, laudanum, morphia, smoking strong tobacco, &c.), and he has noticed that the dreams resulting from them are either grave or gay, the perceptive faculties being active, and the sense of the beautiful or the marvellous acting with them. In other words, *narcotics* act principally on the *cerebrum*, whilst alcoholic compounds stimulate the *cerebellum* and base of the brain, and generally induce animal and prurient associations in these visions of sleep.—AUTHOR'S NOTE.

We may incidentally remark that NARCOTICS produce a species of delirium, and then, indeed, the dream may resemble some form of insanity. The one now to be submitted is, indeed, curious, the details of which were furnished by the dreamer, who writes thus:—"During the time of my visit to Scarborough in 1827, a course of lectures was delivered on the science of phrenology, which were illustrated with a great number of *crania*. One night, a medical gentleman and a friend of mine, who, like myself, was a visitor at this beautiful watering-place, went early to have some conversation with the lecturer, and whom he asked to give him an account of the personal history of some of the skulls on the table. He and I were much amused at the condensed biographies which were given of this motley union of philosophers, thieves, murderers, philanthropists, &c.; and the idea occurred to me that if these skulls could utter an address, some of them would be indignant with being placed with so many disreputable associates.

"When the lecture concluded, we proceeded to our hotel; and feeling much fatigued and jaded by the continued tension of my mind, I was induced to smoke some strong cigars, to act as a sedative. When I went to bed, I had a vivid perception of the lecturer's collection of skulls, and pondered over the important reflections he had deduced from their respective organizations. Whilst these ideas still engrossed my attention, I fell asleep. But the train of thought must have continued; for it seemed to me that I was tempted to go and examine them again, and whilst doing so, the skulls became suddenly animated, and each was immediately attached to a fleshless skeleton. And then an extraordinary scene took place. Each seemed to manifest all the excessive passions which had formerly distinguished them, except the philosophers, who remained calmly contemplating these furious beings. A sense of agony came over me; for either they mistook me for the lecturer, or else their ire was roused for my having been such a Paul Pry to have dared to inquire into their respective histories; and although it seemed quite awful to observe this 'dance of death,' yet it excited my risible faculties. The skeletons then rushed towards me, and in my extreme terror I awoke: my hands were cold, and my skin clammy, like when faint from the effects of the nicotine of tobacco in some states of the stomach."

In this dream the perceptive faculties, with *wit*, *ideality*, and *marvellousness*, were under simultaneous excitement; whilst the reasoning powers must have been in the inactive state of profound sleep. If the latter had not been the case, the absurdity of fleshless skeletons bending their fists, and running and jumping in such a wild manner, would have been an obvious



impossibility, as they could neither move their arms nor legs when there did not exist any muscles, but merely the bony framework of these skeletons.

If there are "sermons in stones," there are moral inferences to be drawn from dreams. We are tempted to give the following, and vouch for the accuracy and correctness of the report. It is a curious political dream, in which there is detailed the trial, sentence, and execution of the dreamer.

Before, however, giving the details, we must premise that the gentleman who narrated it to us, and with whom we are intimately acquainted, had taken an active part in politics, when it was unsafe and injudicious to express any extreme liberal opinions. It was at the time when Lord Sidmouth and his colleagues suspended the *Habeas Corpus* act, about the period of the trial of Wooller, the editor of the "Black Dwarf." Our friend was enamoured with his lengthy and able defence, and had a particular desire to be himself a political martyr. This arose from the fact that he had himself a well-stored mind and a great capacity for public speaking, of which, by the way, he was most vain. And, although he would have shrunk from the commission of any crime, yet, influenced by a powerful *love of approbation*, he did not consider the being arraigned for political opinions to be a violation of moral rectitude, or any infringement of his duties as a citizen. He had but the one idea, that of making a display of his stores of historical facts, and of making an eloquent appeal on the right of an individual to advocate such views as in his judgment would tend to elevate the human family. These thoughts floated in his brain, and whenever he had an opportunity, in public or private, he would descant on them with great ardour. The meetings he attended were held at the parlours or club-rooms of public-houses, in which clouds of smoke enveloped the assembly; and although he was not much of a drinker, he indulged excessively in "the Indian weed," so that he might be considered always narcotised. We have been forced to give these phases of the mind of our "dreamer," and which will enable us to trace the train of ideas in his sleeping vision, and to account for its curious results. He had been for some hours in a dense fog of tobacco-smoke, when he returned to his lodgings, tired and stupified by the poisonous atmosphere, and quickly retired to his bed. He dreamt that he was arrested for some speech on his ultra-radical views of government, in which he had enforced his favourite principle—"that men were not under any obligation to obey bad laws, any more than that a child could be considered guilty of disobedience to a father who might urge him to commit an act of moral turpitude." He says that he vividly remembers being committed to prison, and that

his trial took place after many weeks of incarceration, when he made a most eloquent defence to a crowded court; but the jury pronounced a verdict of guilty. He heard a murmur throughout the court, which was soon suppressed. Then the judge put on a black cap, and pronounced the awful sentence—that he must suffer the penalty of death by hanging, for his treasonable conduct. Soon his busy and disturbed mind produced another exciting scene: he was brought from the gaol, pinioned and guarded, and had to mount the platform. He says that he distinctly felt the rope round his neck—heard the bolt withdrawn—and was conscious that he was at that moment launched into eternity! That is, considered himself dead, and seemed quite aware that he was put into a shell to be buried, and yet all that he actually experienced was a different state of his feelings, which, even in his dream, was to him a psychological puzzle; for he distinctly heard the comments made on his character, and many eulogiums passed on the very speech for which he had suffered the penalties of the law. He distinctly heard people defend the soundness of his principles and the honesty of his whole life; and he felt a peculiar satisfaction, verifying “the ruling passion,” in both the waking state and his dreams, was a strong vanity. He added, that those who carried his coffin began to move, and that they once stumbled; and a strong notion affected him that they would let his pent-up house fall, which he thought would disgrace his corpse; and this fear awoke him to a state of mental consciousness, when he found that the collar of his night-shirt had slipped on one side, and not acted as a tight ligature to the throat, but that the button pressed on the jugular vein. The pain of the latter, and the obstruction to the venous blood, predisposed the whole of the phenomena of his remarkable dream, in which there was a renewal of many of the vagaries of his waking thoughts. The dream, however, left so strong an impression on his mind as to modify his opinions, and induced him to give his attention to moral science, and to eschew party politics.

We may incidentally remark, that the *egoism* of the dreamer not only insures his individuality, but as a consequence renders him invariably the hero of every incident, or else the principal actor. If there is a fight, he is dealing his blows with fearful effect and deadly consequences to his antagonist. If a lecture is given on any subject it is by himself, or else he is propounding its errors or unsoundness. Should he dream of a riot, he suppresses it. It was his eloquence which acted “like oil on the troubled waters,” and stilled the commotion induced by the passions of the people. Even when there occurs, during the nightly vision, any great inconsistency, or obvious discrepancy, it



still seems correct, as in the dream it is his own mind which furnishes every associated circumstance.

It is worthy of a passing notice, that often there is a great craving among the insane for tobacco or snuff, as if they had an intuitive perception of their sedative tendencies, and hoped by their aid to allay their morbid irritability. And yet if these narcotics act on the disordered brain as they generally do on a sane person, we have the most indubitable evidence, from a vast number of smokers, that their dreams are not only most vivid, but often the most painfully distressing, from their apparent naturalness. Part of which effect, that which is depressing to the dreamer, may be occasioned by some gastric disturbance, as few inveterate smokers escape this penalty.

We were somewhat dubious where to place in our collection the following dream, for it was evidently suggested by the state of the weather :—

Mr. T——, a rich merchant, by birth a German, was rather out of health, and was recommended by his physician to spend a few weeks at Brighton. He was, like most of his countrymen, a smoker, scarcely being ever without a cigar, unless at his meals; but whether from this habit, or the constant activity of his mind, from his extensive mercantile transactions, he was highly nervous, particularly if the weather was cold, so as to affect the cutaneous circulation. On the occasion we have to speak of, the weather was so boisterous, that when he walked before dinner on the cliff, his hat blew off, but he recovered it. As he was obliged to remain in his apartments, and being too listless to read, he puffed away in a more than ordinary degree, and about ten o'clock went to bed, but not "to sleep;" at least, from the wind shaking the house, he was in bodily fear that the roof would be blown off, or some other casualty. After tossing about in a restless manner for some time, he fell into a profound slumber; but the angry gusts still rattling the windows, which seemed every now and then as if they would be staved in, he must have partially appreciated. For he dreamt that he was at a foreign port, and had gone on board of a ship homeward bound. The weather was stormy, and the wind rattled the sails in a most fearful manner. Some expressed a desire to return to shore, but the captain heeded not their wishes, as it would be incurring danger. The sailors were shouting and running about the deck, all bustle and confusion, from the rapid manner they had to attend to their multiform duties. At length the vessel was fairly out at sea, which ran mountains high, every now and then coming over their frail bark like an avalanche, which made the landsmen fancy must sink it. Our dreamer was at first terrified, but ultimately he conversed

with the crew and the different passengers, and examined the luggage to ascertain if all his own were right, when he found that he had left his 'hat-box, and that to his surprise he had been all day without any covering to his head !

After some time, the vessel arrived in port. The custom-house officers overhauled the trunks and bales, when Mr. T—— remembered some packets locked up in the captain's cabin, and among them his hat-case. But strange enough, when he has the keys given him, he attempts to descend to the cabin, the motion and rocking of the vessel prevent him ; he is angry, and awakes. When indeed, he says, the storm had so increased, that he felt his bed shake.

Besides the state of the weather, the hat blown off on the cliff, and the sea being rougher than usual, were all the materials to work up the dream. But in this instance, and innumerable others, the mind fashioned a vessel, created different men—with their individualities of character—gave them certain ideas in common with their respective class, (as for instance, the captain, seamen, passengers, and custom-house officers), and supplied them not only with thoughts and opinions suitable to each, but also the very words with which they expressed themselves.

As a contrast to this matter-of-fact subject of a dream, we are tempted to cite one where the *ideality* of the dreamer gave a rather *outré* train of thought, which had had some positive *data* curiously distorted.

It is, indeed, an old and a trite remark, "that very often dreams are but the continuation of our waking thoughts," which, however, may be mixed up with confused reminiscences, and so modified by a want of unity, time, and place, that on comparing them we have some difficulty of tracing any resemblance between the waking and the dreamy thoughts. There is, however, a moral in the one we propose relating. A learned friend of ours writes thus :—"Some time since I had a visitor, a vain young man, who talked in a rapid way, and fatigued me as much by his manner as by the heterogeneous mixture of all kinds of subjects on which it pleased him to discourse. He touched on one, then changed to another, with the rapidity of a fly gliding over a fluid ; then for a time he dwelt with rhapsody on some dish of which he had partaken, or some scene he had witnessed. Next he speculated on political and moral science—talked of education, beautiful women, war, machinery, and murders. Thus he rattled on from subject to subject without either order, arrangement, or connexion. Tired with the effort to keep my attention, or to follow him in this mental race, which was so tortuous, I was glad to avail myself of the conventional privilege of a convalescent by retiring to bed, where I soon fell into an uneasy sleep. Then I dreamed



that I stood by a very large transparent reservoir, which was filled with water or some other clear kind of fluid, the upper part of which was like a polished crystal. Wondering what could be the use of this reservoir, I remained fixedly gazing at it. Soon there appeared to rise up from the lower portion a vast number of objects, which floated about with rapid motions until they reached the surface, when they passed over the sides or the upper end, and disappeared. 'This,' I exclaimed, 'is a fluid pandora, a magical reservoir!' My curiosity was excited, and I continued to observe the operations with the greatest attention. Sometimes the turbid matter at the bottom of the vessel became greatly agitated, and immediately flowers of various shapes and colours floated gracefully for a brief time, and then vanished. These flowers were succeeded by a vast number of animalcules of different sizes and forms; and they also passed away before my astonished senses. Various grim and bleeding victims then rose up, showing their 'raw heads and bloody bones;' and after harrowing my feelings for a few minutes, disappeared in 'mid air,' followed by fragments of machinery, nondescript animals, portions of pictorial and graphic art, which all equally mocked my gaze; and as the vain attempt was made to endeavour to compare them with what I had seen, they all exploded into a thin and impalpable mist!

"Such was this magical dream, so full of marvellous legerdemain, that my very eagerness to comprehend their meaning awoke me. With my first imperfect consciousness, this vision seemed 'strange, passing strange,' and seemed to intimate 'that the cloud-capped towers' and all earthly things were about to dissolve, and not leave a wreck behind; for from the intense headache I endured, it had not occurred to my mind the fact that all this confusion and the different mutations had been fashioned from the still Babel of subjects passed before my mind's eye by the compounds of small-talk of my visitor!

"If, therefore, my mind had not been impressed with the injudiciousness of talking in a lax manner on every subject, this dream would have pointed a moral, if it could not adorn a tale; and hence may be useful in any investigation of the philosophy of dreams."

Our friend afterwards said, that so vivid had been the brain-conjuring of his dream, that he had some difficulty of disabusing his mind as to the reality or not of the incidents.

*(To be continued.)*

ART. IV.—LEAVES FROM THE DIARY OF A PATIENT,  
 CONFINED IN HANWELL ASYLUM.

[THE following diary has been placed in our hands by the writer, who was confined in the Middlesex County Lunatic Asylum for six months. During a portion of that period he kept a daily record of the treatment to which he was subjected. The writer speaks well of the Asylum and of those officially connected with it, although he feels that he was unjustly sent and detained there. As giving some idea of the internal economy of this national establishment, the following extracts may prove of interest to our readers.]

*Monday, 12th January, 185—*.—Brought in a cab here (Hanwell Lunatic Asylum); stripped of my clothes, and enforced to take a warm bath. Examination of my person, to see, I presume, what marks, if any, I had about me, so that my body might be sworn to, in case I drowned, or hung myself—no great improbability of either event taking place, considering what I had latterly been subjected to.

After my bath, I was allowed a rather wide run over the building—a wonderful one, truly. Having arrived here about half-past twelve o'clock a.m., and the dinner hour in this vast establishment being one p.m., I had not been an inmate long before dinner was discussed. It comprised soup, meat, and vegetables, with about one-third of a pint of—not over-strong, but, what to me is more desirable—*genuine* table ale. After dinner I was taken before Dr. B., the resident physician, who listened, apparently with considerable interest, to a somewhat lengthy epitome of my checkered history during the last ten years. I was then conveyed to my future “ward,” that is, the particular room or apartment where lunatics of my presumed class were confined, or rather where we took our meals together, and familiarised. And here I must say that I was much surprised to find men who, to me, for the first few hours of our associating together, appeared in every respect to be in full possession of all their rational faculties. My thoughts thereupon were akin to these—If these men be really mad, why, then I do not wonder at others deeming me so, and while that supposition exists, here, doubtless, I am likely to remain. This was not a pleasing idea by any means, but “*nil desperandum!*” At five minutes before five p.m., the bell tolled for chapel. It was perfectly optional on a patient’s part whether he chose to attend the service or no. Indeed, I may say here that the system of “non-restraint,” under which this vast asylum is conducted, is



most consistently carried out. I attended the evening service, which commenced with singing a short hymn; then the minister read two or three prayers from the Church of England Common Prayer Book, and then was read a chapter in the New Testament; the service occupying about twenty minutes. On my return to my "ward," tea was served: each patient was supplied with about two-thirds of a pint, very little milk, less sugar, no bread or butter; in fact, this is not looked on as a meal at all, but is altogether supplementary to the asylum dietary, and considered a luxury and an indulgence. At seven o'clock, however, "supper" was served; this was a tolerably substantial meal. It consisted of nearly half-a-pint of the before-mentioned table ale, a thick slice of very excellent bread—yesterday's—and about an ounce and a half of tolerably good cheese. This being disposed of, I was conducted to bed. Bed! imagine, seven o'clock p.m.! Considering, however, that I should gain nothing to my advantage by any expression of dissent, I philosophically bottled my indignation, and unhesitatingly suffered myself to be conducted to my "dormitory." But I cannot help here frankly confessing that my pent-up feelings approximated their explosive point when I found that four other—to use a mild term, say eccentric, gentlemen—were to sleep in the same apartment with me. The "attendants" (there are no *keepers* here, *they* having all disappeared about the same period when the *whip*, *irons*, *strait waistcoats*, and other comforts of the like nature, thank God, ceased to be!)—the attendants kindly informing me that the reason we were to sleep in company, arose from the fact that one or two of my "friends" had a foolish *penchant* for hammering their heads against the walls, and that it was found that "company" restrained that exceedingly low and silly behaviour. This communication, I need scarcely say, was not likely to render me more inclined to sleep than I already was, although the attendant, doubtless, imagined the contrary. I was ordered to tie up my clothes in a bundle, and place them outside my door, along with the respective suits of my sleeping companions, and we were then locked in. I do not think I have before said, that after I had taken my bath, when I first entered here, my own clothes were taken from me, and an old suit of "grey" given me in their stead; this being one of the "rules" of this establishment. But to proceed. The attendant, after locking us in, bade us good night through an eyelet hole in the door, and we were left for sleep, but this balmy comforter was a long, long time before he visited me; and I laid on my little bed—we each had a separate one—tossing restlessly about, and not altogether free from imagining that probably some one of my eccentric "friends" might feel inclined to lay—in the penny-a-liner's

language—"violent hands" on me. I also sighed, and could not help thinking of the train of singular circumstances which had—O, how unjustly! consigned me here as a madman; and then I thought of my home, from which I had been pitilessly torn, of my dear wife, to whom I have been so few years—not *three*—married, and of my child! Sleep, at length, happily, overtook me, and without dreaming (I have never been a dreamer), after a refreshing night's rest I was awake the next morning at six o'clock. This is the hour when the attendants of each "ward" are ordered to unlock the doors of their respective patients. Having dressed and washed, I amused myself with a book till the morning chapel bell rang, about "eight;" and with perhaps a hundred, or a hundred and fifty others, I attended the service.

*Friday, 16th January.*—Being by this time looked upon by the authorities here as possessing at least *some* of my faculties, I was inducted to an assistantship in "the store" here, where my duties comprised the weighing out of tea, sugar, tobacco, snuff, &c. This was to me a desirable occupation, for I have always liked to be employed; and thankful I was for so soon experiencing one of the rules of the excellent system under which this Asylum is conducted; that is, the employing as much as possible its unfortunate inmates, in doing something useful to the institution itself; and thus, not only amusing some of my "friends" and myself, but saving a trifle to the county. The superintendent of "the store," Mr. C., treats me with really considerable kindness and attention, and what is more congenial to my feelings still, consoles me by intimating that in all probability my detention here will be but exceedingly limited. He requests me also to take whatever tobacco, snuff, or other little luxury I may fancy, and I had an excellent lunch this morning—to be continued, of course, on good behaviour—of superior bread-and-cheese, washed down with that very scarce beverage in the "metropolis"—*unadulterated* porter! In the afternoon of to-day, I was visited by my dear wife, and allowed to walk with her, unaccompanied by attendants, for two or three hours, on the very pretty greensward which charmingly ornaments the somewhat extensive front of this Asylum.

*Saturday, 17th January.*—A most beautiful and inviting morning: such a one when we envy the freedom of the happy birds, and should we unhappily be prisoners, long to burst our prison-bars and revel in the luxury of liberty. About eleven o'clock, having previously obtained leave of absence from my master *pro tem.*, Mr. C., I was allowed to take rather a wide promenade round the extensive grounds which surround this noble building, and which grounds are cultivated by efficient "hands,"



together with the not incontestible assistance of such of the patients who are sufficiently capable, and are so desirous of helping in rearing the vegetables requisite for the uses of this vast establishment. I was with a "company" or "gang" of about twenty, and one attendant, as a sort of overlooker, who, besides looking after the safety of his pupils, gave them instructions what work to go about, whether "hoeing," "weeding," or whatever the particular labour required. Quickly noticing that we were now in a field only separated from the public road by a hedge, which I felt a very little exertion on my part would carry me over, I artfully and gradually drew myself from my fellow-prisoners, and pretending to be examining the different vegetables that surrounded me, managed, after a few minutes, to escape the eyesight of the attendant, who had no suspicion of my intention, and quickly leaping the not very high or difficult hedge, found myself in the London road. Free! A cart coming along the road from the direction of the last-named place, I soon persuaded the lad driver to let me accompany him away from Hanwell, asking him at the same time if he thought me mad! He unreservedly answered, No! and effected my escape from the vicinity of the Asylum by concealing me under some horse-cloths or things of the kind at the bottom of the cart, and we soon jogged along, thank God, happily enough. I did not attempt to show myself, as I had the Asylum dress on, and was, of course, afraid of being recognised by some one, and sent back to my old quarters. After a ride of, I presume, some three or four miles, the lad acquainted me with the fact of his nearing his destination. Leaping, cheerfully, therefore, from the cart, and much thanking him—in words, "*for silver and gold had I none*"—for his kindness in conveying me away safely so far, I bade him adieu, and at once proceeded to complete my escape; for I was still within what I thought much too easy a distance from Hanwell to consider myself free from the danger of being re-taken. Walking and running on, therefore, I at length came to a canal, along whose towing-path I at once made up my mind to proceed, imagining that by a circuitous direction it made its way into London. And this, I have subsequently ascertained from the attendants here, is the fact, it being a part of the well-known "Regent's Canal," which runs through this part of the country on its way to the metropolis.

At length, thinking myself somewhat safe, I less cautiously began to look around me, when all at once, O horror! my eyes were completely fascinated—I don't think I could pick out a word more expressive—at the abrupt appearance of one of the attendants of the Asylum, in his blue frock-coat and brass buttons, running in a parallel direction, and within a stone's throw of me.

Noways intimidated, however, and thinking I could perhaps outrun him, I accordingly "picked myself up," as sporting men say, and ran with all my speed. Ahead of me, unluckily, and standing on the very towing-path on which I was running, were six or seven ill-looking, skulking fellows, and to whom, immediately he saw them, my pursuer vehemently shouted to stop me. There were only now, then, two alternatives,—either to deliver myself quietly into the hands of the attendant, or to "*take the water*." Had the chace have happened on a warm day in summer, I believe I should have chosen the latter impulse (for I can swim), but as it was a bitter day in January, I surrendered at discretion. Within an hour subsequently I was once again lodged in safety in my "ward."

*Sunday, 18th January.*—About ten o'clock this morning, by direction of Dr. B., I was "transplanted," if I may be permitted to use such a word under present circumstances, from "Ward No. Eleven" to "Ward No. Six"—a "*Refractory*" one. This, it seems, is a punishment for my daring attempt at escape. I am glad to find, however, that although the patients are much more boisterous, and, possibly, more dangerous, than my first fellow-prisoners, the "attendants"—and a great deal rests with them—are more quiet and gentlemanly than those in my previous "ward;" and I am made by them as comfortable as their duties, and the circumstances under which I am detained here, admit of.

*Thursday, 29th January.*—To-day I have been examined by the visiting justices, magistrates who periodically visit and form a "board" here, to see and discharge, if convalescent, the patients who are sufficiently well to appear before them. The chairman of the board to day, Mr. W., addressed me in an exceedingly kind manner; and further said, that he hoped and believed I should very soon appear before them again to ask for my discharge. The clouds are now, I think, beginning to break, and I am almost tempted to believe that the day of my freedom from detention in this asylum, as a madman, is not far distant. O may my presentiment be realized!

*Saturday, 31st January.*—This morning I was supplied with a new suit of really very decent looking grey clothing. On putting them on, I found there was plenty of room left me to grow stouter in; and which, if I prove no exception to the general rule of all those who become inmates here, in the course of a very few weeks I shall. Such seems to be really the case, according to all accounts here, a very short space of time being sufficient to considerably increase the bulk of the inmates of this asylum. In the afternoon of to day I was removed from "Ward No. Six" to "Ward No. Four," where I now write this. This



"removal," it seems, was to accommodate a new patient, who took possession of my old quarters immediately I vacated them for these.

*Sunday, 1st February.*—I like my new "ward" as much better than "Ward No. Six," as the latter was preferred by me to "Ward No. Eleven," the one in which I was first located. I pen these lines in my *bed-room*. I have *one here to myself*; and which to me is infinitely more agreeable than "the associative principle" I have heretofore been used to. I am happy in finding also that the "attendants" in this ward are very kind and considerate, and really treat me with some little deference, as though they considered me somewhat above the common lunatic they are accustomed to. I cannot help repeating how thankful I am to that great Giver of all in thus letting me taste happiness, even in a lunatic asylum. My dear wife visited me again to-day, by the kind permission of Dr. B.,—Tuesdays and Fridays being the regulation days,—and brought with her our darling Harry. I am sure the poor child did not know me at first, so much do these pauper clothes and short cut hair alter my appearance. I have a slight revenge for the latter, however, in allowing my beard to grow, Our dear boy soon found I was "father;" and we were not long before we were gambolling on the floor, as was my wont before our separation. I accuse myself, since my wife has gone home, of having been harsh and unfeeling to her to-day. I hope God will forgive me for this unbridled tongue, and which, unhappily, I too frequently make others feel the poignancy of. The company of my wife and little one gave me unalloyed pleasure; and I romped with my dear boy with as much enjoyment, ay, as if I were a child myself again!

*Wednesday, 4th February.*—I do not find my new "ward" quite so comfortable as I did a day or two ago; nor are my spirits, I am sorry to say, so exuberant as they have hitherto been since my detention. The awful blasphemy continually being expressed in this "ward," by one or another of its unhappy demented inmates, is to me truly horrifying; and I hope I shall shortly be removed to some other "ward," where my fellow-patients are milder in their language and behaviour. I have mentioned my wish to the good doctor, who has promised to do all he can for me.

*Saturday, 7th February.*—I have now been in this "ward," No. Four, a week. I shall be very glad to get a change, which I am told I may now expect in a day or two. In this "ward" we certainly have some dreadful characters. Among them is an old and toothless man, nearly eighty years of age, who has formerly been, I understand, a keeper of madmen himself! He often mumbles about putting those he is quarrelling

with into *double irons*, thereby evidencing, plainly enough, his former occupation. From what I can see of him—and perhaps I have no right to form any such opinion, as they nearly all tell me here that I, myself, am but a madman; and God knows I may be; I have had troubles enough at least to render me so—I should opine that he has been a very vile and unfeeling fellow, if no worse; and I am inclined to look upon his detention here as God's justice this side of the grave. He is so violent at times, that it takes three or more of the attendants to overpower him, although he is at so advanced an age. After which, as a punishment, they confine him in the water-closet till he becomes a little less noisy. Each night in this ward, from the hour we are locked up in our respective bed-rooms—seven o'clock—till half-past nine or ten, the place is one continual and horrid din—a *hell upon earth*—holloing, hooting, shouting, kicking, swearing, singing, whistling, shrieking, and hammering at cell doors; and although each poor demented wretch is separately and securely confined under the best and safest materials, I confess, even in spite of the alleged security of their fastenings, I am sometimes fearful lest one of them should burst his door open and come and tear me to pieces: their united noises, blending unharmoniously together, producing a chorus of so extraordinary a character, that my pen falls very far short of expressing. I must not omit to mention here another member of this eccentric “choir;” an individual who rejoices in the name of Kitty Fisher, who, when the noise is at its highest pitch, and I am nervously expecting every moment to hear six or seven of the doors burst open, with their respective reports like so many pieces of ordnance, in chimes Mrs. Kitty Fisher with an extremely clever imitation of that far from soporific sound, the loud and continued braying of a healthy young jackass!

*Thursday, 12th February.*—Three days ago I was moved from “Ward No. Four”—the one in which I last wrote anything in this Diary—to the one I now occupy, “Ward No. Nine.” This ward contains upwards of fifty patients, and is named a *convalescent* “ward.” In fact, there are more men here than are pleasant to me; and I find it at times quite a difficulty to enter anything in my diary, there being now in my presence fifteen or sixteen lunatics, some of whom are so curious, or so impudent, as to be slyly peeping over my shoulder at this very moment, and trying—but I flatter myself unsuccessfully—to decipher my somewhat illegible penmanship. I do not, however, evince any resentment at their rude behaviour, knowing the terrible affliction under which they suffer. I may perhaps enter the fact here as rather remarkable, that although I have been an inmate of this asylum but a few weeks, I have grown fat, and



am told by my friends, who visit me occasionally, and I think so myself, that I have a considerably healthier and better appearance than that which I possessed when I first came here. So much for country air and "pauper dietary." All my acquaintance well know I have never been distinguished for anything like obesity.

*Friday, 20th February.*—My dear wife visited me again to-day. I do not remember ever seeing her look more charmingly. She was very pale, it is true; but that only rendered her in my eyes the more interesting; and I dare say, had she appeared ruddier, I should have charged her with not thinking much of me. I can now better appreciate that sweet sentiment expressed by Scott in "Marmion"—

"When pain or anguish wring the brow,  
A ministering angel thou!"

Certainly my dear wife's affection seems much strengthened since my incarceration here. And, thank God, she ascertained from Dr. B—— this afternoon his opinion that if I only went on as well as I do at present, he thought he might assure her that he should give his sanction to my discharge in a few days. I thank God most heartily, but humbly, who has thus answered my daily and nightly prayer.

*Tuesday, 24th February.*—To-day I have been visited by my brother and sister, and her good and kind husband, Mr. C——. They brought me several very acceptable little presents, which much tend to alleviate the somewhat monotonous existence necessarily attendant on my detention here. And I cannot help repeating how thankful I am to the Great and Good Giver of All, who thus is ever mindful of me, and beneficently provides me, even in a madhouse, with not only every necessary, but even many luxuries. Oh, that I may be permitted, ere I die, to do some good work, however inadequately, in part payment for this supreme beneficence!

*Saturday, 28th February.*—I am again brought into a "Refractory Ward." This was done by direction of Dr. B——. I had just finished a letter to my dear wife, and was about putting a postage stamp on the envelope, when one of my fellow-patients—certainly a man who knew entirely what he was about, and, in my humble opinion, possessed more intellect than very many "rational" persons outside of this asylum—grossly insulted me. I shall not sully this page, nor pollute my lips, by repeating his very offensive language. Words naturally arose between us, when the Doctor happening to approach—and who, I am sure, could not have heard the *whole* of the altercation between us, or he would have acted otherwise—ordered me at once into this "Refractory Ward," and left the aggressor in my

late ward, who laughed at poor me as I was conducted here. O, my God! give me patience to bear with these wretches, who thus inconsiderately trample on a poor man's feelings!

*Sunday, 29th February.*—To-day, by Dr. B.'s order, I have returned to my late ward, the "Convalescent," "No. Nine," and from which I was so abruptly, and I think I may say inconsiderately, removed on Friday morning. I believe I may conclude that I have been brought back here, after being in the "Refractory Ward" but for so short a time, by an act which, to many men's minds, I must frankly confess, would really assume the appearance of none other than a madman's. It was this. During the whole of yesterday I was extremely indignant that I should be again confined in a "Refractory Ward" so soon after the doctor had intimated my convalescence and early departure from this horrid place. This, coupled with a very loving letter from my dear wife, wherein she expresses her joy at our soon meeting, and living together again as formerly, made me determined, if possible, to anticipate our felicity by breaking out of my prison-house, and flying at once to her. Having arranged my plan, therefore, immediately after tea yesterday I commenced carrying the same into execution. I first of all broke off from a somewhat large iron soup-ladle its nice long handle, about two feet and a half in length, with a stout hook at its end, most convenient, as I soon found, for picking locks, and certain other, I suppose I must say, nefarious purposes. This was certainly a capital instrument, and I at once essayed to ascertain if with it I could pick the lock of the door of the cell wherein I that night was to sleep. This unfortunately I found was impracticable, the lock being much too good a one to be tampered with in that manner. I thereupon altered my plan, and commenced weakening the socket into which the bolt was thrust by the action of the key, the lock being fastened from the outside. A half hour's picking at this left it in such a condition that I felt little doubt but that a moderate force from the inside, and such as I could command, would release the door from its fastening. Having accomplished this, and it being then near our supper time, that meal was shortly disposed of, and at seven o'clock as usual, with the other inmates of the ward, I was, as the "attendant" doubtless believed, securely locked up for the night. After waiting with all the patience that I could summon for the occasion, at length the "coast was clear." The patients were all fastened within their respective "dormitories," and the attendants, being now *off* duty, were smoking their pipes and drinking beer, fortunately, in a part of the asylum at too great a distance to hear anything of my somewhat alarming operations. The bedsteads in these "Refractory" wards have what is here called



“a stretcher.” This is a wooden frame, about six or seven feet in length, and perhaps from three to three feet and a-half in width, and in depth, some six or more inches; the whole very strongly secured together, and, still further, a very stout iron bar or pin, running across the middle, augmenting its strength, and likewise available as a handle, in moving it from place to place. Across this frame a stout canvas is tightly drawn—drum fashion—on which the mattress is laid, and a very good sleeping apparatus it makes—of course, with a complement of the other usual requisites, such as blankets, sheets, &c. Well, using this stretcher as a sort of battering-ram, after a few smart blows at my cell door with it, I very soon had the pleasure of seeing it fly open. I then began tearing up my counterpane in strips, tying them together as I did so, contemplating breaking a window of the gallery in which I then was—the third story—and with the assistance of my *impromptu* rope, descending to the yard of the asylum. This, I soon found, however, was a work of too much time, and again altered my plan as follows:—I first sought the poker, in order, if possible, to break some thick iron railings which prevented my descent by a staircase into the floor below. Around the fire-places in these “refractory” wards is fixed a stout iron fence, or net-work, to prevent accidents from the patients burning themselves, and also to keep from their use the “fire-irons,” which, being very large and heavy, would make truly formidable weapons of offence in the hands of any who laid hold of them for such purposes. This net-work of iron was secured by a considerably strong padlock, and which I only succeeded in forcing open after a great amount of exertion, and at length, luckily, secured the poker, and a splendid fellow he was: about four feet and a-half long, and very nearly, if not quite, an inch in thickness. I then attempted to break the iron railings which I before mentioned as preventing my descent into the gallery on the next floor, but soon found, to my chagrin, they were much too strong for me. After a few unsuccessful blows, therefore, I relinquished the attempt. It was now nearly ten o’clock, and I was walking up and down the gallery ruminating on the next best course to pursue, when, all at once, I heard one of the “attendants” open a door at some short distance from me. To rush into my cell was but the work of a moment or two; unfortunately, I did not, in my hurry, close the door after me sufficiently close to escape his keen observation. He tried it, and immediately saw how matters stood. My “game” was now, I thought, “up;” I had the poker in my hand, and might have struck him, had I been so minded; but instead of doing so, thank God, I let him take the awkward plaything quietly out of my hand, and he then left me, doubt-

less to publish the fact to his "mates" that I was "at large." I now made up my mind to parley with Dr. B. before I gave myself up, and expressed my desire to see him to the attendant, as he left me to fetch, as I thought, further assistance. Immediately I was by myself, I grasped the shovel—a weapon equally as formidable as the poker I had let the attendant take from me.

I had but just time to chuckle over my prize, when in entered the doctor himself, with about eight or nine of the stoutest "attendants." Shouldering my shovel in as alarming a manner as I could, and feeling naturally excited, I swore that I would knock down the first one who attempted to lay hands on me. The men, who stood at a respectable distance from me, knowing my determination and spirit, were really alarmed, and therefore, along with the doctor, began to parley. In the meantime other men had been sent round the Asylum so as to encircle me and come upon me from behind. The latter soon making their appearance, and seeing myself entirely in their power, and certainly having no desire to injure any of the attendants, who I of course knew were only doing *their* duty, I made no further resistance, and they soon closed upon me, and using me not unkindly, soon stripped me entirely naked, to see, I suppose, that I had no weapon about me, and giving me back my flannel waistcoat and shirt, thrust me into a "padded room." A bed was hastily made therein for me, the door was secured, and I was once more safely under lock and key.

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#### ART. V.—ON THE CONNEXION BETWEEN MORBID PHYSICAL AND MORAL PHENOMENA.

BY THE REV. J. F. DENHAM, M.A., F.R.S.

[No. VII. of a Series.]

##### APPENDIX I.

THE general proposition about to be maintained is, that deviations from moral rectitude in the thoughts, dispositions, and actions of mankind are associated with bodily disease, and caused by it; understanding, however, by the latter term literally *all* states and conditions of the body removed from its normal condition—beginning with the state of simple bodily excitement produced by evil ideas addressed from without to the mind and affecting the body through the mind; and including the morbid effects on the mind of physical excitement applied to the body; and all the morbid alterations invariably produced on the mind and moral powers by functional or organic diseases,



malformation, &c. We are about to adduce reasons for the opinion that an abnormal or morbid condition of the body of some or other kind or degree, is the *proximate* cause of vice, sin, and crime; and that since such a condition of the body and its morbid effects on the mind constitute *insanity*, either latent or active, partial or entire, temporary or chronic, that vice, sin, and crime originate in insanity in the *comprehensive* and philosophical sense of that term. It will be allowed, on all hands, that vice, sin, and crime are *effects*; and we are about to investigate the *proximate causes* of those effects. We wish to find an intelligible and probable answer to the questions—Why any human being becomes vicious, sinful, or criminal?—Why all human beings are not similarly and equally vicious, sinful, and criminal?—and Why any human being is not at all times similarly and equally vicious, sinful, and criminal? And we believe that the answer to these questions is to be found in the differences of the physical condition of different individuals, and in the difference of the physical condition of the same individual at different times with reference to health and disease, however produced.

In behalf of this opinion an appeal will first be made to our consciousness and experience; secondly, to our observation; thirdly, to the authority of the Scriptures; fourthly, to the opinions of the Catholic fathers; fifthly, to the Articles and other documents of the Church of England; sixthly, to the teachings of its standard divines; seventhly, to the involuntary concessions of the adversaries to this opinion. We shall, lastly, offer some practical conclusions from our subject. First: We appeal to the consciousness and experience of every individual, and we ask, in regard of those deviations from moral propriety with which all considerate persons will, we believe, acknowledge themselves to be too frequently chargeable—whether they are not conscious, upon due attention to their mental and moral states, that a suggestion, temptation, inducement, occasion, or motive to any of these deviations of any kind and degree whatever, does not then, only, become effectual when after that a certain kind of physical *excitement* has been sensibly produced in the brain circulation, &c.—whether they are not conscious that some or other portion of our physical nature must first become *involved and coactive* with the suggestion, temptation, inducement, occasion, or motive,—and whether it is not, through means of such a physical coaction, continued and increased, that the balance between the moral powers and inclination is ultimately destroyed? We appeal to the experience of all persons whether their only safety from an evil suggestion, &c., does not lie in the resolute suppression of it before such a physical coaction has been effected—whether, if they have

often neglected such a suppression, the physical coaction does not become more readily effected, and whether, in the case of a continued neglect of such a suppression, the physical coaction and the compliance with the temptation, &c., do not become irresistible? We appeal to their experience of themselves in regard of what is commonly called their "infirmity," "failing," "weak point," or "besetting sin," or what they are "given to"—whether we have not now set before them the true account of its origin and power over them. What, indeed, is meant by the common phrase "keeping the mind calm," but the prevention of a physical perturbation? It is possible that a previous morbid state of the body or physical defect may render the prevalence of the temptation more easy; but even in this case the coaction with it of the physical portion of our nature is clearly perceptible. We further appeal to the experience of every man whether he has not often found that a diseased or disordered state of his body has been attended with an inclination or tendency to some or other kind of immorality, either of thought, disposition, or action,—and whether, in proportion as his bodily state approaches the condition of health, such an inclination or tendency is not diminished. Is any man equally inclined to be amiable and virtuous under all the different states of his bodily health and strength,—under a careful moderation and selection in regard of his food, a due attention to exercise, &c.—and under a system of excess, negligence, or indolence? We believe that the reply to these appeals will afford a decided presumption in favour of our opinion respecting the physical origin, or at least proximate cause, of vice, sin, and crime; for since all persons are conscious of such an origin and proximate cause in regard of minor immoralities, it is, we think, only fair and safe to infer a similar origin and proximate cause in regard of those greater immoralities of which mankind are guilty; agreeably to Sir Isaac Newton's second rule of philosophising, that "phenomena of the same sort are to be accounted for by the same cause."

Secondly, we appeal to the observation which all persons are more or less constrained to make on their fellow men. Let, then, any person direct his view to his acquaintances and friends, and does not the certainty of hereditary vices, sins, and crimes, and of vices as associated with particular bodily constitutions, conformations, states and conditions, present itself with irresistible conviction to his mind? Who has not observed instances among mankind of what Shakspeare calls—

"Some vicious mode of nature in them,  
As, in their birth, (wherein they are not guilty,  
Since nature cannot choose its origin,)



By the o'ergrowth of some complexion,  
 Oft breaking down the pales and forts of reason ;  
     The stamp of one defect  
 Being nature's livery, or fortune's star."\*

Who has not had reason to say—

    "Blessed are those  
 Whose blood and judgment are so well commingled,  
 That they are not a pipe for Fortune's finger  
 To sound what stop she please :  
 That are not passion's slaves ?"†

Perhaps the most palpable instance of the connexion between morbid physical and moral phenomena is afforded by intoxication and its consequences on the disposition and conduct. In Dr. Lettsome's well-known scale of Drunkenness, the vices, sins, and crimes vary in degrees of atrocity proportionably to the strength of the different alcoholic stimulants,—that is, according to the degrees to which a morbid state of the physical portion of the drunkard's system is produced. Even constitutional excitableness alone may, if indulged, lead to many immoralities. Hysteria in children of both sexes is often attended with a propensity to falsehood, hypocrisy, and other forms of vice. So is also a precocious or rapid development of the juvenile constitution, whether male or female: such cases either terminate in the subsidence of immoral propensities along with the completion of the physical development, or in death. I find in my memoranda the case of a female child of about nine years of age, of premature growth, excited manners, peculiarly sparkling eyes, keen-minded and mischievous, who would, unless closely watched, approach visitors to the house in a most winning manner, and, having gained their attention, would violently thrust her finger into their eyes; and having accomplished her purpose, would burst out into triumphant laughter. She died before she was ten years old, of fever. It is, I believe, universally admitted that insanity of all kinds is attended with a propensity to some or other kind and degree of immorality, as is also mental weakness or a deficiency of understanding.

I give the following instances that have come under my notice: they may be considered as types of classes containing many individual cases:

A young man, aged 23, of delicate constitution, defective moral and religious education, habitually talkative, boastful, prone to exaggerate, but yet possessing a remarkable aptitude for drawing, was, during the last few years of his life, addicted to sensuality and the company of the dissolute; seemed totally

\* "Hamlet," Act 1, scene iv.

† Act 3, scene ii.

destitute of all ideas of justice to God, to himself, or his fellow-creatures. Even a short time before his death, and when he was supposed to be too weak to need surveillance, he managed to rise from his bed, and was found at the distance of several miles from his abode, in a most deplorable state, in one of the lowest haunts of profligacy. The cause of his death, according to the opinion of his medical attendants, was diseased heart combined with phthisis. Often have I seen a family plunged into distress by the early and sometimes sudden indications in some one of the younger members of it of waywardness, proneness to immorality, insensibility to all expostulations and reasoning, and even to any consideration of self-interest. The result has been, generally, insanity or early death. "Enemies to themselves" is the popular comment in such instances; and I have had reason to believe that there was in some of these cases a real hatred of themselves, a wish to degrade and ruin themselves, and an impatience till they had thoroughly succeeded.

CASE 2.—A young man, of delicate appearance and very excitable temperament, thin, pale, and diminutive for his age, introduced himself to me as the son of a clergyman, and complained of an incessant inclination to abandon himself to immorality, although, as he assured me, he was a perfect stranger to the vice to which he was tempted. It had, however, become his fixed idea, although he responded, and apparently with sincerity, to my exhortations and warnings. I heard a few months afterwards that he died in an asylum for the insane.

CASE 4.—Reported to me by the survivor. A young man, remarkable for the correctness of his demeanour, was many years ago proceeding one evening to chapel at Cambridge, accompanied by a fellow-student and friend, when he suddenly proposed to abandon chapel and resort to the haunts of dissipation. His friend expressed his astonishment at this unexpected development in his character. He nevertheless turned away, was absent all night from his college, and three weeks afterwards he died raving mad.

CASE 5.—A young female, who had always evinced some degree of mental and bodily weakness, vanity, singularity, proneness to squander money, was attacked, at about seventeen years of age, with mental aberration, accompanied with well-defined catalepsy, attended with præternatural acuteness of the senses. She appeared able to discern by her smell whatever was brought into the house, though confined to the highest room in it. She knew who came into the house, and heard their footsteps when too distant for others to hear them; was sullen and violent, and unless prevented, would feel after those who came to see her



and bite them, and expressed her disappointment by rage and hideous noises. One medical attendant pronounced her "a demoniac, such as we read of in the time of Christ;" another, more wisely, predicted recovery upon a change in constitution. His prediction was fulfilled, and for some years after she filled an humble station of usefulness.

Another case was of a female of nearly the same age, of plethoric constitution, who, after a severe fright, evinced symptoms of malignity and frenzy, and the same disposition to bite persons. In order to effect her purpose, she feigned sanity in the most plausible manner, bit the person who believed her, and expressed her satisfaction at having done so with derisive laughter.

Another young female also showed a strong propensity to mischief and falsehood, along with decided indications of insanity. She accused the servants of theft, and secreted articles herself, in order to bring their honesty into suspicion. She nevertheless expressed a strong desire to be confirmed; could not be made to understand her moral unfitness for the rite, and ultimately, by an ingenious stratagem and deception, managed to receive it at a distance from her own neighbourhood. I have known instances of young females who, along with similar mental and moral characteristics, evinced an impetuous, unintelligent wish to change their religion, be baptized by immersion, take the veil, &c.

A female in a workhouse, considered insane by all around her, repelled all religious instruction, would not be present at prayers if she could avoid it, and repeatedly replied with great apparent animosity to all my exhortations to confidence in God, "He did not save my brother," whose death by the hands of justice had, I was informed, caused the overthrow of her reason.

I have met with several instances in which a severe illness or accident had greatly altered the moral dispositions. A man received a blow on his head by being thrown out of his gig, and to the end of his life was remarkable for pride, which had not been particularly observed in him previously. A young man, after a fit of epilepsy, became habitually conceited, and manifested a strong propensity to immorality. Instances of the association with diseased heart of horrid thoughts, temptations to vice, and especially to inebriety, have often come under my notice. Frequently have the sufferers complained that they "felt everything affect their heart," and have stated that a sensible perturbation of that organ preceded their dreadful ideas, inclinations to violence and crime, dejection and despair, thoughts of self-destruction, &c. None but those who have ministered to

such sufferers can form an idea of the extent and variety of the abnormal ideas, feelings, and inclinations by which they are frequently assailed.

Thirdly. We now proceed to adduce the references contained in the Scriptures to the association of bodily disease, in the comprehensive sense of the term already assigned to it, with vice, sin, and crime, and according as these references occur in a chronological arrangement of the Old Testament, Apocrypha, and New Testament. I request permission, however, to reproduce here, from No. 3 of these papers, the leading assertions of the Scriptures respecting the degenerate and damaged state of the body or "flesh," as they frequently term it, and respecting the consequences of various kinds produced on the mind, soul, or spirit, by its union with these intellectual and emotional principles of our nature. It was there shown that the Scriptures acquaint us with an immense deterioration that was inflicted on the body and external circumstances of the first parents of the human race, in consequence of their transgression, and entailed upon all their posterity; that this deterioration is assigned by the Scriptures themselves as the proximate cause of the existing phenomena of the perturbed state of the mental and moral nature of man, and that extraordinary instances of these phenomena are ascribed to those additional physical disturbances by which the state of the body is well known to be still further removed from its normal condition; that St. Paul declares that "the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh; that they are contrary the one to the other, so that we cannot fully do the things that we would;" that he thus describes his own state: "In me, that is, in my *flesh*, dwelleth no good thing. I find a *law* that when I would do good, evil is present with me. I delight in the law of God after the inward man, but I see another law in my *members warring against the law of my mind*, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members. So then with my *mind* I myself serve the law of God, but with the *flesh* the law of sin;" that he asserts the "disposition of the flesh is enmity against God; it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed *can* be;" that both St. Paul and the other Apostles perpetually use the terms "sinful flesh," the "infirmity of the flesh," "weak through the flesh," the "lusts of the flesh," our "vile" "mortal bodies;" and exhort their readers to avoid "the lusts of the flesh which war against the soul," and "to mortify the deeds of the body," as the indispensable means of virtue and salvation; that St. James gives the following account of the origin and progress of sin: "every man is (effectually) tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust and enticed: then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth



forth sin ;" that St. Paul includes among " the works of the flesh " not only the more obvious sensualities, but even " idolatry, witchcraft or poisonings, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders," and declares that " he keeps under his body, and brings it into subjection, lest by any means when he had preached to others he himself should be a castaway."

I now beg to add, that, according to the Hebrew psychology, which has every likelihood of being the true and correct, the body and mind of man are represented as constituting one entity, so that whatever affects the body may be reasonably expected to affect the mind, and *vice versâ*. I beg to state this biblical principle of the unity of man in the language of Milton, who, of all students of Scripture may be expected to be fully acquainted with its theory of human nature.

" Man having been created after this manner, it is said, as a consequence, that ' man became a living soul,' whence, it may be inferred—unless we had rather take the heathen writers for our teachers respecting the nature of the soul—that man is a living being, intrinsically and properly *one*, and individual, *not* compound, or separable; not, according to the common opinion, made up and framed of two distinct and different natures, as of soul and body, but that the whole man is soul, and the soul man—that is to say, a body or substance individual, animated, sensitive, and rational; and that the ' breath of life ' was neither a part of the Divine essence nor the soul itself, but, as it were, an inspiration of some divine virtue, fitted for the exercise of life and reason, and infused into the organic body; for man himself, the whole man, when finally created, is called, in express terms, *a living soul*. God having completed His whole work of creation, and rested on the seventh day, it would seem, therefore, that the human soul is not created daily by the immediate act of God, but propagated from father to son in a natural order."

It appears probable that this doctrine of the unity of man was known to some of the more ancient Greek philosophers, and its consequences also recognised by them, viz., that not only whatever affects the body must also necessarily affect the mind, but that the body itself is, according to its several states, the origin of corresponding ideas to the mind.\* So also in later times, Gaubius remarks :

" The mind itself and the body, which are things, according to the opinion of most men, extremely different; when they coalesce to constitute man, they associate so intimately, and with so close a contexture, that they seem to penetrate each other; and if we may use the chemist's phrase, we may affirm, that they melt one another down into

\* " Lewes's Biographical History of Philosophy," vol. i. p. 89, &c.

one common mass, so that whilst life remains in vigour, where the mind is, there the body is, and wherever the body is, there the mind is also; nor can there scarce a particle of us be found in which a mixture of each may not be discovered.”\*

“The mind perceives differently according to the various conditions of the body to which it is joined, and she may be disturbed by the body in her operations, and at some times be hindered from thinking as she would, and at other times be compelled to *think* according as the body commands.”

More towards our own times Dr. Feuchtersleben remarks:

“Matter and spirit, when they are united to form body and mind, can no longer be considered otherwise than as *unity*. No one who is acquainted with human nature will deny that those peculiar maladies of the mind, error and vice, originate frequently in states of the body.”†

In still later times, Wilkinson, in his work on “The Human Body and its Connexion with Man,” has exhausted the application of the unity of human nature and the intellectual and moral coaction of the body with the mind.

But the Scriptures, as is well known, contain in the earliest portion of them, an account of the introduction of moral evil among mankind, and we think that account includes precisely such a coaction of the physical, mental, and moral part of our nature as we have already, by our appeal to our consciousness and experience, shown to attend the perpetration of moral evil to the present hour. We think that, according to St. James, “lust,” or bodily desire, excited in the first instance by an evil idea coming from without, and by its consequent disturbance of the physical part of Eve’s nature, and by that disturbance overwhelming her moral powers, was the completing cause of the primal transgression. “The serpent”—whatever may be meant by the term—(for we hold with Dr. Jortin, that this question is immaterial, since all temptation succeeds upon the same principles, and is to be repelled by the same means)—“the serpent” first calls the *attention* of the woman to the nature of the prohibition imposed upon herself and her husband, in the following dangerously suggestive language: “Yea, hath God said ye shall not eat of every tree in the garden?” Now the mere act of having the attention called to the nature of an object, causes, as no doubt does every idea, a change, to some extent, in the brain, the nervous system, and the entire physical constitution, so that the status of the subject of such attention is never, phy-

\* “A Philosophical Discourse on the Management and Cure of the Disorders of the Mind,” by H. D. Gaubius. Translated by J. Taprell, M.D., p. 2.

† “Medical Psychology.” Translated for the Sydenham Society, p. 73.



sically, intellectually, or morally, *precisely* the same afterwards as before. We all know, too, the importance that the mind of a child, or of an innocent female, should *never*, even in a single instance, have even its attention called to any idea that may possibly become injurious. Yet up to this point the nature of Eve, though in an altered state, was not so far changed as necessarily to induce the act of transgression. She was, however, in some degree prepared for it, though not irretrievably. But her dangerous attention to it, and the injurious effects upon her of such attention, were still further increased by her *reply*, by her "parleying," as it is called, with the temptation; when she said unto the serpent, "We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden, but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die," which *latter* words being not recorded in the original prohibition, would seem like the result of excitement. However, the very recital of the prohibition would increase her danger, for it would increase her attention to the forbidden object, and to the *restraint on her liberty* connected with it, and her mind would thereby be still further prepared to yield to the bold assertion of the tempter, "Ye shall not surely die, for God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then shall your eyes be opened, and ye shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil." Her perilous attention to the entire subject and perception of restricted liberty would now be still further increased, but still the temptation does not succeed until her physical appetite for food becomes also interested in it, for according to the narrator, "and when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant," (or, as in the margin, a desire to the eyes,) "and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat." Such was the process, consisting partly of an evil idea, addressed from without to the mind of Eve, and partly of the commotion in the physical portion of her nature, excited by that idea and increased still further by her own contemplation of it, whereby her moral perceptions were ultimately overwhelmed. We think we see this process recognised by herself in her reply to the question, "What is this that thou hast done?" when she said, "The serpent beguiled me," or "*elated*," or "*puffed me up*," as Bishop Horne translates the word rendered "beguiled" in our version; and St. Paul remarks that the serpent "beguiled" (ἐξηπάτησεν) Eve by his subtlety. Who can believe that during the progress of the temptation to its conclusion, that the circulation of her blood was as entirely calm as it was before the evil idea was presented to her attention—that her cheek did not

glow with unwonted ardour—that her quicker breath did not fan her lips, disparted with wonder, curiosity, and ambition? Who can doubt whether the final act was not the result of that irresistible impulse which, to this hour, is the *immediate* cause of compliance with any temptation that the mind has contemplated, until an impetuous tumult of excited feelings has been produced? We think that the nature of intoxication and its effects on the mind and moral powers afford a strong resemblance to the several phases of this as well as of every subsequent premeditated transgression. Accordingly, Milton, with no less philosophical than scriptural accuracy, represents that,

“In her cheek *distemper flushing glow’d*, [that she was]  
Heighen’d as if with wine, jocund and boon.”

Nor does he omit to mention “the fruit” as one “which to behold might tempt alone,” or to make “the guileful tempter” descant on the physical attractions of “the goodly tree.”

“Loaden with fruit of fairest colours mixed,  
Ruddy and gold:  
And from whose boughs a savoury odor blown;  
Grateful to appetite, more pleased my sense  
Than smell of sweetest fennel, or the teats  
Of ewe or goat dropping with milk at even,  
Unsuck’d of lamb or kid, that tend their play.”

The poet thus particularizes the agency of physical causes,

“Meanwhile the hour of noon drew on, and waked  
An *eager appetite*, raised by the *smell*  
So savoury of that fruit, which with desire,  
Inclinable now grown to touch or taste,  
Solicited her longing eye.”

He thus describes the completion of the act—

“What hinders then  
To reach, and feed at once both body and mind?  
So saying, her rash hand in evil hour  
Forth reaching to the fruit, she pluck’d, she ate;  
Greedily she engorged without restraint,  
And knew not eating death.”\*

Although, however, temptation of every kind proceeds and prevails by means of raising a similar disturbance in the physical part of our nature, yet moral evil achieves an easier conquest over fallen humanity, in consequence of “the weakness of the flesh,” and “the law of sin” inherent in its members. It seems also probable, that every good or evil action, or even idea, serves to substantiate a corresponding structure in some or other part of the body that facilitates the repetition of such an action

\* “Paradise Lost,” book 9.



or idea, and that such a structure constitutes the principle of good or evil habits. It is also certain, that when once the moral principle is overwhelmed and the dominion of vicious habits is established, and especially when in such a case, our nature is subjected to physical or mental excitement, the progress of depravity may resemble that "of a bowl down a hill, that increases its motion by going, and will not be stopped or diverted," and that the enormities resulting from moral insanity may be boundless.

In pursuing our Scriptural investigations, we find the murder of Abel by his brother Cain ascribed by the writers of Scripture to "hatred;" but both hatred and murder are by St. Paul enumerated among "the works of the flesh," as also that "wrath" and those other evil passions indicated by Cain's "fallen countenance." Moses also intimates the connexion between polygamy and depravity, and evidently dates from the marriage of the sons of God (or his worshippers) with all the daughters of men (or the irreligious), whom they chose, "the great wickedness that was in the earth" before the Deluge. The most learned commentators also point out physical and *moral* as well as religious reasons for the prohibition of "eating blood" imposed upon the family of Noah and his descendants; and also for many of the Mosaic regulations respecting food. In the Book of Job, which comes next in our chronological order, that patriarch evinces his acquaintance with the tendency of feasting to produce impiety, and fears lest his "sons," during their several days' festival, may have "cursed" or forsaken "God in their hearts." Satan suggests that "if God would put forth his hand and touch or afflict Job's bone and his flesh, Job would *curse* Him to his face." Satan received permission to make the trial, and Job, in the anguish of his bodily pain, "cursed his day," and said many things, both then and afterwards, that fully illustrate the maddening effects of intense bodily suffering on the mind, &c. Eliphaz argues: "What is man that is born of a woman that he should be righteous?" Bildad asks, "How can he be clean that is born of a woman?" where the physical origin of man seems admitted as the invincible cause of his moral imperfection. Job thus expostulates with the Almighty as a reason for forbearance: "Hast thou eyes of *flesh*? or seest thou as man seeth?" In this early book we find the important concession that moral evil is sometimes associated with a deficiency of mental strength, or of natural understanding. "Wrath killeth the foolish man, and envy or indignation slayeth the silly one." Here, too, we find one of those numerous and diversified references to the *heart* which abound in the Scriptures. Job complains, "God maketh my *heart* soft, and the Almighty troubleth me:" which seems

like an allusion to the timidity connected with such a physical state of the organ. It is frequently considered that such references as this, and those others that will be subsequently selected out of a multitude, are to be regarded as metaphorical expressions. But we think that the remark of Sherlock applies to them that "metaphors do not arise out of nothing." May we not rather suppose that such expressions are derived from actual observations made by priests, sacrificers, embalmers, and diviners?

Returning to the historical books of Scripture, and omitting the instances quoted in the previous paper, we find the immoral effects of the excess of wine remarkably illustrated in the case of the two priests Nadab and Abihu, who together with all the people, had experienced terror at the manifestation of the Divine presence, yet shortly afterwards attempted to celebrate the divine service in a state of inebriation, and were miraculously punished with instant death. The idolatry of Solomon himself is ascribed to his voluptuousness and old age. The writer of the book Ecclesiasticus also remarks that "He bowed his loins unto women, and by his body he was brought into subjection." Repeated references occur to the debasing effects of sensuality on the moral principles. It is particularly enjoined on "kings and princes not to drink wine or strong drink, lest they drink and forget the law, and pervert the judgment of any of the afflicted." "Whoredom and wine, and new wine, take the heart." The slave of lewdness thus testifies to its tendency to lead to still further depravities, "I was almost in *all evil* in the midst of the congregation and assembly."

(To be continued.)

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#### ART. VI.—WILLIAM DOVE.

THE much-agitated question respecting this man's moral and legal responsibility has been determinately and irrevocably settled by the public executioner! William Dove was hanged on the 8th of August. On the evening of the 1st of August the editor of this journal had a lengthened interview with Mr. Barret, Dove's solicitor, and Mr. Morley, one of the witnesses for the Crown. Mr. Morley was only called upon at the trial to depose to the fact of Mrs. Dove's death being caused by strychnine. No question was put to this witness respecting the prisoner's state of mind. Mr. Morley, however, entertaining a strong conviction of Dove's irresponsibility, considered it to be his duty, after his conviction, to cooperate with Mr. Barret and



others in making strenuous efforts to save him from the gallows. With this humane object Mr. Morley, accompanied by Mr. Barret, came to London; and it was at this time that the discussion referred to in the subjoined letter took place. The letter explains itself.

23, Cavendish-square, Aug. 1st, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,—Since my interview with you and Mr. Morley, late on Friday night, I have given the subject of our earnest conversation and long discussion, much anxious thought and consideration.

You will recollect that at that interview I had no hesitation in expressing to you and Mr. Morley my decided and unqualified opinion respecting Dove's legal criminality. I have felt since his trial and conviction no sympathy for him, being strongly impressed with a notion that, if the punishment of death were under any circumstances justifiable, it should be carried into effect in Dove's case. I am bound, however, to confess, that after carefully and dispassionately weighing the additional facts laid before me by Mr. Morley and yourself illustrative of Dove's mental history, I have been induced somewhat to modify my opinion of the case. The words "defective intellect," embodied by the jury in their verdict, as justifying their recommendation of Dove to mercy, are not, according to my apprehension, accurately descriptive or expressive of Dove's mental condition.

His case is one of *imbecility*. If Dove's intellect were only "defective" or weak in the *popular* signification of these terms, he ought to be viewed as a responsible person. It would be fatal to the best interests of society if mere "defect of intellect" were considered in our courts of law as a valid excuse or plea in criminal cases. God forbid that so dangerous a doctrine should ever be propounded by those usually called upon to aid, by their scientific testimony, the administration of justice. If this doctrine be advanced, by what means are we to gauge the strength of the human intellect? Who is to decide upon the psychological test or standard of mental or legal responsibility in such cases? The great mass of criminals have admitted weak intellects, defective understandings, perverted moral sense, and no just recognition of the difference between *meum* and *tuum*. Such persons are, nevertheless, rightly considered as responsible for their actions, and are justly punished when they violate the law.

I think, however, the case of Dove may safely be removed from the category of healthy, sane, or even "weak"-minded men.

His conduct through life has been remarkably characteristic of imbecility or idiocy. It appears that his mental infirmity manifested itself in early life, and that those who were engaged in his educational training perceived a remarkable and obvious natural defect in the constitution of his intellect. His actions were not merely those of a wicked, vicious, or eccentric man, but they evidently sprung out of a stunted, irregularly developed, congenitally defective, and badly organized *brain* and *mind*.

If Dove had been made, a short period before murdering his wife, the subject of a commission of lunacy, the question at issue being his competency to *manage his property*, what, I ask, would have been the verdict of the jury? If the fact of his writing letters in blood to the devil, his faith in the supernatural power and predictions of Harrison, the wizard; the tremendous influence which this "weird" person obtained over him; his cruelties to animals; his having threatened to shoot his father, and afterwards himself; his cutting down his corn when quite green simply because his neighbour had cut his down when ripe; his recklessness of conduct, want of moral perception, his inability in early life to acquire ordinary knowledge, and other facts sworn to in evidence as illustrative of his sad mental state, were laid before an intelligent jury empannelled to try the question of Dove's mental soundness and ability to manage himself and his affairs, can any reasonable doubt be entertained as to the result of the inquiry? Upon evidence considerably less satisfactory and convincing than that adduced in Dove's case, I have seen juries unanimously decide as to the mental unsoundness of individuals. Consider, for example, the celebrated case of Mrs. Cumming. This lady was pronounced insane by a jury, among whom were several county magistrates, simply because she was fond of the society of a few favourite cats, had an impaired memory (no wonderful fact, considering her bodily indisposition and advanced age), and was alleged to entertain a strong aversion to some members of her family who had by force dragged her out of her own house, and confined her in a lunatic asylum. From my knowledge of the conduct of juries, I feel convinced that Dove never would have escaped the verdict of insanity if the question for their consideration had been of a *civil*, and not of a *criminal*, character—one of *property*, not of *life*.

If Dove's mind was so unsound as to render him manifestly incompetent to manage himself or his affairs, ought he to be viewed as altogether responsible for any criminal act he might be guilty of? I use the word "altogether" advisedly; for although I am willing to acquiesce in the wishes expressed by yourself, Mr. Morley, and others, to state in writing an opinion adverse to carrying into effect the *extreme penalty of the law* in Dove's case, *I am bound to say that I shall deeply regret if he were in consequence of his alleged "defect of intellect" to be exempt from punishment or penal servitude for the remainder of his life*. I have no hesitation, however, in asserting that it would be a great and fatal mistake and a grave fact of inhumanity to hang this wretched man. Considering the conclusive evidence of Dove's mental imbecility, his life, I think, ought not to be forfeited on the gallows.

The absence of all symptoms of delusion or hallucination renders the case different from those of ordinary insanity with which our Courts of law have to deal, and consequently to those not practically cognizant with the insane, the somewhat anomalous case of Dove appears one most difficult of comprehension. The eye of the practical psychological physician views in this case one of *modified responsibility*. As in many instances of indictment for capital crimes, the jury records,



with the view of saving life, the merciful verdict of "manslaughter," instead of "murder," in consequence of the criminal having been impelled to the commission of the crime by great provocation, or been led to imbue his hands in the blood of a fellow-creature, during a moment of intense and uncontrollable mental irritation; so what is designated by lawyers as "partial" insanity, mental imbecility, or idiocy, when clearly and conclusively established, should invariably be considered as *greatly extenuating circumstances, or conditions of mind which should, in every case, absolve those so afflicted from the extreme penalty of the law.* I hope I have succeeded in clearly conveying to you and Mr. Morley my opinion of this deeply important case. If Dove were positively insane and quite incapable of distinguishing between right and wrong, I would send him to a lunatic asylum for the rest of his days, instead of to the hulks or to a penal settlement, but *recognising in his case a partial degree of responsibility, co-existing with much mental disorder, evidently interfering with the healthy exercise of thought, judgment, and volition,* it would be unjustifiable and cruel to treat him *like a perfectly sane man, or as an ordinary and responsible criminal, and consign him to the hands of the public executioner.*

I pray to God that so revolting an exhibition may not be witnessed, and that your humane and praiseworthy exertions to save this man's life may be crowned with success.

I remain, yours faithfully,  
FORBES WINSLOW, M.D.

In justice to Mr. Morley, we append a copy of a letter in relation to W. Dove's state of mind, which he addressed to Mr. Baron Bramwell, the presiding judge.

Leeds, July 24, 1856.

MY LORD,—The position in which I am placed in reference to the unfortunate man now under sentence of death, seems to make it my duty to address your lordship, although in so doing I feel that I must apologise.

The counsel for the crown, in his reply, commented on the fact, that I was not asked, by the defence, my opinion as to Dove's mental condition, and he argued from that omission that I, his medical attendant, must be of opinion that he was of perfectly sound mind.

In disclaiming the opinion thus attributed to me, I beg leave to submit to your lordship the view I really hold, and which, before the trial, I frankly expressed, to those engaged both for prosecution and defence.

The opinion I gave was to this effect—

1. That Dove possessed some knowledge of right and wrong, and was free from any dominant delusion which bore upon his crime, and that, therefore, he was not, in strict and legal sense, of insane mind.

2. That, nevertheless, his mind is so weak and disordered and morally helpless, as to give him only a minimum of self-control, leaving him powerless against evil influences and bad passions; and since diminished moral power must imply diminished responsibility, that his

case is one requiring merciful consideration as to degree of punishment.

I do not attribute the weak and disordered state of Dove's mind merely to drunkenness, bad habits, or indulgence in vicious propensities. His mental peculiarities were evident long before these causes could be in operation. In his earliest infancy they were manifest. His mind had congenital defects, so that, as I believe, he never had the power which sane men possess to keep himself in a moral course of conduct.

This explains the fact that although bred in a family remarkable for goodness in its most pure and gentle forms, he alone, unlike every one else of the family, was a wicked, silly, and cruel child. It also explains the fact that although surrounded by the best examples, and supplied with every incentive to good, and placed under the care of excellent instructors, who tried every likely method of training, all these influences, contrary to ordinary experience, entirely failed, and left him as a man with the same mental weakness and disorder that had marked him when a child.

A principal defect in his mind appears to me to be its utter lack of moral sensibility; when he uses terms expressive of ideas of right and wrong, he has no corresponding feeling of their force and meaning, nor do such terms excite in his mind those emotions of a moral nature which they produce in a sound mind, and without which an intellect far higher than his would be powerless for good.

I can assure your lordship that this view of Dove's mental character is not set forth now for the first time, in order just to save his life. In one degree or another, it has always been the expressed opinion of those who knew him. He was from boyhood classed with those of weak and disordered mind. As proof that this is not an invention of the day, but an old and sincere opinion, I may state that I learn from intimate friends of the family, that his late father took him many years ago to persons familiar with the insane, for consultation as to the proper mode of treatment, and as to the propriety of restraint.

I enclose a copy of a letter alluded to on the trial, which was addressed to me during the inquest by a gentleman very competent to form an opinion, and of the highest integrity, but who, unfortunately, is just now in such an excitable state of mind, that it was not deemed safe to himself to subject him to the excitement of the witness-box.

I beg to apologise for the intrusion upon your lordship's attention,

And remain, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

GEORGE MORLEY.

From earliest childhood to his committal to prison he was proved to have entertained one unbroken series of the wildest fancies that could have entered the mind of a person outside the walls of Bethlem, and to have been guilty, as a child, of extravagant, unnatural, and unaccountable conduct—such



as chasing his sisters with a hot poker, setting fire to the curtains of his bedroom, locking up lighted candles in closets, tormenting cats and kittens; as a schoolboy, buying a pistol at twelve years old to shoot his father and schoolmaster, and convincing successive teachers at successive institutions of the perverse and irrational character of his mind, and of the impossibility of acting upon it by the ordinary means of educational treatment. His parents, in despair, tried the influences of agricultural teaching and employment. As a farmer's assistant he attempts to poison his master's horses—pours vitriol on his master's cows and calves. He hoists up the hinder parts of the cattle by ropes, threatens to murder his master, loads the musket of a fellow-servant till it bursts, delights in burning his master's hedges and cart-covers; he is never able to raise himself above the society of the farming boys, and at the end of five years is almost as ignorant of the science of husbandry as he was when he began. The effect of foreign travel is then tried. He is sent to Canada, not, as was suggested, as a sound man, able to take care of himself, but committed to the anxious care of friends in that country. He returns, and tells incredible stories of wild and imaginary adventures which he represents to have had with the American Indians. A small farm is then taken for him in his father's name, and shortly afterwards he marries. As a farmer and master of a family, he is continually setting fire to his housekeeper's cap, throwing water over her whilst ironing, recounting imaginary conflicts with robbers, patrolling the fields by night with fire-arms to meet imaginary assailants, leaping the hedges like a wild animal, riding and driving furiously, maltreating horses, killing trees by fantastical treatment, cutting his corn crops green, to be before his neighbours; attempting to fatten cows in a single night; incessantly playing with guns, pistols, and gunpowder, under the most dangerous circumstances, threatening the life of every one around him—his father, his mother-in-law, his wife, and himself; alternately quarrelling and gambolling with his wife, carrying her on his back, on his shoulders, in his arms and under his arm, amid the shouts of spectators; dealing with a wizard, sometimes for a spell upon the steward, sometimes for a spirit to torment his wife back to his bed. He fancies himself sold to the Devil, and his house haunted with strange noises. At Normanton, and afterwards at Leeds, he displays the same extravagance of conduct and delusion, and the circumstances of the crime itself, which are dwelt upon as proof of deliberate design, are pregnant with evidence of defective organization or permanent disease of the brain. He is actuated by a faith amounting to fanaticism in the predictions which he

had received, or fancied he had received from the astrologer as to the term of his wife's existence.

He first asks the wizard for strychnine, then procures it in large quantities from the surgery of the very medical man who was attending his wife, and with the knowledge of at least two of the assistants!

He mentions the poison to his wife, his servant, and his neighbours. He summons old friends and new ones to the scene. He calls in his mother and sister, and writes for the mother and sister of his wife. On the first attack he runs for the surgeon's assistant, and betrays himself by asking whether there will be an examination of the body after death, and by protesting against it. He tells Mr. Morley, in his wife's presence, that she will die; and in defiance of assurances of her improvement, he insists to all comers on the certainty of her death; and shows his own sense of the fatality attached to the 1st of March by proclaiming, that if she gets over that day she will soon be well. When she is in her last struggles he runs for the surgeon and physician, and again objects on the road to a *post mortem* examination. Immediately after her death, he approaches the corpse of his wife, kisses it, exclaiming, "*So, Lord, teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom.*" During the inquest, he tells the astrologer in a public-house, overheard by several persons, that he had been dealing in strychnine, and in a second public-house shows how much strychnine would kill a person. Before and immediately after the death, he is constantly talking about marrying again, not merely to neighbours, servants, and absolute strangers, but to his deceased wife's own mother. It is suggested that his object was to marry Mrs. Whitham, a lady of irreproachable character and manners, who lived next door to him, and used to come into his house when summoned by rapping at the wall. Such being his presumed object, he invites a stranger, whom he had never seen in his life before, to come up with some boon companions, when he should see the wife's death announced in the newspapers, and have a regular jollification.

Dove's father, a man of exemplary excellence, entertaining strong suspicions of his insanity, consulted the governor of the county lunatic asylum as to the educational treatment proper to be adopted in his case. He accordingly applied every variety of means which science or experience could suggest for his mental treatment, short of confining him in a lunatic asylum. Recognising his state of mind, he cautioned the family of the deceased when his son had made proposals of marriage; and finally, by his last will, instead of providing for him as he did for his other children, he did so only by means of the trusts



which it is usual to create for the protection of persons who are notoriously unable, in consequence of some mental unsoundness, to take care of themselves and property.

Such are the salient points with regard to Dove's mental condition, which we gather from the facts deposed to in his favour at the trial, as well as from Mr. Barret's able *résumé* of the case in his memorial to the Secretary of State and crown. We again repeat, that this man ought not to have been hanged. As a grave question had been raised as to his mental soundness and responsibility, and as the facts deposed to certainly established, at the least, a strong *primâ facie* case in the prisoner's favour, according to the first principles of our criminal code he ought to have had the benefit of this doubt, and to have been exempt from the extreme punishment awarded for his crime. We asked only that his life should be saved. Had we pleaded for his *exemption from all punishment*, we should have violated our own sense of public justice. In another part of the journal will be found Dove's final confession. This should be carefully read by all interested in his case. It throws great light upon his state of mind, and we think *conclusively establishes the justice of the line of defence adopted at the trial*. Dove was not a *lunatic* or an *insane* person, in the scientific signification of these terms; but there was just enough of congenital imbecility and defective intelligence in connexion with his state of mind as to justify the merciful recommendation of the jury in favour of a modification of punishment. If the Secretary of State, in deference to the advice of high legal authorities, considers that any good can result from hanging men like Dove, he will find, when it is too late, that he has committed an egregious blunder. Undue severity of punishment has no deterring or beneficial influence upon the criminal portion of the population. No fact in history is more conclusively established than this, *that severity of punishment invariably increases crime*. It is not our intention to discuss at any length the legal dicta of Mr. Baron Bramwell, as expounded in his charge to the jury. A few words will suffice for this part of the subject. Mr. Baron Bramwell declares that every man was presumed to be sane, until the contrary was proved to the satisfaction of the jury. "To establish a defence on the ground of insanity, it must be proved that he was, at the time he committed the offence, *labouring under such defect of reason, and such a disease of the mind, as not to know the nature of the act; or if he knew it, then that he did not know that what he was doing was wrong. If he did an act knowing it to be wrong, or contrary to the law of the land, he would be punishable. If he laboured under a partial delusion—if he was under the delusion that the deceased had inflicted some*

*injury upon him, and murdered her while under that delusion, he would be none the less amenable to punishment.* Therefore, according to the law as laid down by the highest authorities, to exempt a man from the penal consequences of his actions—those actions being contrary to law—the jury must be of opinion that at the time he did the act, he was not conscious that the act was one he ought not to commit. Of course that also meant that it was an act prohibited by law; because a man might imagine that there were some things perfectly right which were yet prohibited by law. For example, some persons might think it perfectly right to rob the rich to give to the poor; but if a person with such an opinion were to commit a theft, he would nevertheless be liable to the penal consequences of his acts. But if he not only thought it would be right so to do, but that he was not doing anything wrong or liable to punishment for it, then they should acquit him on the ground of insanity. Suppose a man imagined that another had done him an injury, and waylaid and murdered him, that imaginary injury would not be an excuse for the crime. But supposing the injury were real, and not imaginary, that would not justify him in taking away life; if he did so, he must suffer for it. Punishment was not merely administered in reference to an act done, but a criminal was punished to correct him and to hold out an example to others. If they punished a man who did not know he had done wrong, what example would that be to the world? People would say they had punished a man who was unconscious of wrong. But if they punished a man who possessed evil propensities and gratified them, they would deter him for the future, and also hold out a warning to others not to follow his example. If they let it go forth to the world that they would not punish a man who had a propensity or desire to do wrong, they would take away from persons in that position one of the things that would have prevented them from indulging in that propensity. Hence, to a man of weak mind and strong animal propensities, the knowledge that the law would not punish him would be to take from him one of the first and most powerful reasons for not repeating his crime.”

According to the dicta of this Judge, no man is legally irresponsible unless he is in a state of absolute *dementia*, or, in other words, to use the language of Mr. Baron Bramwell, he labours “*under such a defect of reason, and such a disease of the mind, as not to know the nature of the act.*” In order to establish a valid plea of insanity in criminal cases, if this doctrine is to be held as orthodox, *a man must be proved to be idiotic or demented.* The great majority, or at least one-third of the insane actually in confinement at this moment, are, according to Mr. Justice Bramwell’s exposition of the law, legally responsible



for their actions, *for they are clearly conscious* of the "nature of their acts." It is a great mistake to imagine that persons decidedly insane, and undoubtedly irresponsible, have no knowledge of the "nature of their acts," and are not also fully cognisant that what they often do is both morally and legally "wrong."

We solemnly enter our protest against the doctrine that persons "partially insane," are to be viewed and treated as responsible beings! Science, justice, and humanity, cry out loudly against so fatal and monstrous a dogma. "Suppose," says Baron Bramwell, "a man *imagined* that another had done him an injury, and waylaid and murdered him, *that imaginary injury would not be an excuse for the crime.*"

We maintain, in the face of the world, and in the teeth of men of science practically acquainted with the phenomena of insanity, that it would be an iniquitous, unjustifiable, and an indefensible act to hang a man who committed murder under a delusion that the victim had "done him an imaginary injury." This was the character of M'Naughten's insanity: he shot Mr. Drummond under the influence of a delusion of this kind, and he was properly acquitted on the ground of insanity. Westron shot Mr. Waugh under somewhat similar circumstances, and his life was spared. In Westron's case there was some semblance of foundation for his impression relative to Mr. Waugh, although, not according to our judgment sufficient to justify his acquittal. The jury, however, recommended Westron to mercy on account of his "predisposition to insanity," and he escaped from the gallows. We presume that the insanity of this man is now *an acknowledged fact*, for we saw him not many days back, herding with some thirty or forty murderers in the criminal den of Bethlem Hospital! We feel that we are exposing ourselves to much obloquy, abuse, and animadversion for venturing to breathe a word against the strictly legal view of the question under consideration, raising a voice in favour of the criminal "partially insane," and going counter to popular clamour and prejudice. But we must not be deterred from an exposition of what we consider to be agreeable to the principles of SCIENCE, and in unison with the sacred cause of TRUTH, by any apprehensions like those referred to. All feelings of a personal character dwindle into utter nothingness when placed in juxtaposition with the great and eternal principles of justice and humanity. It is our duty, as public journalists, to expound what we conceive to be the right, philosophical, scientific, and practical view of the question of insanity in relation to jurisprudence, with the hope that the day is not far distant when men of great legal eminence will not only acknowledge the truth of our views, but act upon them when engaged in the solemn administration of the law.

## ART. VII.—TRIUNE MAN.

THE INAUGURAL DISCOURSE\* DELIVERED AT THE OPENING  
OF THE LAST SESSION OF THE LONDON HOSPITAL MEDICAL  
COLLEGE.

BY ANDREW CLARK, M.D.

"And God† said, let us make man in our image and after OUR likeness."

Genesis, c. i. v. 26.

"The invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made."—Romans, c. i. v. 20.

GENTLEMEN,—It is a great occasion which calls us together to-day. Fraught with the deepest interests of individuals, and through them of humanity, its importance cannot be overrated, nor its objects too zealously enforced. It is the starting point of one of those great journeys which, collectively, constitute the business of existence, and the design and conduct of which will not only determine for ourselves the final failure or success of the end for which we live, but will reflect upon others also the good or the evil which must arise from duties neglected or fulfilled.

It is an occasion which may prove distasteful to the unthinking, frivolous, and idle; but it is one which must prove peculiarly welcome to the earnest in object, the heroic in self-denial, the resolute in will—to all those who are learning to feel and to know that man is born into the world to do something else than to eat, and to sleep, and to drink, and to die; that life is not an arena of pleasure, but a field of battle; that the end of existence is not the fullest enjoyment of its sensuous attributes, but the completest development of all that is true, and therefore divine, in man.

We meet, gentlemen, to inaugurate the business of another academic year; to cast another stone upon that cairn which has been raised by the long labours of those who have gone before, which stands behind us now the lasting memorial of all that we venerate within these walls, and which speaks to us in tones

\* This discourse is printed, with some verbal alterations, as it was delivered. It is published reluctantly, and only at the renewed entreaties of several correspondents. It was written under unfavourable circumstances, and within a few days of its delivery. It is inadequate to the importance of the subject with which it deals: it leaves undeveloped the theory of man which it promulgates; and fails to define the nature and limits of the relations which that theory holds to the science and art of medicine. I have on these points, however, sacrificed my own opinion to that of others, in the earnest hope that the Discourse may suggest something of what it fails to convey.

† In this and several other passages of Scripture the substantive here translated "God," occurs in the original in the plural form, and might be rendered "Gods," or, more literally, the "adorable ones." Hence, (c. iii. v. 22,) "God said, behold, the man has become as one of us."



inarticulate, but felt, of what will touch every hopeful heart to-day—of many a past beginning and its end—of lofty resolve and base expediency—of tedious self-denial and low indulgence—of earnest effort and vacillating desire—of ardent struggle and cowardly compromise—of glorious triumph and merciless but deserved defeat.

Present wisdom is often but the reflexion of past teachings transmitted through new conditions. Humanity is ever the same, though the circumstances under which it manifests itself may differ. It is ever repeating, renewing, recombining, reproducing. And so to-day we are met—like those who have met here before for the same purpose—to begin *our* new work, which, like theirs of the old time, is fraught with the same dangers, pregnant with the same promise, and stakes upon its success all that is true—otherwise all that is desirable, worthy, or great in life. Now if we would learn how to shun the rocks and quicksands upon which others have been wrecked or broken into useless fragments; if we would learn how to realize something more of the possible glory of humanity than the compass of mercenary ends, the enjoyment of unsubstantial pleasures, or the miserable consciousness of an unmerited repute; if we would know how to fulfil God's purpose in our creation, and to become justified at the close of life before God and our fellow men, we shall not only listen to those inarticulate histories which now hopefully and mournfully come back upon us from the past, but we shall pause, and at the outset of this business which we are about to undertake, we shall solemnly, reverently, with purged hearts and earnest minds, address to ourselves these questions:—What *is* this work which we have before us to do? What are the instruments of this work? How are we *rightly* to do it?

In addressing myself to the consideration of these questions, and attempting such a rough reply to them as the occasion will permit, I undertake a task of no common difficulty. There are assembled here to-day the young and inexperienced, to whom knowledge is an opening mystery and a strong desire; the student who has already penetrated somewhat into the depths of things, and has begun to speculate about their meanings and relations; the gifted contemporary with his abundant knowledge and ripe reason, casting about for undeveloped truth; and the elders and fathers among us to whom knowledge and experience have been in some sort realized and consummated, and from whose lips I would gladly learn wisdom. One has his sanguine dreams, another his prophet-oracle of materialism. Some have their eclectics and their reasoned theory; others their rooted dogmas, their settled systems, and their method.

The object of all may be the same, but each has his different medium of vision and point of interest; each his own peculiar standard of judgment, and veracious,\* or veritable test of success. To combine these conflicting elements into one, by enlisting sympathies and appealing to interests at once great in themselves and common to all, and to break ground upon a subject which constitutes the underlying greatness of humanity, the everlasting inheritance of individual men, and the medium of that perfect insight through which we are "to know even as we are known," is an attempt which needs, and for which I crave, your most generous indulgence.

In considering and answering the great questions which we have preferred to ourselves for solution, we shall have to go somewhat out of the beaten track pursued on such occasions, to lead you into what will prove to many new and untrodden fields of thought, to bring to light the fallacies and dangers of that gross materialism which pervades and pollutes the current of modern thought, and to lift up our voice, feeble as it is, in support of that view of the spiritual constitution of man which is being rapidly engulfed in the whirlpools of a drivelling and insensate reason. Questions of this kind lie at the root of all knowledge, all being, all life; and, for these to be sound, their foundations must be sure. I cannot apologise, therefore, for leading you into discussions upon the issues of which so much is staked. If my arguments should carry no conviction with them, and the hypothesis I advocate be declared untrue, they will not be valueless; they will provoke you to reflection, they will call forth your higher faculties into exercise, and they will make you think about the truth and seek it. However imperfectly these views may be embodied, I am in earnest about them, and if I fail in impressing you with their truth, I shall yet believe it is from no imperfection in the subject, but from impotence in the speaker.

The burden of the business in which we are about to engage is knowledge; and that our subsequent reflections may be endowed with unity and coherence, I shall speak to you in the first place of knowledge in general; and in the second, of that particular kind of knowledge which in this College it is *our* privilege to communicate and yours to acquire.

To comprehend the full significance of knowledge,—to perceive

\* A friend, with the best intentions, informed me at the close of the delivery of this lecture, that these terms were synonymous. I apprehend, however, that the one has a *very* different meaning from the other. *Veracity* is the correspondence between the assertion of a man and his conviction, opinion, or belief. *Truth* is the correspondence between the assertion of a man and the absolute reality or fact. A statement may be *veracious* (*i. e.* believed by the maker of it to be true) and yet not veritable—*i. e.* true.



the relations whereby it links manhood with Godhood—finitude with infinity ; to realize its intrinsic worth and glory, to appreciate in harmonious concord and balance its spiritual and material utilities, and to feel it in our hearts as a divine commandment, a necessary means of development, and in its highest sense the object of life,—we must possess some definite conception of the constitution of man, who is the subject of knowledge—its sovereign and yet its slave.

But a knowledge of the human constitution is necessary for other reasons than this,—for graver and greater ones than its being merely the highest gymnastic of the mind, and the noblest means of its development and growth.

In the exercise of our calling, it is impossible for us to deal knowingly and wisely with the various disorders of the animal body without distinctly recognising the agency of states and conditions of mind, often in producing, and always in modifying them when produced. There is, indeed, a very intimate relation between the moral and material elements of the human constitution. They act and react upon each other in modes more numerous and varied than is yet known or even conceived ; and out of their mutual motions develop phenomena, many of which remain as inexplicable as they promise to prove important.\* The broad fact of this relation is everywhere admitted, and has become a household word. Special manifestations of it occurring in the daily business and intercourse of life are familiar to the feeling and perception of every thinking man. Not only do general states of mind produce corresponding conditions of body, but it seems certain, from recent and carefully-conducted experience, that the concentration of the intellect upon particular parts of the animal frame is capable, within certain limits, of effecting such a change in them as the will may determine. A large and growing series of facts of this character has already been elicited ; but from our ignorance or indifference, our prejudice or unbelief, they remain undigested and unclassified—vague subjects of idle or vicious speculation, and altogether useless in their relations to the practical business of life. With a liberal allowance for much in these alleged facts that is either exaggerated, imaginary, or false, enough remains to excite our most earnest curiosity, and to justify a deliberate and systematic inquiry into their claims upon our belief.

But I have further to observe, that the very admission of the existence of these relations renders it a sacred duty on our parts

\* Dr. Carpenter's later papers, however, throw much additional light on this subject. They are full of profound and ingenious thought, and display a remarkable aptitude in the writer for the investigation of this very difficult department of truth.

to investigate them—to attempt the discovery of the laws under which they are manifested, and to render them practically subservient, if that be possible, to the relief of human suffering and sorrow. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that such an investigation might lead to the development of a system of *moral therapeutics* as valuable as an element of treatment in chronic, as material therapeutics are in the treatment of acute disease. If it led to nothing else than the more successful comprehension and control of that vast variety of functional disorders so inseparably allied with advanced civilization, and which form such frequent and serious hindrances to the duties and enjoyments of life, it would prove a benefit of no common value to the race. View the question, however, as we will, dubious as we may be of its ever becoming realized into a system of practical utility, it remains for us to remember that whatever is real and true in these relations should not be lost to legitimate medicine—that it should be rescued from the hands of impostors and quacks, who have perverted the knowledge of these relations to the vilest of purposes, and made it at once a religious abomination and a moral pest.

For these reasons, then—that you may comprehend the true significance of knowledge, and realize the true object of its acquisition, and that you may be enabled more efficiently to exercise the noble profession to which you are called,—it is necessary that you should possess some knowledge of the mental as well as the bodily constitution of man. Using the term in its narrowest sense, an ancient writer has said, with great shrewdness and no little truth, that philosophy should end with medicine, and that medicine should begin with philosophy.

The universe, says the modern philosopher, is composed of mind and matter. Man, the microcosm—the universe within the universe—is composed of soul and body. Knowledge, therefore, is of two kinds—that which pertains to matter, physics, or natural philosophy; and that which pertains to soul or mind, metaphysics or moral philosophy. This is a classification at once plausible, practical, and plain. It may be readily realized by the meanest capacity. It attracts the methodical by its broad distinctions, and by the elasticity through which it becomes capable of such ingenious adaptations to the varying aspects of things. The pursuit of knowledge under its auspices has conferred incalculable material benefits upon the race. Out of barbarians it has developed men. Of man it has made almost a God. It has placed the powers of nature under the control of his will, and rendered them subservient to his enjoyments and uses. But, for all this, it is not perfect. In relation to man, it is not even true. For, high as man stands in the scale of being—great as



have been his achievements in his conflicts with nature for knowledge and power—his position is not so high, nor are his achievements so great as they surely might have been if, with clearer views of the human constitution and more earnest efforts for the realization of his destiny, he had addressed himself with all the powers and all the purity of his nature to the task of subjugating the unnecessary accidents of his time and being, and struggled through legend and prejudice to stand face to face with the unveiled glory of immaculate truth.

In relation to man, this dual view of the human constitution is imperfect, because its results are altogether onesided and incomplete, and because it wholly consults his material at the expense of his spiritual wants. It is *untrue*, because, pursued into its logical consequences, it ignores a spiritual element in the human constitution, resolves man into a mere unity of material organization, attributes that organization to an ordinary combination of elements common to the inorganic world, and solves the problems of organization and life, of morality and religion, by the declaration of an unguided history and the enunciation of a lawless law.

Admit that man has a dual constitution—that he consists of what is called mind and matter—and let us look at the logical consequences of this admission. Mind is known only by its manifestations. Where sensation, perception, judgment, reason, memory, *are*, there mind *is*. These properties or faculties are found in man, and in him we say there is mind. But they are also found elsewhere. We cannot investigate the psychical phenomena of inferior animals without being forced to admit that, over and above what we call instinct, there are to be found sensation, perception, intelligence, reason. In the lowest forms of animal life we find indications only of sensation; but that is a property correlative with the others, and an attribute of one subject. The difference is one of *degree* only, not of *kind*. The psychical quality seems in the last degree clearly referable to the physical organization. Yet *there*, according to our reasoning, is *mind*. But in the lowest forms of animal existence, both reason and revelation—if that be admitted—oppose the admission of an immaterial principle. Philosophy forbids the introduction of a second cause of things where the first is sufficient. *Entia non sunt multiplicanda præter necessitatem*. Mind, therefore, comes to be the mere attribute of matter, sensation a peculiar property of the nerves, and thought as much a secretion of the brain as bile is of the liver. Hence, by an inevitable logical necessity, which it is at present unnecessary for me to develop or demonstrate, has arisen that system of sensationalism which has culminated in the boasted Positive Philosophy of Auguste

Comte—a system which reduces our mental operations to forms of sensation, morals, to the calculations of self-interest and expediency, and religion to an old wife's fable;—a system which ascribes all terrestrial phenomena to the spontaneous evolution of blind mechanical laws; which professes to demonstrate how man with his present knowledge could have designed the world with more excellent purpose and skill; which resolves man into a mere automaton, and his hope of immortality into a delirious dream; which turns God into a figment of the fevered fancy, and this glorious universe into a sorry system of self-sustained machines.

Such views are not only repugnant to the innate instincts of humanity, but can readily be refuted by reason, and—as I am addressing a Christian audience—by revelation. There is truly no evil without its counterbalancing good; and the shocking conclusions forced upon his acceptance by such a system as this has at last aroused man from his deadly lethargy—urged him to more earnest inquiry about humanity, nature, and God, and compelled him to seek some substantial foundation for his irresistible faith.

Thus we see that dualism ends in unitalism, and that unitalism makes man merely a common combination of common elements.

But this apprehension of the direful dangers of dualism to the dignity of humanity is no novel product of modern thought. It is but in some sort a revival of that subtle intuition which in ancient days impelled every true thinker to struggle after some loftier conception of the constitution of man, and bravely, self-denyingly—often fiercely, to compass all the circuits of imagination and reason for the discovery of the sacred truth which lay embosomed in their depths.

From Diogenes to Plato the solution of this problem was the life-struggle of many an earnest soul yearning in deep desire to realize the divinity of man. Often, through the unsettled mists of uncertainty and error, they caught scattered glimpses of the truth. Often were they led to the very threshold of the sanctuary in which she dwelt, and only paused before the veil because they knew not where or how to lift it up. And though at last they failed to penetrate the garnitures of this mighty mystery, or rather to prove that they had penetrated them, they wavered not in faith. They felt, indeed, that they *had* probed the mystery, and that, in their own consciousness at least, they had even realized its solution. But they felt also that they had failed to reason this realization into logical form, and that in struggling after the grounds of certitude they brought to light only the foundations of doubt. And so, at once mournfully and and yet hopefully, they appealed to their irresistible belief,



and left their divine inheritance for posterity to vindicate and enjoy.

There is something inexpressibly noble in the efforts of these great minds to solve this great problem ; something inexpressibly touching in the confessions of their incompetency ; something, too, inexpressibly delightful to us in the admission, that though they did not furnish us with the workings of the problem, they have handed down to us, and all that are to follow after us, the real results of its solution.

In the productions of all the master-minds of ancient philosophy, there is to be found an uniform tendency to attribute a tripartite instead of a dual constitution to human nature.

Strabo and Arrian tell us that the Gymnosophists, or Brachmans, taught the threefold nature of man. If we examine the writings of Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle, we shall find that each asserts, though in different terms, the same expression of belief. The last, indeed, not only touches the truth, but probes it to its very centre. He fails only in reasoning it. Man, says Aristotle, is composed of three principles: the *nutritive*, the *sensitive*, and the *rational*. The first principle is that by which life is produced and preserved ; the second, that by which we perceive and feel ; the third, that by which we reason and feel.

So, among the latter Jewish and earlier Christian authorities, we find a similar theory of the human constitution enunciated and enforced.

In the Jewish Catechism, in the Talmudic treatise "Maccoth," and in the canonical books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, it is taught, that man consists of three elements: *Nepesh*, *Neschamah*, and *Teschidah*. *Nepesh* is life ; *Neschamah*, intelligence ; and *Teschidah*, the spirit or divine principle by which man may reach unto God, and become identified with the ensophic world.

Among the early Christians, too, the same theory was universally propounded and received. Saint Paul repeatedly speaks of the threefold nature of man ; and in a solemn prayer for the Thessalonians, he expresses the hope that their spirits, their minds, and their bodies should be preserved blameless unto the coming of the Lord. And if the reasonings of Jowett should nullify the authority of Paul, God himself has told us, by a hitherto unquestioned tongue, that He made man after His own image.

Here, then, is a theory of the human constitution which has been propounded by the greatest men of all ages, and of all dynasties, whether pagan or Christian ; a theory which, though unreasoned, has yet been received and believed by the thoughtful and earnest among men, because it satisfies the instinctive.

cravings of humanity, and vindicates the divinity which is felt to be its divine inheritance and its right; a theory which has for its only rival a system wholly gratuitous in its foundations, confessedly imperfect in its objects, and absolutely revolting in its results.

Against the conclusion from these accumulated ages of reason and this direct revelation, our modern philosopher opposes his dual view of the constitution of man; and in attempting to substantiate it by reasoning it, lands himself at last in the mires of a solitary materialism and infidelity.

We have no consciousness, says our philosopher, but that which is supplied to us by the successive operations of the mind. These, collectively, constitute the individual. On this single premiss I pin my faith. The conclusions to which it leads are decisive in destroying your hypothesis and establishing my truth. True, O philosopher, if we admit your premiss. But *is* your premiss *true*? I am not quite sure about that. Let us look at it a little more closely.

If we have no cognition of self other than in the changes which self undergoes, we can have no possible knowledge of the operative causes of those changes. Personality is lost; the spontaneous will ceases to be a living fact; the active intellect becomes a dead machine, and man only a blind, insignificant puppet, moved by the strings of accidental circumstances, coming he knows not whence, acting he knows not how, going he knows not whither—away into the dark, unconscious and unseen.

Why should I go farther? Is not this logical consequence of the dual theory enough to typify the rest? Are you prepared to accept them? Are you ready to act upon and abide by them for ever—to make them the bounding lines of your life, hope, joy, and destiny? Is this really, then, to be the consummation of all our thinkings and actings—of all our battles and victories—of all our triumphs over life, nature, and ourselves—of all our instinctive and irrepressible longings after the permanent and divine of this fleeting and visionary world? Are we to find in such a theory as this the foundation of all our exalted notions of right, duty, virtue, religion, love? Does irresponsible and irresistible response to excitements constitute the boasted glory of humanity? Is this gross and passive mechanism, called man, all that is to spring out of that Divine Breath which of erst was breathed into it by the Omniscient, who is said to have made it like unto Himself, a *living soul*?

Thank God, it is not so. For the sake of our common race and our common destiny, we rejoice to believe that there is something more in man than the earth—earthly; something nobler than blindly responsive matter; something spontaneous



—something divine—something which lifts him far above the passive existences of the universe, and links him indissolubly with God, who became incarnate in his frame.

When I think, I am conscious not only of the thoughts present to the mind, but also of the self which is thinking, and to which the thoughts are present. I distinguish the thought as object, and the self as subject. And though sensations, perceptions, and memories do of themselves constitute a sort of running consciousness which cannot be separated from them, there is to every man a consciousness over, above, and independent of them. This over-consciousness, so to name it, is the absolute *ego*—the self—the region of personality, spontaneity, and abstract reason—the thirdfold element of man—the abode and sanctuary of the spirit. Do not suppose I hold any or all of these to *be* the spirit. What the spirit is, I neither know nor conceive. I speak of these as the organs of the spirit, of which the will, perhaps, is chief. The spirit has profound thoughts, deep insights, divine impulses, but no language. The subjects of its consciousness are incapable of investiture in words. They can be felt and realized, but not expressed except through the manifestations of the will and in its control.

Let us to the logical proof of all this—that proof which we covet when we cannot get, and despise when gotten.

1. Matter cannot become known unless in union with mind. Mind cannot become known unless in union either with matter on the one hand, or self on the other. But we are still conscious of self above these. This self is spirit; and so spirit becomes known to us of itself unto itself—unconditioned and alone. But spirit is unconditioned only in reference to man. In obedience to the universal law, and to complete the scale of Intelligence and Power, spirit must be posited by something higher than itself—something in which it must become realized and known. So spirit, so too all possible spirits become objects to God, who is at once their eternal subject, absolute substratum, and everlasting source.

2. Again, every possible cognition implies a synthesis of subject and object. But the mind reflects upon its own operations, and has knowledge of them. It is certain, however, that in such reflections the mind cannot at one and the same time be both subject and object, the synthesis of which *alone* constitutes knowledge. Here, then, mind is the object. But it must be the object of some subject. That subject is the spirit. Spirit, then, is the thirdfold element of man—that Divine Breath which links him on the one side with the universe, and on the other with God.

The spirit is little influenced by impressions from without, and

only by those which are real. The gaudy shows of the outer world, our routine reflections, our compensating expediences for violated laws, and our ostentatious philanthropies, hang like cumbrous clouds around the spirit, shut it out from the mind, and force it back into its unfathomed sanctuary, to brood and beget there unheeded and unheard. It is in the solemn silence of night, in the abnegation of barren theories, and under the influence of earnest aspirations for the realization of God in ourselves and in the world, that its silent but significant workings become manifested to us—that the barrier between God's grace and man's capacities is cast down, and that the divine light rays out of the abyss through our minds upon nature, and guides us unerringly to the conquest of her mysteries. It is from the spirit, stripped of adventitious garnitures, that there has sprung all that is great, and true, and beautiful, and holy in art, poesy, and religion. From the spirit must arise the greater glories of the future, like incense from a censer lighted by the breath of the Almighty, and fanned by the purified affections of man. Through the spirit alone can we rise to the knowledge of God, and hold with him that holy communion which is the natural privilege and function of every disciple of Christ. Only through the spirit can we become one with Christ, and the sons of God.\* Spirit, then, is manifested to man, not from beneath, but from above: it rays into his consciousness like an ever-living light and glory from the hidden but acknowledged unseen: it is deeply felt amid the shows and insincerities of social and personal life, and realized under earnestness and faith: it is the immediate, though as yet imperfect, revelation to man of the Eternal Image in which he was created, and towards which, by this very community of nature, he feels himself forced to struggle irresistibly, and yet consciously, for evermore.

But there are other and higher reasons than merely logical ones for upholding the tripartite constitution of man: for in whatever light we examine the characters of this wonderful being—naturally, historically, or theologically—we find equal evidence of his threefold nature.

Naturally, the threefold man is indicated in the normal development of his being.

In infancy, there is the incessant energy of animal life, the play of instinct, and the force of habit. Physical organization is supreme.

In youth, obedience to instinct is replaced by sensation and intelligent desire: the exuberance of organization is restrained by the development of mind: sensation and its products sway.

In the matured man, instincts, sensations, and desires are

\* The natural (*ψυχικός*) receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; neither can he know them, for they are spiritually (*πνευματικῶς*) discerned.



rendered subservient to the spirit, which manifests itself mainly through the consciousness and will.

The individual is the archetype of the nation. Historically, it will be found that nations have passed through the same phases of development as the individuals who constitute them.

Theologically, man peculiarly displays the proofs of his own constitution.

It was through the medium of the senses that God first communicated with man. This was the Patriarchal age.

In the succeeding era of human history, God communicated with man through the mind. This was the period which began with palmy Egypt, and terminated in fallen Greece.

In the final stage of man's theological development, God addressed Himself to the spirit of human nature, through the incarnation of the Word.

In the Patriarchal dispensation, we have merely material sacrifice; in the times of Law, revelation is written and addressed to the reason of humanity; in the age of Christianity, the *spirit* of man is spoken to through regeneration and the gift of the Holy Ghost.

In the next place, I would observe (and the observation is a very solemn one), that unless we admit the threefold nature of man, we cannot comprehend that which is the ground of every Christian's faith—the perfect manhood and Godhood of Christ. Christ had perfect knowledge of God—was God and yet man. He had a human body—life and all its sufferings. He had, however, a finite mind, for we are told that he *grew* in wisdom and knowledge. But He had a perfect spirit, for He was God, and from first to last grace or spirit-full. Man, too, had the elements of perfection; but the spirit was scant and soiled. So Christ suffered for humanity, and justified it. He had all, and was all.

Finally, if there is no spirit, there is no revelation. "Religion is the revelation of a spirit to a spirit." The natural man understands it not: it is superstition, ignorance, or folly, to him. Sensation and intelligence, which are the natural parts of man, enable him to investigate phenomena, to discover *relative* truth, to develop laws, to upbuild science. When properly cultivated, they enable him also to reap delight from the varying aspects of nature and the revelations of genius—from forms of beauty, melodies of colour, harmonies of sound—and from all that is great and true in the poet's song, or the chiselled embodiment of the sculptor's dream.

But all this is finite, physical—earthy. The means of its discovery is sensation; the only test of its truth, experiment; its highest conceivable consummation, law. But absolute truth is not to be thus discovered. The truths of the spiritual world,

and our relations to it, and to the world in which we yet live and have our being, are not to be evolved by seeing or touching, nor exhausted by the expression of a universal law. Out of the abyss of his own soul, every man, at some time, receives startling intimations of this truth ; but the clouds and mists of over-cultivated sensations, which hang like a thick darkness round the soul, too often prevent them from becoming operative in their Divine design. Truly, eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard the blessed truths which the Creator communicates to his creatures. Who by searching can find out God ?

*Reason*, as well as *revelation*, therefore, demands our acknowledgment of a tripartite constitution in man. Man possesses life in common with plants, mind in common with animals, spirit in common only with God. Life, mind, and spirit are the three-fold elements of the living world. Imperfect apart—perfect joined—individually manifested in plants and animals, they are combined and consummated only in man. He, like a well-ordered State, exhibits for our consideration,

1. The Spirit—the sovereign power.
2. The Mind—the deliberative council.
3. The Life—the subordinate executive.

Man, the centre of connexion between the universe on the one hand, and the Deity on the other, is, like each, a trinity in unity—the threefold perfected in the one.

Body, mind, and spirit are God's loans to man, which he is required to put out to use, and to return with interest. Life is a probation period ; its end, eduction, development, or, as it is commonly called, education. The means of this education are three :—faith, grace, and will, for the spirit ; sensation, perception, and knowledge, for the mind ; food, labour, and law, for the body. The due development of these elements in their proper and fixed relations to each other, constitutes the harmonious unity of man. Excessive eduction of one part, at the expense of another, disturbs the balance of the whole, develops discord, and determines disease. Perversion of the bodily development makes the sensualist ; of the mental development, the infidel ; of the spiritual development, the fanatic and the mystic. The fluctuation of these elements throughout the past ages of the world have become the landmarks of human retrogression and progress. Like a wave of the sea in alternate ebb and flow, sensation now swells into scepticism, and faith subsides into superstition. Life, in all its present aspects, is but the battle of one-sided developments—the blind and blinding struggle of one element for supremacy over the other. Hence the loss of catholic unity, and the dogmatisms of modern socialists and sceptics ; hence the virulence and bigotry of religious sectaries ; hence our party politics, petty philanthropies, poorhouses, penitentiaries, and prisons—



man's attempted but vain compensations for the wilful violation of eternal laws. Solemn and weighty thoughts these, which it were well for all of us to meditate upon, but which, I remember, it is neither my province nor privilege at this time to discuss.

From this one-sided development of the elements of humanity, too, have sprung other evils far more melancholy and deplorable than even those of the grossest materialism and the most rampant infidelity. The logical consequences of the Positive Philosophy have proved so repugnant to the native instincts of humanity, that some minds—even earnest and true ones—protesting against their validity, and searching eagerly for the grounds of their refutation, have been carried away by the force of their instinctive beliefs, and have rushed madly into the opposite extreme of sacrilege and superstition. The reaction from materialism drowns itself in mysticism, and has developed a spirit which, manifesting itself in the unhealthy forms of mesmerism, electro-biology, table-turning, spirit-rapping, and other inane, false, partial, and exaggerated developments of man, “makes familiar play of the holiest instincts of humanity, and barter[s] our firm beliefs and our righteous reverence for the sickly aberration of perverse and prurient imaginations.” This reaction has revived the blasphemous idolatries of human power, and evolved a spirit which, arrogating to itself the power of a God, “yet gropes for the very holy of holies in kennels running deep with the most senseless and God-abandoned abominations.”\* “Our natural superstitions are bad enough; but thus to make a systematic business of fatuity and profanity, and to imagine that we are touching the spiritual kingdom of God and controlling it, is inexpressibly revolting and terrible. The horror and disgrace of such proceedings as those of the mesmerist and spirit-rapist were never approached even in the darkest days of heathendom and idolatry. Oh, ye who make shattered nerves and depraved sensations the interpreters of truth, the keys which shall unlock the gates of heaven, and open up the secrets of futurity;—ye who inaugurate disease as the prophet of all wisdom—who make sin, death, and the devil the lords paramount of creation;—have ye bethought yourselves of the downward course which you are running into the pit of the bestial and abhorred? Oh, ye miserable mystics, when will ye know that all God's truths and all man's blessings lie in the broad health, in the trodden ways and in the laughing sunshine of the universe; and that all intellect, all genius, all worth, is merely the power of seeing the loftiest wonders in the commonest things?”

\* Quoted through memory, with alterations, from Ferriar, the distinguished and eloquent author of “Knowing and Being.”

## ART. VIII.—PSYCHOLOGY OF MALEBRANCHE.\*

BY PROFESSOR HOPPUS, LL.D.

FATHER MALEBRANCHE ranks among the profoundest thinkers which the school of Descartes has produced. With a somewhat daring imagination for a philosopher, and a tendency to mysticism in his speculations; he was nevertheless an acute, analytic metaphysician, as well as a devout Christian moralist, jealously attempting to guard those of his doctrines which 'seemed to others most to lean towards fatalism from abuse. He was born at Paris, in 1638, his father being one of the royal secretaries. In consequence of his personal malformation, he had a domestic education, until he was of an age to enter the college De la Marche, with a view to holy orders; whence he passed to the far-famed Sorbonne for his theology. Having refused a canonry at Notre-Dame, he entered the Oratory, in 1660. He now devoted himself much to ecclesiastical history, and read the principal Greek writers on this subject. Richard Simon next drew him to the study of Hebrew; but he had not yet found the line of pursuit which was most deeply to engage his mind. His passion was destined to be for psychological inquiry and original thinking; and he despised the merely historical knowledge of languages, and of the opinions of other men, and was anxious to discover truth, if possible, for himself. It is remarkable, considering his imaginative powers and his enthusiastic temperament, that he never could read ten lines of poetry without disgust. In his studies, his habits were quite those of the recluse; and he meditated with darkened windows, that he might more readily retire within himself; though his manners are said to have been simple and modest, cheerful and complaisant.

Being once in a bookseller's shop, a copy of Descartes' "*Traité de l'Homme*" was accidentally handed to him—an unfinished posthumous work by no means ranking with the most celebrated pieces of that great philosopher. It made an extraordinary impression, however, on the ardent mind of Malebranche. He found a new world instantly opening to his contemplation, a science of man which he had never before dreamed of. His admiration for Descartes, and the simple child-like docility of that great philosopher as an inquirer after truth, was unbounded. He was delighted with the freedom and independence of thought which characterized his book; nor was he less pleased with its author's avoidance of everything that could tend directly to clash with religious faith. As he proceeded with the perusal, his excitement was so great that it brought on violent palpitations of the

\* "*Cœuvres de Malebranche.*" Paris, 1842.



heart, and he was obliged repeatedly to lay the book aside. Henceforth neither Greek nor Hebrew, nor ecclesiastical history, had any charms for him; and he devoted himself without reserve to the study of the new philosophy, which was so complete an innovation on the scholasticism that had hitherto reigned—one grand object of which had been to solve all questions, and get over all difficulties, by finding out methods of bringing them under the dogmas of Aristotle, or at least reconciling them with his opinions, so far as these could be made out. Malebranche at once became an ardent disciple of his master, regarding observation as the basis of philosophy, and rational evidence as the rule of its conclusions. He soon appropriated Descartes' entire doctrines, and zealously declared that if his works were by any chance lost, he would do his best to re-establish them. In theology, however, especially so far as regarded the doctrines of providence and grace, he was decidedly a disciple of St. Augustine.

The first fruit of Malebranche's enthusiasm for the new method of philosophical study, was his *Recherche de la Vérité* published in 1674; a book which had prodigious success, passing through many editions, and being translated into several languages. The author here points out, in an exact method, the sources of error in the search after truth to which we are liable, from our senses, imagination, inclinations, and passions; and he then treats of the remedies which ought to be applied. All the other publications of Malebranche may be regarded as little more than the development of this work; and his grand aim, throughout, is to show the agreement of the main principles of Descartes\* with religion, and their bearings on the illustration of nature and grace. The acuteness, originality, and fertility of invention with which this book abounds, procured for it the highest eulogy. His mystical theory of our *vision of all things in God*, however, subjected it to attacks on all sides; and some remonstrated strongly against the tendency of his doctrine respecting the Divine agency to absorb all subordinate and secondary causes, and along with them man's responsibility.

This first work of our author was greatly altered in the successive editions. He adhered, however, to the theory that the will is the source of error in man, not the cognitive faculties; for the will, he says, guides the formation of our conclusions from the objects presented to us. We know, for instance, that we feel warmth or see light; and here we are not deceived, but only when the will chooses to hold that the light or the warmth exists in the object without. But as sensation gives us pleasure or pain, which chiefly move the will, sensation becomes the main remote cause of error. Hence the false ethical systems which

\* For our review of Descartes, see the Number for January, 1855.

make pleasure the highest good ; whereas the only true and real good is God himself, whom we can know only by the pure reason or intellect. But how can man know anything of the relations subsisting between mind and matter in the universe around him, since these two natures are so diverse from each other? He can only know them, each and both, in God, and by means of God's ever-acting agency. In this way, alone, is man freed from a life of hopeless and never-ending delusions. Man has ideas, indeed, as his consciousness tells him : but his ideas do not guarantee to him the existence of the objects around him ; for imagination also presents ideas, many of which are mere chimeras which never do or can exist. Some of our ideas are internal, or thoughts, strictly so called—modifications of the thinking soul only ; other ideas relate to objects which we believe are external to us. These objects are material or spiritual. Material objects can only be perceived mediately, because they are extended, and are not homogeneous with the soul, and have no natural means of community with it : but external spiritual objects may be perceived mediately by ideas, though imperfectly, as well as immediately and clearly, in the Divine vision.

Malebranche wholly rejects the ancient Peripatetic idealism of films, effluxes, species, or phantasms (*tenuia rerum simulacra*) of the shape of bodies, and perpetually flowing off from them to our organs of sense—an inconceivable hypothesis ; for what is the image and shape of a sound or odour? He equally opposes whatever glimpse may be found in the Grecian schools of a doctrine analogous to the egotistical idealism by which the name of Fichte is remarkable in later times, according to which the mind spins out from itself the whole web of its own ideas, and creates the entire universe of mind and matter for itself. Our author's argument for rejecting the principle of *innate ideas* would not be admitted by Descartes or Leibnitz, who supposed that the ideas they termed *innate* were limited in number. Malebranche argues against these ideas, on the ground that the "number of ideas which the mind may entertain is potentially infinite, and we cannot suppose, without absurdity, that an infinity of ideas has been originally furnished to our minds." Now, be the doctrine of innate ideas, in any sense of it, right or wrong, no one but Malebranche ever imagined that in order to exist at all, they must be infinite in number. As to the commonly-received notion, that in order to have available perceptions of the objects of sense and thought, the soul only requires its present faculties, and their just development and use—this our author regards as a profane theory, which does nothing less than make man "equal to God," who alone is able to take cognisance of the objects of knowledge, by means of his own proper resources and



energies. As the Divine Being, therefore, necessarily has in His infinite mind the ideas of all things, He alone is man's "intelligible world:" all His works must be seen and known *in Himself*. The result is, that not matter only, but even created mind, has only, in and for itself, a sort of passive activity: all its operations and agencies are only secondary; it cannot possibly, from its very nature, have any independent power or spontaneity conferred on it: it can truly originate nothing.

In order to render his views, which some thought obscure, and others (what was still worse for an ecclesiastic) heterodox, more adapted to the popular mind, and to obviate the idea that any of them were not in accordance with the doctrines of the Church, he published his *Conversations Chrétiennes* in 1677, at the instance of the Duc de Chevreuse. In 1680 appeared the *Traité de la Nature et la Grace*, occasioned by a controversy with Arnauld on the subject, in which Bossuet also took part against Malebranche, but which ended, like many other such disputes, without result. In the same year he published his *Méditations Chrétiennes et Métaphysiques*, a dialogue between the Word ( $\Delta\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ ) and the author, with a view to throw further light on the above Treatise; for he held that the "eternal Word is the universal reason of spirits:" "Comme je suis convaincu que le Verbe éternel est la *Raison* universelle des esprits, je crois devoir le faire parler comme le véritable *Maître*."\* In the year 1682 the *Traité de Morale* followed, in which Malebranche endeavours to derive all human duty from his own philosophical principles as perfectly coinciding with Christianity, and to prove, in his own way, the union of all spirits with the Divinity. The *Entretiens sur la Métaphysique et sur la Religion* were published in 1687, and some have pronounced this work to be the author's *chef-d'œuvre*. Its tone is, as usual with Malebranche, elevated, solemn, and devout; and it is written in a finished and attractive style of dialogue, which Plato might have envied: our author himself, however, preferred the "Méditations." Both works are in his best manner; but the "Entretiens" may be regarded as furnishing a clear, animated compend of his entire philosophy. Being accused by Régis of abetting the ethical system of Epicurus, and by Father Lamy, on the other hand, of advocating an exclusively disinterested love of God, he published his brief tract entitled *Traité de l'Amour de Dieu*, in 1697, in which he maintains a medium between extremes; and his book conciliated Bossuet, and was praised at Rome. From some of his works having found their way to China, probably in the hands of Catholic missionaries, he composed his short dialogue, *Entretien d'un Philosophe Chrétien, et d'un Philosophe Chinois*,

\* "Médit. Chrét.," *Avertissement*.

*sur l'Existence de Dieu* ; a work which procured him blame from some quarters for his assertion that the Chinese philosophy was atheistic, while the retort of symbolizing with Spinozism was made upon himself for his mystical views regarding the "extension of the infinite."\*

We must not attempt to enumerate the other writings of our author, epistolary and polemical. His replies in the controversy with Arnauld were collected and published in four small volumes, at Paris, in 1709. We may add that he was a geometrician and natural philosopher, as well as metaphysician ; and he was received as an honorary member of the Academy of Sciences in 1699. A small piece of his is extant, entitled *Traité de la Communication du Mouvement*, in which he recants his statement in the "Recherche," that the same quantity of motion is always preserved in nature ; and he added some physical remarks on the general system of the universe. Though our author's philosophy has not by any means preserved the reputation which it had when it first became known, (in a sphere where *new lights* have mostly been attractive till they were neglected for *newer*,) his metaphysical talent, the beauty of his style, the sincerity of his aims, the seriousness of his tone, and the elevation of his thoughts, will always insure to his writings a considerable amount of well-deserved attention. Occupied as he was with abstract studies, he appears to have possessed an eminently pious mind, and to have been very punctual in all his duties. On a visit which he once paid to the great Condé, at Chantilly, the attendants remarked that he "spoke more of God in those three days than the prince's confessor did in ten years." His company was much courted, notwithstanding his great love of solitude, and a certain irritability which crept on him in his maturer years. King James II. sought an interview with him ; and he was visited by Leibnitz and Berkeley. In a conversation with the latter, the discussion became so warm, and Malebranche was so excited, that his feeble and aged frame could not sustain the shock, which hastened his end. Though naturally of a weak constitution, with frequent ailments, his great temperance and regimen prolonged his life to the age of 77, when he died, in the year 1715.

In the strict chronological order, Spinoza comes before Malebranche ; but in the order of development the philosopher of the Oratory stands nearer to Descartes, the original founder of the first school of Continental idealism. Malebranche's advance from

\* "Oui, sans doute, l'étendue, celle que vous apercevez immédiatement et directement, l'étendue intelligible, est éternelle, nécessaire, infinie. Car c'est l'idée ou l'archétype de l'étendue créée, que nous apercevons immédiatement ; et cette idée est l'essence éternelle de Dieu même, en tant que relative à l'étendue matérielle." *Entretien*, etc.



the Cartesian point of departure, though well defined, fell short, in its extent and boldness, of that of Spinoza, whose system amounted decidedly to a theoretic Pantheism. With Descartes, Malebranche sought for truth in our intuitive and rational conviction of certitude; but he looked at this subject in his own mystical way, and what he says on it only presents another phase of his leading doctrine of vision in God. He maintains that there is, *first*, an "essential reason" common to all intelligences—an eternal light superior to our minds, which contains in itself all the principles of the sciences and the arts, morals and laws—a reason supreme and necessarily existing. This comes very near to, or is rather identical with, the doctrine of "impersonal reason" in the Eclectic school of France; and it would seem of necessity to mean one of two things, each of which is inconceivable. Is reason, we may ask, *ours*, or is it not? If it be ours, how can it be *impersonal*—no part of us—beyond our minds? Is it, then, like the light of heaven, by which we see, but which is not dependent on our senses? Such an analogy, we repeat, is inconceivable as applied to mind. Reason, as human, must be individual; its individuality is no more set aside by its uniformity in the race, than the individuality of digestion is overthrown by its being common to all mankind. But is reason God's, and not man's? (of course, we are here speaking of the "essential reason"—the "eternal light," which, according to Malebranche, contains all the principles of our rational knowledge:) if so, then how can man, as man, attain to truth? Figuratively and poetically, we may speak in this strain of the superlative excellence of reason very well; but our author meant it for philosophy. *Secondly*, according to Malebranche, there is a natural reason common to all men, the gift of the Creator, and analogous to the eye of the body: it is, in fact, the intellectual eye which contemplates the light of the supreme reason. And, *thirdly*, there is in the world a sort of arbitrary or factitious reason, purely human, which every man makes for himself, to substitute in the place of the universal reason, and more particularly in all matters which relate to his own conduct. From this last form of reason, according to Malebranche, moral evil arises; for error and moral evil are the consequence of the natural reason not being properly turned to the contemplation of the eternal reason.\* Many of our author's remarks on this subject, in various parts of his works, are exquisitely beautiful and sublimely devout; but when viewed psychologically and analytically, and as offering a system of the mind, they are of too mystical a cast to approve themselves to our understanding. If,

\* "Méditations Chrésiennes," etc., *passim*.

however, we ought not to say, with some of his admirers, that he was the "profoundest thinker" whom France has produced, we may well admit that he is one of the finest writers who ever graced the French language. Diderot said, "One single page of Locke contains more truth than all that Malebranche has penned; but one line of Malebranche is marked by greater subtilty, more imagination, acuteness, and genius, than Locke's whole 'Essay.'"

As a priest, Malebranche was more called than even his cautious master Descartes to avoid giving offence to the Church, and he constantly aims at illustrating theology by metaphysics. Though his ideal theory of perception, by maintaining that we "see all things in God" (*nous voyons tout en Dieu*), rendered the outward universe unnecessary; yet he did not, with Berkeley, deny its existence: for he conceived that the cosmogony of the Mosaic statement, that God, in the beginning, "created the heavens and the earth," obliged him to admit the real existence of matter; while Berkeley, on the other hand, does not appear to have felt any difficulty in understanding the language of the Pentateuch in regard to the creation of the world as merely accommodated to the general impressions of mankind, and the natural tendency of their sensible ideas, and as not at all affecting the metaphysical question respecting the independent reality of matter. In many instances, however, we see in Malebranche, as Dugald Stewart has observed, "a remarkable boldness and freedom of inquiry, setting at nought those human authorities which have so much weight with men of unenlightened erudition, and sturdily opposing his own reason to the most inveterate prejudices of his age. His disbelief in the reality of sorcery, which seems to have been complete, affords a decisive proof of the soundness of his judgment when he conceived himself to have any latitude in exercising it." In fact, the Congregation of the Oratory at Paris was always distinguished not only by the learning, but by the moderation of its members, and was more Jansenist than Jesuit in its complexion. Malebranche himself appears to have had strong misgivings against the persecuting spirit of the Romish Church.

It was not till he had spent about ten years in the study of Descartes' philosophy, that he published his principal work, already noticed, and first announced his main doctrines respecting understanding, or "pure spirit," (of which, our author says, thought is the only essential attribute,) and respecting our "seeing all things in God," which he seeks copiously to prove from Scripture, maintaining that God is the place of spirits, as space is the place of bodies, and that it is therefore certain that the mind of man can see in God those ideas which must exist



in the Divine Spirit, representing all created things. The mind can see in God the works of God ; and God allows it to do so, and prefers giving to man this vision in himself and of his divine ideas, to creating an infinite number of ideas in each spirit. The latter alternative is precisely the Berkeleian idealism ; but, according to Malebranche, since God is united to us closely by his omnipresence, we as much see his independent ideas with our minds as we see with our eyes bodies around us in space.\* It is only thus that we can have ideas of pure truth, unmixed with the delusions which are blended with the operations of sense and imagination, which, together with pure mind (*esprit pur*) or understanding, are the three faculties of the soul. He develops this theory of a kind of theosophic vision, in the third book ; and the whole discussion on this subject, both here and elsewhere, savouring as it does of Platonic mysticism, cannot fail to be interesting to the reader, on account of the deep spirit of devotion with which it is animated. The next two books are on the inclinations and passions, with the errors and evils which they may occasion, and the inquietude of the will in our search after happiness. The last book of the "*Recherche*" is on *Method*, or the means of strengthening the attention and enlarging the mind, and the proper use of the senses, the imagination, and the passions : rules are added for the discovery of various kinds of truth.

Our author, in the above work, and in all his other pieces, evidently appears in a twofold capacity. He is the commentator on Descartes, reproducing his ideas, not excluding his faults, in a very animated and perspicuous manner ; with his master, assuming the material theory of *animal spirits*, and its bearing on memory, imagination, and other faculties of the mind ; but, like his master, rejecting the ancient doctrine of *species* emanating from material objects. He was Cartesian in setting out from observation external and internal, and in his doctrine of soul as a thinking, and of body as an extended substance ; and on this subject, like Descartes, he often substituted the language of direct idealism for that of attributive description, by speaking of extension as the essence of body, and of thought as the essence of mind : he was Cartesian in the theory that the *idea* of the infinite (God) proves the *existence* of the infinite, and in holding that the veracity of God is the basis on which our belief in the existence of matter ought to rest ; but we must not omit the fact that Descartes held *that* veracity to be involved in the testimony of sense and consciousness merely ; he did not adduce the Mosaic account of the creation, with Malebranche. Our author,

\* " Il est certain que l'esprit peut voir ce qu'il y a dans Dieu qui représente les êtres créés . . . l'esprit peut voir en Dieu les ouvrages de Dieu," etc.—*Recherche*, iii. 6.

however, was an original speculator, as well as a disciple of Descartes; and he evidently put forth views which, though their germ may be found in Cartesianism, were such as Descartes himself would have startled at, and have regarded sometimes as altogether untenable, and, at other times, as exaggerations if not caricatures of his own theories. Malebranche's *vision in God*, when regarded as a philosophical tenet, and not as a piece of poetical imagery emanating from a mind filled with devout enthusiasm, is none other than a paradoxical dogma, accompanied as it is with the denial of any power in the mind to have true ideas of its own. Its popularity in France, among numerous disciples, was partly owing to its being supposed to be in harmony with certain views of no less renowned a Christian Father than St. Augustine. Even in England the doctrine was not destitute of countenance; witness Norris's "Essay towards the Theory of the Ideal or Intelligible World," in which the writer is more of a Platonist than Malebranche himself. On the other hand, he was combated with much wit and humour by Antoine Arnauld, in his book "Des vraies et des fausses Idées;" and Locke replied to him in a small treatise among his posthumous works. The prominence which Descartes had given in his speculations to our idea of the infinite, more particularly as involving an ever-efficient interference in sustaining and actuating all the operations of nature, tended to throw into the shade all finite power and action, whether in created intelligences or in the universe of matter. Geulinx of Antwerp, a zealous Cartesian, distinctly maintained that all created agency only marked the *occasions* on which the Creator himself put forth his own causative energy. Malebranche completely endorsed this theory of the dynamics both of matter and mind; and it is obvious that this decidedly pronounced and extended development of the original Cartesian view of the "*concursus*" and "*assistentia*" of the Deity, when once it had assumed its last form of "occasional causes," strongly tended to merge all things, including all mental operations, in the infinite: so that not only our true perceptions, but even our very consciousness itself, could only be depended on, according to Malebranche, in proportion as we see ourselves, and all besides, in God. The way was thus prepared for the pantheistic system of Spinoza.

Descartes had already too much restricted the sphere of the soul or mind to thought: he regarded the thinking being chiefly in the light of an intelligence, not a power. This, at all events, was the point of view which he mainly fixed on in surveying man; and his speculations in reference to human activity, tended to a considerable extent to lower the faculty of volition into mere inclination and desire. Malebranche, who had far more imagi-



nation and much less of a tendency to cold logical abstraction than his master, almost merged the creature in the Creator: human power became in his philosophy a vanishing quantity, losing itself in the Divine agency; and even thought itself only possessed validity as reflected from the pure mirror of the Divine essence—not, indeed, itself seen, but exhibiting to the mind of man all the real forms and images of truth. The mode in which substances act on each other has always been a problem in philosophy, and all that we still know of this reciprocity, after ages of speculation, is the fact itself. The difficulty has been supposed to be increased, from the earliest times of philosophy, when the substances are heterogeneous; but while the fact, if we put any trust in our senses, is as indisputable in the latter case as in the former, the solution is not easier in the former than it is in the latter. Malebranche at once denies both the fact and the possibility of any such intercommunication as can be efficient, between created substances, like or unlike. He regards the distinction of body and soul as the basis of all our knowledge of man;\* but he maintains that neither matter nor finite mind can produce any effect on either mind or matter. The real abyss which lies between two things apparently so near together as mind and matter, can only be spanned by the Divine intervention; the chasm is bridged over only on the principle of "*occasional causes*," and of Divine grace which comes under them: in other words, the apparent agency of what are termed second causes is not real—these so-called causes are the mere occasions of the putting forth of the Divine power. The will of my soul is not the immediate antecedent to the motion of my body; it is only the occasion on which God himself produces that motion: so of the impression apparently made by an external object on any organ of sense. "For example, when my hand is burned by the fire, it is not the fire which raises the idea of pain, but an opportunity is thus given for the Almighty to produce such an idea in me. And when I wish to move my finger, it is not my soul that moves it; but the Almighty, through the channel of my will, takes occasion to move that portion of my body."†

From the mode in which our author treats of vision in God as the source of all pure knowledge, and as the result of "union with him," it follows that the laws of human reason and thought which, we have evidence, have existed coevally with man, and which we cannot but believe will exist as long as the race is in being, are not to be regarded as constitutional principles of the human mind—they are rather the very intelligence of God himself, of which man partakes. "The Word of God alone,"

\* "Entretiens sur la Métaphysique," i. 3.—"Recherche," iv. 2.

† *Ibid.*

repeats Malebranche, "is the universal reason of spirits."\* We wish our space would allow of our quoting a number of long extracts on this subject: many might be introduced which are so exquisite in the expression, and in a tone of such impassioned devotion, that they would be well worth the perusal for their own sake. We must be content with introducing a few of them to the reader, agreeing, as we do, with Dugald Stewart's remark, that it is seldom possible to do justice to Malebranche in an English version.† We will, however, translate a passage of a more expository character, illustrative of the subject, and of the author's quieter and more didactic manner, in which the "Word of God, the universal reason of spirits," is introduced as instructing the serious and docile inquirer:

"When thou seest that twice two make four, and that twice two do not make five, thou seest truths; for it is a truth that twice two make four, or that twice two do not make five. But what dost thou see, then, but a relation of equality between twice two and four, or a relation of inequality between twice two and five? Hence truths are only relations, but relations real and intelligible. For if a man were to imagine he saw a relation of equality between twice two and five, or a relation of inequality between twice two and four, he would see a falsehood; he would see a relation which did not exist, or rather he would believe he saw what in fact he does not see.

"Now, all these relations may be reduced to three kinds: relations between created beings, relations between intelligible ideas, and relations between beings and their ideas. But as I include in my substance only purely intelligible ideas, it is only the relations existing between these ideas which are eternal, immutable, necessary truths. The relation of equality between twice two and four is an eternal, immutable, necessary truth; but the relations existing between created beings, or between these beings and their ideas, could not begin before these beings were produced; for there is no relation between things non-existent: a nothing considered as such cannot be double or triple of another nothing, nor can it even be positively equal to it.

"I am thus eternal truth, because I include in myself all necessary truths. I am truth, because there is nothing intelligible out of me: it is not that I pour light on spirits as a quality which enlightens them, but that I discover to them my substance as the truth or the intelligible reality by which they are nourished: it is that I unite

\* "Il n'y a que le Verbe de Dieu qui soit la raison universelle des esprits."—*Méditations*, ii.

† "O Dieu, que d'obscurités et de ténèbres dans mon esprit!" etc.—*Méditations*, iv.

"O Jésus! vous m'avez dit que vous êtes l'ordre aussi bien que la vérité," etc.—*Ibid.*

"O mon Jésus! vous êtes la raison universelle des esprits et leur loi inviolable; vous êtes la lumière et la sagesse éternelle; vous êtes l'ordre immuable et nécessaire! Dieu n'éclaire les hommes que par vous, qui êtes son Verbe," etc.—*Méditations*, v.



them directly to myself as to the reason which renders them reasonable: it is that I give myself entirely to every one of them, it is that I pervade them, and that I fill the entire capacity which they have to receive me. But thou art not in a condition to comprehend clearly how I communicate myself to men.”\*

We will quote one more expository passage on the subject of the nature and office of reason, from the “*Traité de la Morale* :”

“The *reason* of man is the *Word* or the Wisdom of God himself; for every creature is a particular being, but the reason of man is universal. If my own individual mind were my own reason and my light, my mind would also be the reason of all intelligent beings; for I am sure that my reason enlightens them all. My pain no one can possibly feel but myself, but every one may recognize the truth which I contemplate; so that the pain which I feel is a modification of my own proper substance, but truth is a possession of all spiritual beings. Thus, by the instrumentality of reason, I have, or may have, some society or intercourse with the Deity, and all other intelligent beings; because they all possess something in common with me, namely, reason. This spiritual society consists in a participation of the same intellectual substance of the Word from which all spiritual beings may receive nourishment. In contemplating this divine substance, I am able to see some part of what God thinks; for God sees all truths, and there are some which I cannot perceive. I am able also to discover something of the *will* of the Deity; for He wills nothing but in accordance with a certain order, and this order is not altogether unknown to me. It is certain that God loves things according as they are worthy of love or esteem; and I can discover that there are some things more perfect, more valuable, and consequently more worthy of love than others.”†

In regard to matter, Malebranche was as much a cosmothetic idealist, *practically*, as Berkeley himself. He admitted matter, from necessity, believing that its existence was a subject of revelation; but he made no use of it. All that we have really to do with, according to him, are the things which we see in God. He was, in this respect, more Platonic than even Plato himself; who, while he sought to elevate himself and his disciples to the contemplation of the intelligible and archetypal world, as it subsisted in God, did nevertheless admit a certain commerce with sensible things, a certain vision of the sensuous images of the *ideas* which were wholly intellectual and beyond the ken of sense. Malebranche is more restrictive: with him the faculty of perceiving the *Divine* ideas is the only intelligence which man can arrive at. Even when we fancy ourselves looking at the external world, it is only spiritual or non-sensuous *ideas* that we see, and such ideas alone are the objects of knowledge.

\* “*Méditations*,” v. 4, 5, 6.

† Chapt. i.

The presence of objects is the occasion only, not the cause of our sensuous impressions. Our ideas are neither derived from matter, nor from the operations of our own minds. Our author thus speaks on the subject, in the first of his "*Entretiens sur la Métaphysique*,"\* which consist of very animated and attractive dialogues, much in the manner of Berkeley. Theodorus, who represents Malebranche, thus addresses Aristus, a learner who is not yet quite able to digest all the mysticism of his able and painstaking instructor:

"You do not follow me, Aristus; your room is, in itself, absolutely invisible. What I see when I look at your room, and survey it from side to side, will be always visible, though your room were destroyed. What do I say!—yes, though your room had even never been built. . . . I repeat it, Aristus, strictly speaking, your room is not visible. It is not properly your room that I see, when I look at it; for I could see all I now do, even had God destroyed it. The dimensions which I see are immutable, eternal, necessary. These intelligible dimensions occupy no place. But I am afraid of multiplying your difficulties, by telling you too many truths; for you appear to me to be embarrassed enough in distinguishing ideas, which alone are visible by themselves, from the objects which they represent, which are invisible to the mind, because they cannot act upon it, nor be represented to it."

Elsewhere† Theodorus tells Aristus that, "though bodies are invisible by themselves, the sense of colour which we have in us, and even in spite of ourselves, *on occasion* of them, makes us think we see them." Arnauld remarked that, to suppose things to be only visible in God, and consequently that we also see space in Him, is impossible, since the Divine Being is not extended. The reader must judge how far Malebranche threw any further light upon the controversy, when he replied that "intelligible space, which we see in the Divine substance as including it, is only this same substance in so far as representative of material beings, and participiable by them."‡

The theory of *occasional* causes, which, as we have seen, identified all the operations of mind and matter with the direct agency of the Deity, and rendered every movement of the human body, and every human volition, a result carried into execution by an immediate act of the Divine power, easily harmonized with the other grand tenet of Malebranche's transcendental mysticism, which involved not only the whole field of activity, but also that of human perception. It was not in action only that there was contact with the Deity—in the vision which man can have of God, and in Him, there was a revelation to man of everything by a Divine union and illumination; so that

\* Section vi.

† "*Entretiens*," xii. 2.

‡ *Ibid.* i. 6.



ideas or images which appear to be states of our own minds are really attached to the Divine intellect, in whom we perceive them: our ideas, so far as they are ours, are but ideas of ideas already existing in God, and seen in him. Bayle, in his Dictionary, has well remarked,\* that while these views of Malebranche approached to some speculations of the latter Platonists, there is a still closer resemblance between them and the opinions of some of the Hindoos; who, according to Sir William Jones, "believed that the whole creation was rather an *energy* than a *work*, by which the Infinite Mind exhibits to his creatures a set of perceptions, like a wonderful picture or piece of music, always varied yet always uniform." Of course, Malebranche was consistent enough in arguing, as he did, against the reality of the secondary properties of matter, such as smell, taste, and the like; but his reasonings, if fully developed, would equally avail against the primary attributes of resistance and extension. Bayle remarked this consequence, in anticipation of Berkeley. Yet Malebranche held fast to matter as a substance *revealed* on the Divine veracity. This tenet, however, was an isolated part of his system: for having got matter, he may be said not to have known what to do with it. Man had no concern with it in itself, but only through the Deity: our perception (*idée*) of the primary qualities he regarded as a kind of objective intuition of them as manifested in the Divine intellect. His distinction, however, between primary and secondary properties, and between perception and sensation (*sentiment*) is more precise, as the late Sir William Hamilton has remarked, than that of Descartes himself, or any previous metaphysical writer.

All the parts and aspects of our author's theory of *human knowledge* are ruled and pervaded by his fundamental dogma of the theosophic vision. His formal definition of the term *idea*, excepting so far as he distinguishes it from sensation, is vaguely expressed as marking that which is the "immediate object of the mind, and is present to it when it perceives anything."† He further states that the general object of all ideas is the *extension of the infinite*, supersensible, unchangeable, and incommensurable; from the perception of which we obtain an image of everything we perceive either within or without ourselves; and this, he repeats, is truly an insight into God himself. While thus contemplating the extension of the infinite and the supersensible, we do not perceive the very substance of the Deity: we perceive him "only in so far as all created beings partake of his substance." What our minds actually see, our author tells us, is imperfect, while God is perfect. What they perceive is finite, divisible, figured, and individual: but the Deity himself is

\* Article "Amelius."

† "Recherche," iii. pt. 2, ch. 1.

"all beings, but no being in particular."\* (Here is a decided point of contact with the doctrine of Spinoza.) Further, there is a wide difference, says Malebranche, between that perception of ideas, *i. e.*, modifications of the infinite, which we call *knowing*, and the perception which we have of modifications of ourselves as subject, which is feeling. It is knowledge alone that furnishes objective truth, the senses only afford subjective experience: nevertheless, sense can lead us to a knowledge of truth, if we only remember that the qualities and modes of objects which appeal to our senses merely exhibit the relations of one and the same extension of the infinite to our intellect.† We are here reminded (bating the mysticism) of some of the views which Kant has elaborated in his doctrine of the sensible intuition (*anschauung*) of space. Our author concludes that the source of error lies *partly* in sense, which perceives only what is external, but not what lies concealed under the exterior, which alone is objectively true; *partly* in imagination, which can only survey what is material; and, finally, *partly* in the freedom of our reason itself to follow either the sensuous or the supersensible (rational) mode of perception.‡ Our perception of God is immediate, without image or idea; but bodies are perceived by means of images or ideas in God himself, as modifications of the extension of the infinite. In regard to the vexed question of *innate ideas*—on Malebranche's principles, it is evident that there was really no place for them. They are totally unnecessary, for true knowledge of all kinds is identified with seeing and knowing all in God. The true ideas are in *His* consciousness, primarily, and there man takes cognizance of them.

The student of our author, as he advances in the perusal of his writings, and compares together the reiterations of his fundamental doctrines, in varied forms of expression, will find more and more evidences of a Spinozistic view of the relation between God and his works. Not only does the Divine Being "contain in Himself the perfection of all created things;" not only is He said to comprise within Himself all finite spirits, and to be their *place*; not only is His substance their intelligible (supersensible) world, in which they live and perceive; not only is He the "life and soul" of all spirits, as being intimately united with and present to them: if all this, did it stand alone, might be interpreted as nothing else than the poetic imagery of devotion, we have more—we are told that "all spirits, all souls, and all bodies, subsist as *modifications of the extension of the infinite and the supersensible.*"§

\* "Recherche," iii. pt. 2, c. 6. See also "Entretiens."

† "Entretiens."

‡ "Recherche," i. c. 4, 5.

§ "Recherche," ii. c. 6.—"Réponse à M. Régis."—"Conversations Chrétiennes," Dial. iv.



One of the most striking illustrations of the length to which our author went in attaching weight and significance to the language in which he, as above, describes his views of the relation subsisting between the Deity and his creatures, is found in the remarkable fact that he denies that man can have any independent personal *self-consciousness*! He cannot know himself by reflection—by introverting the mental eye, as it were, and turning it on the operations of the inner man. He can only become conscious of himself by seeing himself as reflected from the mirror of the Divine mind. Descartes had held that our mental constitution was capable of giving us clear and distinct ideas not only of nature around us, but primarily and most convincingly of *ourselves*. Consciousness of the *ego* was, with Descartes, the solid fundamental ground on which man might go forth to the business of reasoning and searching after truth. The consciousness of thought was the irresistible voice within, which announced the most certain of all truths to me—my own existence; and this beyond the possibility of contradiction or even doubt. Malebranche, however—Cartesian as he professed to be—would not admit even the testimony of *consciousness* as an earthly witness: consciousness herself must first have her apotheosis, before she can be credited—the very consciousness of man must be an appendage to the consciousness of God. “We know ourselves by consciousness, or the inward sense which we have of our actions,”\* says our author; yet he maintains that it is not consciousness that gives us a true notion of ourselves, or of our being: “We remain unintelligible to ourselves till we see ourselves in God, who presents to us an idea altogether clear of our own existence.”†

Of course, human *reason* is not more strictly personal than human consciousness. We have already remarked that it is in Malebranche that we find the element of the doctrine of the *im*-personality of man’s reason, as derived through some of the later Germans to the French Eclecticism. “Human reason,” says our philosopher, (and he is here speaking of it in its essential nature,) “is the Word and Wisdom of God himself. It is therefore a participation of the Divine substance; and we may, by means of it, see on our part what the Infinite God thinks.”‡ “And being thus united to the Deity in intelligence and perception, all good will be revealed to us, and all happiness—in His light: and we may thus will and accomplish some good things, as He wills and accomplishes all that is good.”§

Virtue, our author regards as the habitual and predominant love of the immutable order which proceeds from the cognition

\* “Recherche,” iii. pt. 2, c. 6.

† *Ibid.* iii. pt. 3, c. 1.

‡ *Ibid.* iii. pt. 2, c. 6.

§ *Ibid.*—“Traité de la Morale.”

of God ; and, to attain to it, man must be delivered from the dominion of sense and passion. It was to be expected that his views of human volition should be wholly ruled by his doctrine of *occasionalism* already noticed. Every action, according to him, is properly such that all real exertion of force belongs, not to the creature, but to God : we *will*, God produces—our will precedes the effect, God *causes* it ; there is but one cause, for only one being is efficient, that is God. It is true, created beings are made the “*means*” of the Divine action, but only “according to the exigency of the occasional causes.” God alone is the true cause of all things that take place. It is evident that Malebranche considered the doctrine of *assistentia* and *concursus*, which we have remarked was propounded by his master Descartes, to be precisely identical with his own ; though it was not so prominently brought forward and blended with the whole method. “Creatures,” says our author, “are nothing but occasional causes ; and this entire world is only a system of occasional causes, as Descartes has correctly taught.”\* On the doctrine of *final* causes, the disciple differed from his master, who had rejected them as an object of inquiry, or an evidence of Theism. To the mind of Malebranche, they appeared in a different light : all events and all harmonies are to be traced immediately to the Divine intention and will : and he attaches importance to the remark, that “if created spirits could know anything as detached from the Deity, it would follow that they were not formed entirely for the knowledge of him.”† God is “the infinitude of space and of thought ; bodies and minds have only a passive capacity in him :” occasional causes involve in their very nature the final causes which led to the occasion of their being employed by the great, first, and only true and efficient cause. It is obvious that the doctrine of Malebranche on this subject involves, or rather requires, the whole length of Leibnitz’s pre-established harmony.

Descartes had grounded philosophy in God’s being and subsistence, as the absolute basis of *à priori* truth ; man’s own conscious existence leading immediately by a single step (the psychological idea) to the irresistible belief in a Creator. Malebranche followed his master in seeking to arrive at truth by the *à priori* road ; though he gave more prominence to the important axiom that the laws of physical nature must be discovered by an inductive logic, a principle which he properly set in a strong light. On the other hand, where Descartes would have reasoned by deduction, Malebranche had recourse to that pure intuition which was the bond that united the finite mind to the absolute and the infinite. “We see, and know, and do all things in God,” is the single text of his entire philosophy.

\* “Entretiens sur la Métaphysique.”

† “Recherche,” iii. pt. 2, c. 6.



No theologian could go much further than our author in maintaining the doctrine of human impotence, in respect to what is morally good. It was an essential part of his creed; and he carried it to an extent which seems scarcely to leave room for man to be fairly regarded as a being fully accountable for his actions. Not that we would attribute such an intention to Malebranche himself—he is far enough from it: we only speak of the obvious tendency of his theories, and of many of his comments on them. He denies to man all moral power, excepting that of deceiving himself as to what is morally good or evil. Man cannot form even a particular desire of good; he can only have a general apprehension of it. Of course, he cannot really pray to God—his devotional consciousness must itself be a consciousness that can hardly be called his own. His prayer, if we put the usual interpretation on Malebranche's language, would scarcely seem to be different from that of an automaton so constructed as to utter words.\* No doubt we are bound to take into account the religious and highly imaginative strain in which he treats all the subjects that come under his notice—we do not wish always to hold him to the letter: after all deductions, however, little scope seems left by his theory for such a rational freedom as is absolutely necessary for realising the idea of man's accountableness.

Nevertheless, like many other sanguine minds, not masters of themselves, and still less of their beloved theories, (Leibnitz eminently for instance,) Malebranche thought he saw the reconciliation of reason and revelation—of philosophy and faith, and the solution of the great and awful mysteries of moral evil, providence, grace, and human destiny, in the sublime ecstatic vision of the eternal reason, light, and love, to which man may attain in this world, in proportion as he is freed from the illusions of that "arbitrary and factitious reason" which he substitutes for that which is divine. Like Leibnitz, wishing to explain, if not to comprehend everything, Malebranche also had his *optimism*, though not by name. He does not speak, indeed, of a "best possible world," but of a world "constructed according to the most simple and general principles." He asks whether it would be well for evil not to have existed, on condition of a greater complication of means and laws? and he decides the question in the negative. God desires good by the most simple possible means, and general laws are more of a good than evil is of an *evil*. The stability of the whole system depends on the performance of the Divine volitions, that is, of the Divine laws: these volitions do not change—because "God necessarily loves the eternal arche-

\* "Que vous exauciez cette prière, après que vous l'aurez formée en moi!"—*Méditations*, v.

typal forms which are included in His own substance." Nothing could be farther from our author than to symbolize with certain wild speculations of a portion of the Neo-Platonic school of Alexandria, to the effect that "God himself would have been more perfect, if imperfect creatures had not received existence from His power:" yet, in one of his Meditations, he singularly speaks of the Deity as "condescending to assume the low and humiliating character of *creator*."\*

Nothing can be more excellent than the practical moral tone which pervades all the writings of our philosopher; who, in reference to his speculative theories, was named by some of his opponent contemporaries the "Dreamer of the Oratory."† At all events, his dreams are pure, devout, and elevated—contrasted enough with the mass of visionary matter contained in the novels and romances which are always issuing from the European press. We wish that our educated youth of both sexes who desire to exercise themselves in French reading, would procure the two small and portable volumes of M. Simon's edition of Malebranche, as a substitute for the trash which is sometimes devoured on the plea of improvement in the language. The charms of the style, the ingenuity, the animation, and the subject itself, would amply repay the perusal; and though, as in all other books which aim at solving the mysteries of God, in nature, providence, and grace, and framing them into a system, the philosophy breaks down—much, very much remains that is eminently calculated to benefit the understanding and the heart. The excellent qualities of the author's mind are everywhere patent, and never perhaps was the saying *Le style c'est l'homme* better illustrated than by Malebranche.

Whatever inferences might be consequently drawn from any of his dogmas, it is certain that neither his own practice nor his general views of human nature and duty were injuriously affected by them. The grandeur, piety, and justness of his conceptions break forth even when he is treating of his theory of occasional causes, against which so much objection has always been made. After having laboured to show that the will of God alone is efficacious, and that it is His power which produces all effects, he exclaims: "O Theodorus! O Theotimus! God alone is the bond of our social union! Let Him then be the great end, since he is the beginning. Let us not abuse His power. Woe to them who make that power the pander to their passions! Nothing is more sacred than power; nothing is more

\* "Méditations," xix. 5.

† An epigrammatic line was current: "Lui qui voit tout en Dieu, n'y voit-il pas qu'il est fou?" La Harpe adds: "C'était au moins un fou qui avait beaucoup d'esprit."



divine. It is a species of sacrilege to make a profane use of power. I see, to a demonstration, that it is to render the just avenger of crimes a slave to iniquity! Of ourselves we can do nothing, therefore we ought of ourselves to will nothing. We can only act by the efficacy of the Divine power, therefore we ought to will nothing but what is in accordance with the Divine law. Nothing is more evident than these truths. The law of duty is the foundation of all morals. Holy law! which Christians call the love of God, because their God being goodness itself, to obey duty, to love duty, is to obey God, and to love Him above all creatures. We should never love any good absolutely, if it is possible for us not to love it without remorse.”\*

It is remarkable (and it ought to be a motive for candid judgment) how often we find men shrinking, with a degree of horror, from what appear to others to be the legitimate consequences of their principles when logically and in detail carried out. The whole *tendency* of the more abstract and theoretic part of the philosophy of Malebranche was unquestionably to merge all second causes in the agency of the one, first, infinite cause; and in like manner to absorb all created being in the infinite and the absolute—especially to sink the very perception and consciousness of man in a mysterious union with the Deity, in whom all was seen, and known, and done. Malebranche, in fact, conducted the Cartesians to the threshold of Spinozism. Yet nothing was more painful to his mind than those criticisms of his contemporaries which endeavoured to establish analogies between his system and that of Spinoza—“that miserable and impious man,” as he always termed him. Mairan, who had been reading the “*Ethica*” of Spinoza, pointed out to Malebranche the similarity of many of its statements to those of his own “*Recherche*,” but he positively refused to discuss the subject. In one of his dialogues, in evident allusion to the dogmas of Spinoza respecting the Divine Being, and with little disposition to exercise any gratuitous candour towards that writer, he makes Theodorus say to Aristus: “What a monster, Aristus!—a God necessarily hated, blasphemed, despised! Assuredly, if there are people capable of inventing such a God, upon ideas so monstrous, it is either that they wish to have no God, or else such spirits are born to seek, in the idea of the circle, all the properties of triangles.”†

While the reputation of our author, as a thinker and writer, has survived him without interruption to the present time, especially in his own country; one reason why he did not very long retain his influence as a leader in philosophy was, that he was eclipsed by Leibnitz in Germany, and by Locke in England and France.

\* “*Entretiens sur la Métaphysique*,” vii.

† *Ibid.* ix.

His works, however, can never cease to attract readers, so long as the French language lasts. He addresses himself, with Descartes, to the philosopher, and with Pascal and Fénelon to the devout ; he is the metaphysician, the moralist, and the theologian ; and those parts of his writings, especially, which are penned in the dialogue-form, have never been surpassed in brilliancy, point, and life, by any similar production on subjects mainly addressed to the understanding, and cannot fail to prove both instructive and interesting to all readers whose object is improvement.

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## Part Second.

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### THE STATISTICS OF INSANITY, AND IDIOCY AND CRETINISM. REPORTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL STATISTICAL CONGRESS.

*To the Editor of the Journal of Psychological Medicine.*

DEAR SIR,—The subject of statistics as an instrument for the solution of the great problems in mental alienation must often have engaged your attention. To arrive at definite and trustworthy results as to these problems by means of statistics, it is above all things necessary that the field of observation should be as nearly as possible co-extensive with the area of mental alienation. It is, in the next place, important that a similar scheme of observation and record should be adopted at the various stations of that area, so that the different sub-collections of facts may be compared between themselves, and cast up together to constitute homogeneous groups.

That many questions of vast social, political, pathological, and therapeutical importance admit of being settled, or at least elucidated, by an extended and harmonious system of statistical observation carried out in different countries, there can be no doubt. Impressed with this conviction, the International Statistical Congress, held at Paris in September of last year, delegated to sub-committees of the first section the task of framing schemes of statistical record for general adoption. The Reports of M. Parchappe and M. Boudin on Mental Alienation, and on Idiocy and Cretinism—the results of the deliberations of those sub-committees—were unanimously adopted by the Congress. The Congress was attended by representatives and many distinguished physicians and scientific men from every part of the civilized world. There is hardly any State of importance in which the recommendations of the Congress will not be followed by more or less of practical adoption. It is therefore eminently desirable that England should contribute her share to the common store of knowledge that will be amassed, and in such a form as to admit of comparison and addition with the facts collected in other countries.

I believe that the statistical researches that have hitherto been conducted by the superintendents of our public and some private asylums, constitute a mass of information upon mental alienation not inferior in value to anything of the kind that has been produced in other countries. But it is obvious that methods of observation and tabular forms that differ from each other have been followed, so as often to baffle all attempts at generalization. The numerical records of some public institutions are so meagre as to possess



scarcely any value in this point of view. The completeness of our statistical collections is thus marred by two serious defects: one of negligence in observation and record of facts; the other, a want of consistency in the method of record.

But notwithstanding the prevalence of these defects, what M. Parchappe has said is true—namely, that “no other class of diseases has been the subject of statistical studies so general, so persevering.” This predilection is to be explained, not so much, it appears to me, by the impulse of humanity and sympathy for the insane, evoked by the genius of Pinel, as by the peculiar nature of the disease itself. Insanity, more than any other disease, leads to segregation: the insane are at once separated from their fellow-men; they are seen apart; and therefore peculiarly lend themselves to statistical study.

This circumstance is at once the explanation of our greater richness in this department of medical statistics, and the justification for further more methodical and extensive investigations.

The schemes of the organization committee, as modified by the sub-committee, and adopted by the Congress, may appear to some to be unnecessarily minute and cumbrous. But those accustomed to rigid analysis of facts—and this process must precede all record of observations in order to make them trustworthy and fitting materials for statistical synthesis—will have learned that no fact is available, or in short *is a fact*, unless it be the result of minute and careful inquiry. There is perhaps no problem in mental insanity that is more likely to be elucidated by extensive statistical study than the multiform one of etiology. But does any one suppose that much light is thrown upon this subject by such vague and meagre information as is afforded in the so-called tables of causes contained in the annual reports of many lunatic asylums? No. These tables obscure the truth, by the interposition of mere words suggestive of false conclusions.

If I were disposed to criticise the programme of the Congress, I should perhaps object that some of the heads classed amongst the “presumed causes of insanity” will in many cases prove to be merely *symptoms*—that is, the early manifestation of an antecedent morbid action or original developmental vice. If, for example, in taking the history of a patient on his admission, and seeking for a circumstance to be recorded as the cause of his disease, we know that obvious mental alienation first appeared after cellular imprisonment, and were to assign that as the “cause,” a serious error might be committed. We are too apt to seize upon any salient fact, and accept it as the easy solution of the question. But we might by such a course keep out of sight a long antecedent diseased or defective cerebral condition—a condition which might have been the cause not only of the insanity of the patient, but of the incarceration and the crime of the prisoner. It is this hasty disposition to seize upon the first striking event or prominent feature in the history or character of the patient that vitiates so large a portion of what passes by the name of statistical tables, obscuring, not elucidating, the etiology of insanity, and discrediting the science of statistics.

The reply to this objection would be: 1st, That minute and intelligent inquiry into the history of the patient would in many cases save from this catching at effect for cause—this Atalantan error—and lead to the true primordial pathological condition. 2ndly, That if we guard ourselves against erecting “presumed” causes into “actual” causes, and look upon the salient historical fact only as an early symptom, or a circumstance provocative of early symptoms, we draw no false conclusions, but really add to the stores of useful information.

The objection then really disappears, if we suppose a minute and intelligent analysis of each case; it is a real one only in the records of those whose interrogation of patients is not minute and intelligent.

An objection of more weight would be the apparent exclusion of causes other than those for which a place is provided in the programme. A scheme so *totus teres atque rotundus*, seems to be a declaration that there can be no other causes. This is to anticipate, in part, the very solution which it is the professed object of the application of statistics to discover. Great freedom must be left to each observer to record whatsoever circumstances may appear to him to possess the greatest etiological value. For this reason I am unable to assent to the propriety of the modification of the programme proposed by my learned colleague, M. Parchappe, to substitute for the causes designated under the names *syphilitic diseases, diseases of the skin, fevers*, a group of causes called *different diseases*. If the object of etiological studies be more than the gratification of the love of abstract inquiry—if it be intended to furnish indications for practice, to lead to prevention, the diminution of insanity—then is it in the highest degree desirable to encourage the particularization of the disease that caused the insanity, and to discourage its obscuration under a general phrase which conveys no precise information. For example, it is of immense importance to determine the proportion of cases of mental alienation produced by fever. Weighty hygienic and sanitary measures may be affected. If it be true that fever is a frequent efficient cause of insanity, how powerful the argument for a vigorous sanitary administration! In three Annual Reports under my hand—that of Bethlehem for 1855, the Worcester Asylum for 1855, and of the Crichton Royal Institution for 1855—I find five cases referred to typhus, and one to variola. Had these been confounded under the general phrase of M. Parchappe, valuable truths would have been lost. My own observation in practice has even led me to believe that zymotic diseases occupy a much higher rank in the etiology of insanity than would appear to be justified by existing statistical tables.

For the same reason I would object to a similar confounding under the common name *diseases peculiar to women, of slow and difficult development in young girls, suppression of menstruation, puerperal*. It is of the highest importance that the particular disorder of the female sexual system, connected by antecedence with each case of insanity, should be specified. The influence of affections of this class is, in my opinion, so great as to demand the most rigid and penetrating analysis. This branch of the etiology of insanity can only be effectively studied by those whom daily practice brings into close communication with females in all the varied phases of their physiological and pathological vicissitudes. The alienist physician here often sees only the result. The obstetric physician is present at the development of the disease. In time and circumstance he is naturally brought into close approximation with the origin, the etiology. The menstrual function has often a powerful influence over the cerebral action. In many women this influence is so great at every catamenial period, that illusions, hallucinations, and hyperæsthesia, bordering upon mania, arise, and not seldom overpower for a time the reasoning faculties and the will. Where certain diseased conditions of the ovaries and uterus impart a pathological character to the catamenial function, the advent of this period is doubly trying to the mind. The extraordinary self-control which many women are accustomed to exercise under these physical and mental trials, is such that in most instances no external evidence betrays, to ordinary observers, the inward struggle. Now, the characters of the mental disorder associated with paramenial affections are often essentially distinct from those which arise in connexion with pregnancy, puerpery, and lactation. It is therefore important to preserve in asylum-records and lunacy-statistics the precise etiological phenomenon. To confound this in a general expression is to commit the folly of abandoning the very object of statistics—that, namely, of illustrating the causes of disease.

In my observation of suckling women, I have seen that the greatest degree



of physical and mental disorder usually comes on towards or after a twelve-month's lactation—a period which an extended analysis has led me to conclude is the natural term of suckling. I would suggest that when recording the fact of lactation being the apparent cause of insanity, the period of lactation and the number of children to which suck was given be also recorded.

I trust you will forgive me for concluding these remarks by a caution not to expect from the exercise of statistics more than it is capable of telling. It is not so much absolute and isolated facts, as relative and general laws, that statistics can establish. This fundamental truth is often overlooked. One single well-observed case may prove a pathological fact more conclusively than a volume of statistical tables. But, on the other hand, there are numerous laws of the highest practical importance which statistics alone can establish on a firm foundation. Just as Louis, the great medical statistic, proved by statistical synthesis and analysis that the relation between fatty liver and phthisis was not an accidental conjunction—which was all that a single dissection would have shown—but a condition intimately dependent upon the nature of phthisis, so statistics alone can prove the relation between epilepsy and insanity, and many other relations of the like kind.

So, again, in regard to the etiology of cretinism and idiocy, no isolated observation can convey a demonstrative proof of the influence of any particular circumstance. Thus, no one could deduce from one or two observations any relation between the absence of iodine in the aliment and cretinism; but MM. Chatin, Grange, Boussaingault, and Fourcault have raised a strong presumption that such relation exists, by showing that iodine exists in the air, water, soil, and alimentary products of most districts; that it exists in considerable proportion in the cereals of the Calvados, where the soil is manured with marine plants; and that the geographical, geological, and chemical media in which iodine was wanting were the countries in which goitre and cretinism are endemic. M. Boussaingault has observed that in the Andes, where the inhabitants use a marine iodised salt, they are preserved from cretinism and goitre, whilst others who are denied this resource are affected by these diseases. These are facts which the collation of numerous positive and negative observations alone can establish. They will serve for an example of the utility of the inquiries indicated in the programme of the Congress.

I entertain no doubt that the superintendents of our national asylums will gladly lend their aid in augmenting the stores of precise knowledge by adopting more or less of the scheme explained in the following Reports. The schemes actually followed in many of these establishments—and especially that in Bethlehem—already embrace most of the points required. A little extension, some new tables, is all that is necessary.

But who shall collect, compare, and add together the particular statistics of each asylum, workhouse, and department? Is this task—the culminating point whence all great deductions and useful applications must flow—to be left to private enterprise and devotion, or cannot some organisation of a public character be devised to effect it? It is an object worthy of a special committee of the Association of Medical Officers of Asylums; one, indeed, which has already occupied the attention of the Association. The Commissioners in Lunacy might usefully undertake it. The Board of Health might, with the utmost propriety, address itself to this task. The Registrar-General's Department, which shrinks before no useful work, whose labours have mainly contributed to the now rapid spread of statistical investigation throughout the world, will, I feel satisfied, undertake it, if not taken up by others.

Believe me, dear sir, yours faithfully,

ROBERT BARNES, M.D., F.S.S.,  
Member of the First Section of the  
Statistical Congress of Paris.

13, *Devonshire Square*,  
1st Aug. 1856.

*Scheme for the Statistical Investigation of Mental Alienation, proposed by the Organisation Committee of the International Congress, drawn up by M. TRÉBUCHET, Reporter.*

Does mental alienation make, as several observers assert, rapid progress? Is it true that our political revolutions, in some kind periodical—our industrial crises, our exchange gambling, the feverish agitation caused by the loosening of the spirit of speculation, that panting race after fortune which specially characterises the present generation;—is it true, we ask, that these different circumstances exert a deep and growing perturbation in our intellects? Certainly, the question is well worthy of being examined. It would be, in truth, a dark cloud in the brilliant picture of the actual conquests of the human mind in the path of material interests, this rapid development, if proved, of the most terrible of maladies.

This question statistics alone can solve. Statistics alone can teach us if the proportion of the insane to the population tends to increase; if, supposing this proportion stationary, the nature, character, intensity of this cruel affection undergo modifications in any direction; lastly, if, thanks to the advance of curative methods, society—families behold, year by year, a greater number of these sad exiles from human reason return into their bosom.

The position of mental alienation may be determined by two distinct operations: 1st, by the periodical enumerations, of which the population is the object in almost every State; 2nd, by the annual reports of public and private lunatic asylums.

The two methods must be employed simultaneously, for each has its advantages. The census, in fact, supposing it exact, makes known the total number of insane treated both at home and in special establishments. The reports of these establishments, if they give only the position of alienation, make known the annual movement, numerous and varied information, which it is not possible to obtain in the course of a census.

The programme of questions must, therefore, vary, according as the one or the other method of observation is employed.

### TABLES.

#### I.—QUESTIONS TO BE STATED IN THE CENSUS.

The insane must first be classed in two great categories, comprising—one, the insane treated in special establishments; the other, the insane treated at home.

The following is the minimum of questions to be put for the insane of both classes:—

##### A.—*Insane, properly so called.*

Number.

Sex.

Age.

Profession.

Presumed causes of the alienation.

Degree of instruction before the disease.

##### B.—*Idiots or Cretins.*

Number.

Age.

Sex.

Number of cases in which idiocy was or was not congenital. [In case of non-congenitality, learn at what age the disease became manifest, and what circumstances, general or local, may have determined or favoured its development.]



Topographical situation of the places where idiocy prevails. [Plains, valleys, mountains.]

Profession, and degree of comfort of the parents.

C.—*Senile Dementia.*

Sex.

Age.

Profession.

II.—QUESTIONS CONCERNING ALIENATION TREATED IN SPECIAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

A.—*Administrative Details.*

Number of establishments—public (at cost of State, province, community).  
private.

Analysis of legislation affecting both kinds of establishments, chiefly as regards—1st, the public security, 2nd, individual liberty.

B.—*Movement (Admissions and Discharges).*

Number, by sex (for the last two years), of insane remaining in the establishments on the 31st December of each year.

Number admitted in each year—for first time (by sex).  
for relapse (by sex).

[Indicate the number of relapses for each sex, according as they have occurred in the first, second, third, and so on to the fifteenth year of cure.]

Number in each year:—

- 1st. Of discharged—for cure (by sex).  
for other causes (by sex).
- 2nd. Of dead—from natural causes (by sex).
- “ from accident (by sex).
- “ from suicide (by sex).

Total number of days of sojourn in the year (by sex).

Out of the whole number treated each year, how many { curable (by sex).  
were reported . . . . . { incurable (by sex).

C.—*Different Details concerning the Admitted of each year.*

1. *Ages at the time of Admission.*

The classification by age may be established thus:—From 0 to 15 years; from 15 to 20; every 5 years, up to 40; every 10 years, up to 100.

In each category of age the number of insane must be given by sex, and for each sex by civil state (single, married, widowed).

2. *Professions (by Sex).*

1. Liberal professions:—

Ecclesiastics.

Jurists.

Physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, midwives.

Professors and literary men.

Public functionaries.

Employés.

Artists (painters, sculptors, musicians, &c.)

2. Soldiers and sailors.

3. Renters and proprietors (living on their means.)

4. Industrial and commercial professions:—

Manufacturers and artisans.

Merchants and dealers wholesale.

Merchants in retail.

## 5. Manual or mechanical professions:—

Workmen	{	Miners.
		in metals.
		in wood.
		weaving.
		in building.
		in leather and skins.
		in dyeing.
		in articles of dress, hairdressing, and boots and shoes.
		Others.

## 6. Agricultural professions:—

Proprietary cultivators.

Agricultural labourers (farm-servants, shepherds, wood-cutters, &amp;c.)

## 7. Work people on wages (domestic servants, clerks, journeymen).

## 8. Other professions.

## 9. Without professions.

## 10. Unknown professions.

3. *Presumed Causes of Insanity (by Sex).*

## 1. Physical:—

Hereditary.

Effects of age (senile dementia).

Effects of labour { intellectual.  
manual.

Habitual irritability.

Want and misery.

Onanism.

Venereal abuses.

Syphilitic diseases.

Diseases of skin.

Epilepsy, convulsions.

Violent emotions, shocks, fright.

Fevers.

Slow and difficult formation (in young girls).

Accidental or definitive suppression of menstruation.

Puerperal.

Blows and wounds.

Central concussions, &amp;c.

Hydrocephalus.

Cephalalgia.

Cerebral congestion.

Apoplexy, paralysis (consequences of).

Other physical causes.

## 2. Moral:—

Grief resulting	{	from loss of fortune.
		from loss of cherished person.
		from disappointed ambition.

Love.

Jealousy.

Pride.

Political events.

Sudden passage from active life to an inactive one, or *vice versâ*.

Isolation and solitude.

Imprisonment { simple.  
cellular.

Nostalgia.



Religious sentiments carried to excess.  
 Contact and assiduous intercourse with the insane.  
 Other moral causes.

3. Unknown causes.

4. *Months of Admission.*

Indicate for each month the number of admissions by sex.

5. *Number, by Sex, of Insane originating*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{from towns.} \\ \text{from country.} \end{array} \right.$

6. *Aggravated Circumstances of the Disease.*

Number, by sex, of insane affected  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{with paralysis.} \\ \text{,, epilepsy.} \end{array} \right.$

7. *Duration of the Treatment—1st, of Insane cured ; 2nd, of Insane dead (by Sex).*

8. *Cures and Deaths (by Months).*

Give, for each sex, the number, by months, of cures and deaths.

9. *Age, by Sex, of Insane cured and dead, in the Month of Cure and of Death.*

The classification indicated for the ages at time of admission may be adopted.

10. *Cures and Deaths, by Sex, according to Professions.*

Reproduce the classification adopted for admissions.

11. *Curative Methods.*

Describe the curative method employed in each establishment.

12. *Occupations of the Insane.*

Indicate the principal works in which the insane, divided by sex, have been occupied.

*Information concerning Cretins or Idiots.*

Numbers, by sexes, remaining on the 31st of December of each year.

Number admitted each year, by sex and age.

Number, by sex, of cases  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{congenital.} \\ \text{non-congenital.} \end{array} \right.$

Number, by sex, of the cretins' or idiots' offspring  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{of towns.} \\ \text{of country.} \end{array} \right.$

(Add information as to topographical and other conditions of the localities to which the greatest number of cretins and idiots belong.)

Profession, and, as far as possible, the degree of comfort of parents.

Number, by sex, of cretins or idiots discharged in the year  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{cured.} \\ \text{for other reasons.} \end{array} \right.$

Number, by sex, of cretins or idiots died during the year  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{from natural causes.} \\ \text{,, accidents.} \end{array} \right.$

Indicate the principal curative methods.

Indicate the employments of the cretins or idiots of each sex.

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*Report on the Statistics of Mental Alienation. By Dr. PARCHAPPE, General Inspector of the First Class of Lunatic Asylums and Prisons.*

[This Report is the result of the deliberations of the Committee on Mental Alienation of the First Section of the Congress, consisting of—Dr. Parchappe,

President; MM. Trébuchet, Hubertz, Vingtrinier; Drs. Barnes, Virchow, Poisson, Greenhill, Boudin, Bertini, Villermé, Meding, Tholozan.]

The statistics of mental diseases have assumed for many years a great development both in extent of research, and in the importance of the publications bearing upon the subject.

The records of science possess at this moment a rich collection of documents, the results of studies upon mental alienation undertaken either by statisticians, alienists, or public administrations, in the principal States of Europe and America.

No other class of diseases has been the subject of statistical studies so general, so persevering. It is not without interest to explain, to justify this kind of predilection in statistics for mental alienation.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the sudden revelation of the sufferings imposed from time immemorial upon the insane in prisons, houses of correction, and even in hospitals, awoke, in France, in England, in Germany, a deep and lasting sympathy, which soon spread throughout all civilized countries.

Under the impulse, continued to the present day, of an immense concourse of benefactors of humanity, who were personified in the beginning under the venerated names of Pinel, William Tuke, and Langermann, a reform, medical, legislative, and administrative, was proposed and undertaken in all that relates to the insane, the complete realization of which will be one of the glories of the nineteenth century. Is it necessary to indicate the importance of the part which belonged to statistics in this vast and difficult enterprise? Is it not enough to say that without exact statistical data, the organization of the public charity by the means the most efficacious and the most important—the creation of asylums—cannot achieve its end with certainty and success, and is exposed to encounter, in feeble trials, only irreparable errors and ruinous deceptions?

But at the same time that the necessity of resorting to statistics for the determination of the administrative programmes was admitted, there arose, out of the very researches attempted in order to attain this end, the fundamental question of the relation of the number of the insane to the population, including the appreciation of the variability of this relation according to time and place. Then, by a logical consequence, there came the capital question as to the influence of the degree of civilization on the development of mental alienation, entailing, as means of solution, all the most delicate and the most difficult secondary questions of etiology. In the midst of this movement of the realization of benevolent institutions destined to make amends to the insane for the wrongs of a suffering past, and in proportion as the applications became multiplied and spread into different countries, Medicine naturally felt itself called upon to justify the promises of amelioration in the condition of the insane which had been held out as motives in the programme of reform.

Medicine invoked the aid of statistics to prove the efficacy of the curative treatment by the number of cures, and to show, by the diminution of the mortality, and by the advantages of the organization of labour in the public asylums, the happy effects of the palliative treatment. The long and serious discussions raised by the problem of penitentiary reform led to the question of the influence of cellular imprisonment in the production of mental alienation. The last word in this question can only be spoken by statistics, to which it belongs, also, to demonstrate the necessity for the creation of special institutions for the criminal insane.

But in proportion as benevolent institutions and methods of medical treatment were being developed to the advantage of the insane, the inadequacy of their resources soon became manifest as regards two great classes of unhappy beings, who, destined irretrievably, by the misfortune of their birth, to a con-



dition still more wretched than that of the accidental victims of insanity, found themselves necessarily included in the sphere that reform was called upon to embrace, but in which, in fact, for too long a time they remained neglected.

In relieving and treating the insane, it was impossible to avoid being met by the idiots and cretins.

In the presence of these two great misfortunes, the administration and medicine have not misunderstood their duty; and at the very outset they called upon statistics to prepare a better future, by comprising in a special manner in its luminous and fruitful investigations the double question of idiocy and cretinism.

Studies investigated by interests so powerful could not remain sterile. A great number of questions, perhaps the most important, must be considered as settled, at least, of those which concern mental alienation properly so called.

Thus statistics have shown that insanity is curable, and that more than one-third of the unhappy beings who, from whatever cause, seek for the aid of medical treatment in well-ordered establishments, are cured.

And even, without the positive information furnished by statistics, a simple visit to one of these establishments proves beyond reply that what has been realized for the welfare of the incurables has surpassed the promises of science and the hopes of charity.

Data more or less approaching to exactitude have been obtained in several countries as to the proportion of insane to the population.

The influence exerted, as predisposition, on the development of insanity, by sex, age, climate, seasons, civil condition, professions, has been appreciated.

Facts have established that the agglomeration of population in large towns favours the development of insanity, which is, on the contrary, restrained by their dissemination in rural districts.

In determining the whole force of heredity in the etiology of insanity, statistics have limited its action to an influence of predisposition, and refused to attribute to it the characters of a necessarily determining cause.

The study of the determining causes of mental alienation, properly so called, has led to the recognition of the predominance of moral causes over all the other causes, and has revealed a happy agreement between the demonstrations of statistics and the teachings of morality. In fact, a profound study of the etiology of insanity permits us to affirm, that the best means of preserving oneself from a disease, of which the most distressing character is to rob man of his most precious prerogative, the use of reason, consists, for all of us, in impressing upon our lives the direction conformable to the rules of morality—that is to say, moderation in the satisfaction of all the legitimate tendencies of our nature, and the subordination of all those tendencies to the supreme end of human life, the never-dying aspirations after moral perfection. But notwithstanding the wide bearing, and the certainty of the teachings hitherto obtained, it is evident, that even for those which rest the most firmly upon facts, the sanction of large numbers is still indispensable.

Moreover, we cannot conceal from ourselves that contradictions have frequently presented themselves in facts and interpretations, and that out of a given number of points, observations are insufficient, or even entirely wanting.

Lastly, the solution of some of the most important questions supposes a generalization of observation by numerical facts which shall embrace all the conditions of time and place, and consequently comprehend the statistical study now continued for a long time in many countries.

To this necessity for the generalization of statistical studies for the elucidation of general problems, is attached the necessity of instituting methods of observation, whence facts exactly comparable may result.

It is already long since the utility has been insisted upon of harmonizing, for the purpose of solving universal questions, the particular statistical studies

that may be undertaken by isolated *savants*, and, *à fortiori*, the general studies which embrace a whole country, and which hardly any but public administrations are able to realize.

The transformation into fact of this general tendency of the mind to the rapid and complete perfection of statistics, is the ruling thought of the International Congress; it is also the end of which we all follow with our wishes and our efforts the near and sure realization.

This end has been generally attained, in as far as regards mental alienation, by the question put forth by the third French sub-committee, and printed in the programme, pp. 111 to 116.

The modifications which the examination of this document has led us to regard as useful, and which I shall have the honour to submit, in the name of the First Section, to the approbation of the Congress, bear only, notwithstanding their real importance, on details; they do not change in any way the principle of the work, nor even the realization of this principle; they are calculated only to perfect it, and to render it in every way acceptable to all.

*Modifications in the Interrogation relative to the Statistics of Mental Alienation.*

1. Add senile dementia to alienation properly so called, and separate into two classes idiots and cretins.

A. Insane.

B. Idiots.

C. Cretins.

2. Substitute, in what relates to idiots, for the paragraph beginning with the words "Number of cases," &c., and ending "its development," the indications of the etiological particulars adopted for cretinism, and not to omit among the predisposing causes, *heredity*.

3. A. To the administrative particulars add—

1. The mean cost of the place of a pauper-lunatic in public institutions.

2. The mean cost, *per diem*, for the support of a pauper lunatic in public institutions.

4. B. *Movement*. Last paragraph, substitute the word "admitted" for "treated."

5. C. *Sundry information*. 3. *Presumed causes of alienation*.

Separate from the table of causes under the special name of predispositions, or predisposing causes, *heredity*.

*Physical Causes.*

Erase the causes designated under the names *habitual irritability*, *excess of manual labour*.

Substitute for the causes designated under the names *syphilitic diseases*, *diseases of the skin*, *fevers*, a group of causes called *different diseases*.

Substitute for the causes designated under the names *convulsions*, *hydrocephalus*, *cephalgia*, *cerebral congestion*, *apoplexy*, *paralysis*, &c., a group of causes designated under the name of *diseases of the nervous system*.

Substitute for the causes designated under the names *slow and difficult development in young girls*, *accidental or definitive suppression of menstruation*, *puerperal*, a group of causes called *diseases peculiar to women*.

Unite in a single group of two causes *onanism* and *venereal abuses*.

Unite in a single group of causes under the names *blows*, *falls*, *wounds*, &c., the two causes designated under the names *blows and wounds*, *cerebral shocks*, &c.



- Remove into the tables of moral causes, 1. the cause, *excess of intellectual labour*, under the same name; 2. the cause, *violent emotions, shocks, fright*, under the name *fright*.

*Moral Causes.*

Add the following causes: *domestic grief, remorse, anger, joy, wounded modesty.*

Strike out the cause designated under the words *contact with and visiting the insane.*

6. *Aggravative circumstances of the disease.*

Make all statistical studies bear distinctly upon *alienation with epilepsy*, and *alienation with general paralysis*, which constitute, in relation to alienation properly so called, two species widely distinct from simple mental alienation.

6. There would be reason to admit, as a distinct species, *mental alienation with pellagra*, at least for Italy, if not for France, where it is sometimes observed in some southern departments; and then it would be necessary to give a prominent place amongst the physical causes to *pellagra*.

7. It is important to exclude from the scheme of statistical studies on mental alienation, *delirium tremens*, which is often the cause of sequestration in lunatic asylums. If it were admitted, it would be necessary to bring the whole range of statistical studies to bear separately upon this disease.

8. Lastly, it is necessary to ask, in reference to dead lunatics, a table of *the causes of death*, made to correspond with the nomenclature adopted for deaths in the general population.

*Report on Idiocy and Cretinism. By M. BOUDIN, Reporter.*

GENTLEMEN,—You have heard, in your sitting yesterday, the report of M. Parchappe on alienation properly so called, and senile dementia. The programme of the Congress had made of idiocy and cretinism a simple paragraph of the question of mental alienation.

Considering the high importance of these two infirmities, and the numerous characters which separate them from alienation proper, your First Section has deemed it fitting to devote to them a special report. This decision is further justified by the great works of which idiocy and cretinism have within the last two years been the object amongst many learned men, and several States of Europe.

Amongst these works we will specially mention—

1. In Norway, the researches of Doctor Stolst, published in Christiania in 1851.
2. In Denmark, the statistical studies of our colleague, M. Hübertz, published at Copenhagen in 1851.
3. In England, an important work by Dr. Stark on mental alienation and idiocy in England, Scotland, and Ireland, published in 1851, in the 14th volume of the "Journal of the Statistical Society of London."
4. In Germany, the works of MM. Falk, Escherich, Roesch, and Maffei.
5. In Italy, the great Report of the Commission created by the King of Sardinia for the study of Cretinism (Turin, 1850); the Statistics of the Kingdom, published in 1851.
6. Lastly, in France, the works, of MM. Grange, Tourdes, Chatin, Niepce, Bouchardat, Baillarger, &c.; works, the publication of which scarcely dates beyond the last two or three years.

Let us add, that in France the Government has associated itself with this great scientific movement: the Minister of War, by indicating, in his returns of the census of the army, the number of exemptions on account of idiocy, cretinism, and imbecility, from the year 1850; the Minister of Commerce, by entering resolutely, at the time of the census of 1851, into the broad and fertile path of numbering the *apparent infirmities*.

Such a mass of recent works, undertaken at one time in so many different points of Europe, both by learned men and Governments, testifies sufficiently to the importance everywhere attached to the study of cretinism and idiocy, at the same time that it justifies your first section in having determined to devote a special report to these two infirmities.

It is by his intelligence that man is distinguished from the brute. Man is man only when he enjoys the fulness of his intellectual faculties. The partial or total loss of those noble faculties degrades him, excludes him in some sort from his order: it makes of him a burden for society, often even a danger.

For this reason, the Organization Committee of the Congress was happily inspired when it comprised in its programme the statistical investigations to be undertaken on mental alienation in general, and on idiocy and cretinism in particular.

Even as, for the physician, the determination of the disease, its nature and intensity, precedes all therapeutical operations, so also in presence of a social evil the first duty of an administration consists in ascertaining the number, the rank, and the source of the victims.

In this respect, statistics constitute the first step—a necessary step—towards the research of the means which may ultimately be opposed to the evil.

What is, at the present day, the number of idiots and cretins?

Does this number follow an increasing rate, or a falling one?

What is the proportion of these two kinds of infirmities in each of the two sexes, and in the different ages of life?

In what proportion do these two infirmities share, annually, to the number of exemptions from military service?

Is it true, as it has been said, that in proportion as cretinism dwells in certain localities, the number of idiots augments there?

Are cretinism and idiocy hereditary?

What is the danger of marriage between cretins?

What are the topographical and meteorological conditions which favour the development of these two infirmities?

Are there any means of combating idiocy and cretinism efficiently, and what are these means?

These, gentlemen, are some of the different questions raised by the study of the infirmities which it is our duty to examine. It is enough to formulate them, in order to make evident all the medical weight, and to give a just idea of the importance of a good enumeration of idiots and cretins. Amongst other useful indications, this enumeration, if correctly made, will demonstrate the increasing or decreasing progress of the two diseases, the epoch of their first manifestation in the country; it will enable us to verify what there is of truth in the assertion according to which, in certain localities, the number of idiots has increased in proportion as cretinism has diminished.

To illustrate with a clear light these different questions, a good enumeration of idiocy and cretinism must comprise the absolute and proportional number, the sex, age, civil condition, and profession of the individuals.

It must mention particularly the individuals of the male sex of twenty years of age, as this indication furnishes the measure of the share which each infirmity takes in the diminution of the recruitable population; and on the other hand, the proportion of the number of infirm serving to establish the existence or non-existence of endemicity.

It must indicate the age at which the infirmity began to be manifested; this datum possessing the advantage of fixing science upon the congenital or non-congenital nature of the two affections.

It must divide the infirm, as much as possible, according to the degree of the evil.

In this respect cretins may be classified into Cretins, Half-cretins, and Cretinous.



It must indicate the aptitudes and habitual occupations of the individuals.

The complications must be the object of special attention. In this respect we ask for particular researches on epilepsy, blindness, deaf-dumbness, scrofula, and lastly, on the presence or absence of goitre.

The special diseases of cretins, and if cause exist, their pathological immunities, must be indicated.

It is proper to determine the number of deaths of cretins; the age of the deceased; lastly, the diseases which have been the cause of death.

The number of marriages between cretins must be determined with care; and special attention will be given to the determination of the fecundity, and above all, to the heredity of the infirmity.

It is important to denote the attempts undertaken with the view to combat the evil, and to ascertain what results have been observed.

#### *Researches relating to the Parents.*

As to the parents of idiots and cretins, it is proper to note with care their race and nationality, the degree of comfort, and profession.

In regard to race, you all know that M. Humboldt has remarked the immunity of the red-skins against goitre. This is not all: about twenty-four years ago, a French medical society offered for *concours* the following question:—

“Why is the Jewish woman exempt from goitre?”

If it were established that there are immunities of races against goitre, would it be impossible for something analogous to exist for cretinism?

As for the grave question of heredity, we must inquire if the individuals are born of—

Father idiotical or cretin;  
Mother idiotical or cretin;  
Father and mother idiotical or cretin.

#### *Topographical Researches.*

Idiots and cretins should be enumerated separately in towns and in the country.

The statistics should define with care the geographical position of the localities enumerated; and special attention should be given to the hypsometric data.

It has been said that the endemic territory of cretinism does not rise in

Switzerland . . above 1000 mètres;  
Piedmont . . . above 2000    ”  
South America above 4700    ”

All these assertions, however respectable their source, want to be verified.

The soil must be studied as to its configuration, its geological nature, chemical composition; lastly, as to the kind of cultivation.

The drinkable waters must be examined in the double point of view of their temperature and chemical composition.

Amongst the meteorological agents, special attention must be paid to temperature, light, moisture.

Lastly, Gentlemen—and this is an observation that applies to every statistical publication, as well as to every scientific labour—it is important to indicate the method pursued in the collection of the facts, and the quality of the persons to whom this collection has been entrusted. It is easily understood, for example, that in a study of a question of medical appreciation, the facts will have so much the more weight, as competent physicians shall have taken a greater share in the collection.

From these considerations, we have the honour to propose to the Congress to adopt the programme modified as follows:—

- a. Substitute the words "idiots or cretins" by "idiots and cretins."
- b. Place at the head of every document a short description of the method of enumeration followed.
- c. Preserve the terms of the programme concerning the number, sex, and age of the individuals, as well as the profession and the degree of comfort of the parents; only, to add the race and nationality of the parents.
- d. Preserve the paragraph relating to the congenital origin of the infirmity.
- e. Complete the paragraph "*Topographical Situation*" with the following words: denote the altitude and aspect of the places enumerated, the configuration and geological nature of the soil; indicate the chemical composition and the temperature of the drinkable waters.
- f. Indicate the absolute number, and the proportional number to population, of idiots and cretins—1st, in towns; 2nd, in country.
- g. For the chief centres of endemicity, indicate both the number of individuals and the total of the population.
- h. Indicate the civil state of the infirm, and the number of marriages between cretins.

As to the interrogation of the individuals admitted into special establishments, the Section adopts the programme with the following additions:—

- 1. Indicate of the treatment directed against the infirmity itself.
- 2. Indicate the principal particular complications—epilepsy, deaf-dumbness, scrofula, goitre.
- 3. Indicate the principal diseases for which idiots and cretins have been admitted: state, if there be occasion, the pathological immunities.
- 4. Indicate if the idiots and cretins are born of—

- A father idiotical or cretin;
- A mother idiotical or cretin;
- Father and mother idiotical or cretin;
- Parents affected with mental alienation proper.

Such is, Gentlemen, the programme which, in the name of your First Section, we have the honour to submit for the approval of the Congress.

## THE DISTRICT HOSPITALS FOR THE INSANE IN IRELAND. SUPERANNUATIONS.

In our last number we called particular attention to "No. 2 Bill," then before Parliament, "to explain and amend the Acts relating to Lunatic Asylums in Ireland."

That Bill, we have now to state, was withdrawn by Government, owing to the manner in which it had been mutilated in its original fair proportions after passing through Committee in the House of Commons. For several reasons we do not lament this result. One is, that we decidedly objected to the clause it contained of interfering so seriously with the existing admirable management of the Irish Asylums, by endeavouring to have introduced into them an element of discord by mixing together pay and pauper patients—a change which, we take for granted, could never have received the sanction or approval of the able and thoroughly practical Resident Physicians of those establishments, or of the Government Inspectors, Doctors White and Nugent. A plan of procedure more clumsy or utterly destructive to all harmony of action could not have been conceived, or one worse calculated to be a relief to the parties for whom it was intended to serve—viz., patients neither paupers nor in independent circumstances. At another time we may more fully go into this point, contenting ourselves for the present in again simply protesting against what



was proposed to Parliament in this respect. A second reason we have for rejoicing rather at "No. 2" Bill sharing the fate of the "Innocents," is that the amendments it sustained in committee were of too sweeping a nature, so far as placing the *entire* appointment of officials in the hands of the Local Boards of Governors, which would not have been a step in the right direction in the sister country, but exactly the reverse. The principal executive appointments in them, we have no hesitation in saying, ought to be vested solely in Government, as they are at present; otherwise the Irish Asylums would soon degenerate from the high position they have so creditably and justly reached, and ultimately become mere offshoots of the Union Workhouses. With regard to the vexed question of Chaplains, we are clearly of opinion that their appointment in Ireland should not be *compulsory*, as was, and evidently still is, aimed at by certain parties, but simply permissive; and that the Local Boards themselves, being for many reasons the best judges of the necessity or otherwise of such functionaries, should be the authority to take the initiative in their appointment. Another cause we have for not weeping excessively at the fate of "No. 2 Bill" is, that its superannuation clause did not, in our mind, go far enough, inasmuch as it gave no claim to a pension, such being made to hinge upon, firstly, the recommendation of the Inspectors; and secondly, it being a *sine qua non* that the party seeking such should be proved to be the subject of mental or bodily infirmity. Under a certain term of years, we think such a restriction as the latter would be only reasonable—indeed, indispensable. But in the case of those who had faithfully and efficiently served twenty years in the anxious and unspeakably arduous duties of unbroken attendance in the care and management of a public asylum—duties which will surely be admitted to be of a most harassing and trying nature—we hesitate not to say that they are pre-eminently entitled to claim as a right the enjoyment of their full salary thus fairly and hardly won; for we maintain, without fear of contradiction, that twenty years of unremitting labour in the daily—and nightly, too—anxieties of a lunatic asylum, are fully equal to double that number in any other department of the public service, and should be requited accordingly; the wear and tear of mind and body the individual so circumstanced has sustained, most righteously deserving this small reward for all that he has undergone during that period of time in the discharge of duties impossible to overestimate in their importance to society at large. We accordingly objected to this clause in "Bill No. 2" in our last number, seeing that it was so scant and illiberal in letter and spirit, and therefore were pleased that the Bill fell to the ground, in the full expectation that a better, to say nothing of a worse one, would be forthcoming in the next meeting of Parliament. But, sooner than we anticipated, the pensioning of the Irish Asylum Officials was again specially taken up, just before the late Session concluded, by a private member of the House; Sir Robert Ferguson, of the city of Derry, bringing in a Bill for that worthy object alone, the same proving to be *totidem verbis* the precise clause as contained in the defunct "Bill No. 2" of Government. This new Bill passed the several stages of a first and second reading, and through committee, without any amendment or objection of any kind—as it did, it should be specially observed, in its original Governmental shape, as one of the clauses in "No. 2;" but on its *third* reading, Sir Robert Ferguson moved certain amendments, which were passed as a matter of course, and which were supposed to be merely *formal*, there being no debate, explanation, or remark made on them in the House, either by him or any other member, to say nothing of sufficient notice being given to parties most interested. In fact, the whole affair was quite a surprise. This Bill, however, in its new phase as an Act (19 & 20 Vic., c. 99), proved a most miserable and discreditable affair. Instead of containing the grain of wheat in the bushel of chaff which it merely did originally, it was plundered even of that simple grain, those amendments referred to of Sir Robert's placing the conferring

of pensions under the regulations of the Civil Service Pension Act (4 & 5 Wm. IV.), which, for seventeen years' service, *handsomely* allows a party to *crave*, as a matter of grace and favour, *three-twelfths* of the paltry and inadequate salary he might have enjoyed, and so on up to *fifty* years' service, when the *maximum* of eight-twelfths is all that would be granted; and not even then, unless the party had plaintively repeated "pity the sorrows of a poor old man," by proving himself to be infirm in mind or body (both of which he could do beyond fail, only that long before he would have paid the last debt of nature), and to have "discharged the duties of his situation with diligence and fidelity" all that time! We cannot trust ourselves now to express our opinion of the conduct pursued by Sir Robert Ferguson in relation to the above short and simple statement of facts. By the courtesy of Parliament, he has the title of "honourable;" nor do we mean to hint that he is not entitled to such a style of address, or that anything not perfectly honourable and straightforward was intended in the above proceedings in the "Honourable House," in which he was the *facile princeps* on this occasion; but this we will say, that the whole proceeding bears a very extraordinary aspect, and loudly calls both for explanation, and a repeal of an Act passed under such remarkable circumstances, and which is neither more nor less than a sham. And further, as we have seen elsewhere pertinently stated on this subject, we may observe, that "if either individual members assumed to be independent, or the Legislature at large, are desirous to maintain a character for plain dealing, they should beware above all things of enactments so *smuggled* through Parliament as to compel those more immediately affected to feel almost (altogether?) as if they were simply swindled."

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## Part Third.

### Reviews.

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*Nomos: an Attempt to demonstrate a Central Physical Law in Nature.*  
(Anonymous.) London: Longman and Co. 1856.

THIS is a very remarkable and clever book, equal in interest, but very different in its principles and objects, to the celebrated "Vestiges of the Creation." The author's speculations in the world of physical science will undoubtedly excite much attention among reading and philosophic men. He is undoubtedly an original thinker, and writes with great vigour and clearness. We are much mistaken if this volume has not a very large circulation. The author's object is to establish that the world of inorganic nature is ruled by one physical law, and not by several physical laws. He endeavours to demonstrate that the phenomena of electricity, magnetism, light, heat, chemical action and motion, are not to be understood unless they are regarded as signs of one and the same action, in ordinary matter. It is impossible, however, to give any accurate idea of the writer's views without going more into detail. The whole of the work must be read in order to be fully understood.

*Obscure Nervous Diseases popularly explained*, in Six Letters to a Physician on the many Nervous Affections resulting from Dental Irritation and other sources of Reflex Nervous Disturbance. By J. L. LEVISON. Dedicated, by permission, to Dr. Conolly. London: Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange. 1856.

WHEN any attempt is made to render our knowledge of the nervous system more satisfactory, or to explain the *morbific* causes of some of the anomalous



forms of nervous diseases which particularly affect civilized man, the person who thus enlightens us is entitled to our best thanks. The latter Mr. Levison has done. The work before us is worthy the attention of medical men, although it is written in a clear and popular style, and nearly divested of all technical phraseology; and yet its physiology and doctrine of diseased conditions are strictly scientific.

Mr. Levison practised many years as a surgeon-dentist, and applied himself with great ardour and zeal to the elucidation of the nervous affections, more or less complicated, which were induced by dental irritation, and also others resulting from disturbing influences of another kind: and he has brought some addition to the existing knowledge by tracing the tissues directly or indirectly implicated, demonstrating in the clearest manner that dead stumps, polypi at the fangs, &c., may affect the brain, nervous systems, the heart, lungs, stomach, &c.; and cites cases where extensive disturbance of these organs has occurred, when there did not appear any pain or uneasy sensation in the mouth—the actual seat of the primary disturbance—and yet, after years of suffering, the nervous affection had been mitigated or cured by the removal of the offending and irritating bodies.

We must, from want of space, just glance at the contents of these letters.

The first letter enters into an examination as to what constitutes a normal man, and that barbaric races give undue attention to physical training, and civilized man too little; thus, by over mental stimulation, so much injury results.

The second letter deprecates the discrepant and contradictory treatments of some forms of neuralgia; and he then unfolds his views as to how to form a correct *diagnosis* in such anomalous diseases.

The third letter explains the sympathy of the stomach, alimentary canal, &c., with the buccal cavity.

The fourth letter clearly explains the nervous connexion of the teeth (through the fifth pair of nerves) with the eyes, ears, nostrils, glands, fauces, &c., and importance of this knowledge in removing much of human suffering.

The fifth letter is highly important: it treats of dental irritation inducing affections of the muscles of the face, neck, &c., and often paralysis and catalepsy. In this communication Mr. Levison has also discussed what he calls *simulated* affections, resembling hysteria, epilepsy, hemicrania, and temporary insanity, and clearly points out how to distinguish the *pseudo* from the ordinary forms of such affections.

The sixth letter contains also much valuable information on sedentary habits, over-anxiety, too much mental application, &c. &c.

Mr. Levison has, to use a legal term, made out a case, and has established an important fact, that it is impossible to arrive at a knowledge of the cause of many anomalous forms of nervous diseases without taking the organs of the mouth into consideration; and we strongly recommend a perusal of this small but unostentatious work.

## Part Fourth.

## Judicial Department.

## ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION OF MEDICAL OFFICERS OF ASYLUMS AND HOSPITALS FOR THE INSANE.

THE stated Annual Meeting of the above Society was held on the 1st August, in the Derby County Asylum, at Mickleover, presided over by Dr. Hitchman, the Physician Superintendent of that establishment. The attendance on the occasion was very large and influential: amongst those present were Dr. Campbell, Essex Asylum; Dr. Thurnam, Wilts Asylum (who, however, was obliged to leave before the regular business commenced); Dr. Forbes Winslow, London; Dr. Robert Stewart, Resident Physician, Belfast District Asylum; Dr. Sherlock, Resident Physician of the Worcester County Asylum; Dr. Tuke, Chiswick; Dr. Caleb Williams, York; Mr. Walsh, Surgeon Superintendent, Lincoln Asylum; Mr. Cornwall, Fairford Retreat, Gloucestershire; Dr. Dickson, Resident Physician, Manchester Royal Asylum at Cheadle; Mr. Buck, Medical Superintendent, Leicestershire Asylum; Dr. Mackintosh, Dinsdale Park, Darlington; Dr. McCreipt, Assistant Resident Physician, Somersetshire Asylum at Wells; Mr. Ley, Medical Superintendent, Oxfordshire and Berkshire Asylum; Dr. Lockhart Robertson, London; Mr. Brushfield, Medical Superintendent, Chester County Hospital for the Insane; Dr. Davey, Northwood; Dr. Prichard, Abington Abbey; Dr. Hewson, Physician Superintendent, Coton Hill Institution for the Insane, Stafford; Dr. Bucknill, Physician Superintendent of the County Devon Asylum at Exminster; Dr. Boisragon, Physician Superintendent of the County Cornwall Asylum; Mr. Isles, Cirencester; Dr. Seaton, Sudbury; Dr. Warwick, Salisbury; Dr. Paul, Camberwell House; Mr. Eddison, Nottingham; Mr. Millar, Stone; and Mr. Stilwell, jun., Mickleover.

Several letters of apology for non-attendance were read by the President, and amongst them from Dr. Conolly, of Lawn House, Hanwell; Dr. Kirkman, Suffolk; Dr. Flynn, Clonmel, Ireland; Dr. Williams, Gloucester, &c. &c. Much sympathy was felt, in consequence of the melancholy fatal accident which happened recently to Dr. Williams, the Visiting Physician of the Nottingham County Asylum, who was to have been present, but for his sudden and lamented removal.

The minutes of the last annual meeting held in London were read and confirmed.

Dr. CAMPBELL read the Auditors' Report, which stated that the accounts of the Treasurer had been audited and found correct, with a balance to the credit of the Association.

Mr. LEY entered into a lengthened statement of the past and present condition of the Association as to membership, by which it appeared, that during the past year one hundred members had paid their subscriptions, and that several more would still, it was likely, do so. The Association, he observed, was in a very solvent and flourishing state, financially and influentially, and had every prospect of being increasingly so.

Dr. L. ROBERTSON read a list of new members, thirteen in number, now proposed to be balloted for; also of the following four honorary members, viz., Sir Benjamin Brodie, Bart., Dr. Holland, Mr. Wilkes (late Medical Superintendent of the Staffordshire Hospital for the Insane, now one of Her Majesty's Commissioners in Lunacy), and Dr. Peach (one of the Visiting Magistrates of the Derby County Hospital for the Insane).



Dr. FORBES WINSLOW having inquired if Mr. Wilkes desired being still connected with the Association, the President read a letter from him, the purport of which appeared to remove all doubt upon that head.

A long discussion now ensued as to the shortest method of proceeding with the ballot for so many, the time of the meeting for general business being very limited. Dr. Forbes Winslow and Dr. Caleb Williams moved a resolution to the effect that *pro hac vice* the candidate members, ordinary and honorary, be elected by ballot in the mass, and not individually, with the view of saving time. This course, however, being strongly objected to, as being likely to establish a bad precedent, an amendment was moved by Dr. Davey, seconded by Dr. R. Stewart, that a ballot be taken for each proposed member separately, which being pressed to a division was lost, and the original resolution carried by a large majority, when the several candidates on the list were unanimously elected.

Dr. TUKE then gave notice that he would at the next annual meeting move that the names of candidates for honorary membership be sent in in sufficient time to the Secretary of the Association in order to appear in the printed notice issued to members for the annual meeting.

Mr. LEY now moved, in very complimentary terms, that Dr. Forbes Winslow be the President elect for next year, observing that no member of their important branch of the medical profession had done more to advance its interests, and support its high character and independence, than Dr. Winslow.

Dr. L. ROBERTSON seconded Mr. Ley's motion, stating that this was an honour which accidentally devolved upon him, as Dr. Sutherland, had he been present to-day, intended to have done so, and in his stead Dr. Bucknill, who, however, had not yet made his appearance, which was to be regretted.

THE PRESIDENT having put the motion from the chair, it was carried *nem. con.*

Dr. FORBES WINSLOW returned thanks for the enviable honour and position now conferred upon him, and assured the meeting that he most fully appreciated both, and that nothing should be left undone on his part to promote the increased usefulness and the high and important objects of their invaluable and influential Association.

It was now arranged that the annual meeting for 1857 should be held in London, the exact time and the place to be for future arrangement. It was suggested, however, as regarded place, that the Freemasons' Hall should not be selected, it being deemed a very inconvenient locality.

Mr. Ley was re-elected Treasurer; Dr. L. Robertson, General Honorary Secretary; Dr. Robert Stewart, of Belfast, and Dr. W. A. F. Browne, of Dumfries, Honorary Secretaries for Ireland and Scotland respectively; and Dr. Campbell and Mr. Prichard, Auditors; all for the current year.

Dr. FORBES WINSLOW, seconded by Dr. Prichard, moved that Dr. Bucknill be reappointed the Editor of the Association's Journal, which he did with great pleasure, the able manner in which it had been conducted reflecting the greatest credit upon Dr. Bucknill and the Association. The motion having been put from the chair, was carried unanimously.

A short adjournment now took place, during which the members were entertained at a splendid luncheon provided by Dr. Hitchman; which having been done ample justice to, the several wards of the establishment were visited and minutely examined, as also the farm and grounds, all of which afforded the utmost satisfaction, each department of this extensive hospital affording the fullest evidence of the greatest care and skill being exercised in the conduct and arrangements.

The meeting having been again constituted by the President resuming the chair, Dr. WINSLOW called attention to the extraordinary circumstance, in this age of advance and progress, in the treatment of the insane—so far as regarded the district hospitals for the insane in Ireland—that to the present time no

authoritative provision was made in them for their being superintended by gentlemen of the medical profession exclusively, as was the case in England, Scotland, all over the Continent, and in the United States of America. True it was that the Lord-Lieutenants of Ireland had, for some years past, according as vacancies occurred in the public asylums in Ireland, exercised the powers vested in them by Act of Parliament, by appointing none but physicians to preside over those important institutions; but this was more from the force of public opinion and other accidental circumstances than from any legal obligation imposed on their Excellencies to do so, who might, if they pleased, appoint their valet or their butler to so responsible a charge, and be blameless in, he admitted, such an unlikely event, so entirely was a free choice left in their hands. He (Dr. Winslow) need only refer, in proof of this, to a Bill before Parliament last session, known to them all, having been published in the medical periodicals of the day, for "Amending and Explaining" the Acts for the Regulation of the District Asylums in Ireland, in which power was to be continued to be given to the Irish Executive Government to appoint "managers, matrons, and visiting physicians," by which it would be seen that a *resident* medical officer was entirely overlooked, if not purposely ignored, instead of being unmistakably and most distinctly provided for. What the term "managers" meant was a mystery to them on this side of the Channel; but perhaps their respected member, Dr. Stewart, whom he was happy to see amongst them to-day, could enlighten the meeting on that head: if intended to mean duly-qualified members of the medical profession, it was anything but a flattering title to their body, and should give place to a more correct and less offensive designation. In fact, the time had fully arrived that this Association should express its mind upon the subject; and with this view he would, without further preface, move the adoption of a resolution to the effect that it be strongly urged that, in the Bill announced officially to be introduced into Parliament next session in regard to the Irish asylums, it be made legislatively compulsory to appoint none but members of the medical profession as the chief resident officers of those important public institutions.

Dr. SEATON said that, fully concurring in all that had been so well stated on this very important matter by Dr. Winslow, he cordially seconded the resolution.

Dr. STEWART, at the special call of the meeting, begged to state that the case was precisely as Dr. Winslow had mentioned, there being no legal obligation binding the Irish Executive to commit the superintendence of the district asylums in Ireland to medical men, but that, since the year 1843, no instance had occurred of any but physicians being placed over them as vacancies arose amongst the lay officials quaintly styled "managers." This new order of things had its commencement in the Belfast Asylum, and in his own person; for when he (Dr. Stewart) was appointed, some years previously, to that establishment, his being a member of the medical profession was an accidental circumstance, and not required, if not actually a fault; his duties being simply "moral," and not at all in a medical capacity. In the year referred to, however, viz., 1843, Lord St. Leonards, then Sir Edward Sugden and the Chancellor of Ireland, seeing that changes were requisite in the internal *régime* of the Irish asylums, induced the Privy Council to adopt an entirely new code of rules and regulations for their government, which, though an improvement in many important respects on the old ones, were found impossible to be carried properly out in their new professional aspect unless by a medical man residing in the asylums. The Governors of the Belfast Asylum in this difficulty applied to the Government to permit their resident officer to act *medically* as well as morally, and to be recognised as the "Resident Physician" of the institution, which was at once agreed to, thus getting accomplished a former earnest suggestion of the Governors to the Executive, that a medical practitioner only should have the immediate conduct of an hospital for the



insane. It was thus that their profession obtained a *locus standi* within the walls of the public asylums in Ireland, and not by any legal enactment, as most assuredly ought to be the case, however good and liberal the acts of the Government might have been of late on this head.

Mr. LEY strongly supported the necessity of the resolution, and referred to a proposition of his at a former meeting of the Association, that a standing committee should be appointed to watch over all measures before Parliament relating to lunacy, and act according as circumstances required.

After some further remarks, the resolution was unanimously adopted, and copies of it directed to be forwarded to the chief secretary of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and the Irish inspectors of hospitals for the insane, and also that a deputation should wait at the Irish office in London on the chief secretary, during the ensuing session of Parliament, to urge the requirement suggested in the resolution being embodied in the proposed Bill to be then brought forward for amending and explaining the Acts in connexion with the public establishments for the insane in Ireland.

Mr. BUCK made some pointed observations, incidentally arising out of the state of the Irish asylums, upon the studied avoidance of anything approaching to the medical element in the last report, as well as the reports generally of the Commissioners in Lunacy, which he considered very remarkable in such important official documents.

Dr. LOCKHART ROBERTSON, after some forcible and well-received remarks, moved a resolution pressing the proper authorities to take immediate steps for the due establishment of a military hospital for the insane.

Dr. DAVEY, in seconding Dr. Robertson's resolution, in the spirit of which he said he heartily concurred, stated that having had much intercourse with military medical men, he in that way knew that the necessity was urgent for a military asylum.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Dr. CALEB WILLIAMS, of York, referring to what Mr. Ley had said to-day about a standing committee to watch the progress of actual legislation in lunacy affairs, and it forcibly striking his mind that such a committee would be of the utmost importance to be in existence to unite with and move along in every possible way with the Commissioners in Lunacy, not be in antagonism with them, now proposed that such a committee be appointed, consisting of the President elect, Mr. Ley, Dr. Robertson, Dr. Sutherland, and Dr. Conolly.

Dr. SEATON seconded the resolution (whose name had been included in it, but was subsequently withdrawn on the ground simply that the committee should not be too large).

Dr. WINSLOW said that he deemed of the utmost importance the actual existence of a committee such as was now suggested, and mentioned facts which came within his own knowledge during the progress of former legislation in lunacy, of the serious want of such an authorised committee, and the exertions he himself had personally to use, to have details of the greatest moment corrected during the progress of bills in connexion with their speciality.

Dr. BUCKNILL (who joined the meeting shortly before this stage of the proceedings) observed, in supporting the resolution, that at the recent general meeting in Birmingham of the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association, from which he had just arrived, Mr. Spooner, M.P., pointedly stated that when measures in regard to medical legislation were before the House of Commons, he and the other private members were left so entirely in ignorance of the profession's wishes in those matters of detail wherein their own interests were so mainly concerned, that it was impossible, under such circumstances of apathy and indifference, serious defects in legislative proceedings of a professional character would not ensue.

The resolution, after some further remarks from Dr. WILLIAMS, Mr. EDDISON

(who suggested that the committee should, if necessary, call a special meeting of the Association), and others, was adopted unanimously.

Dr. BUCKNILL, in laudatory terms, now moved a resolution expressing the satisfaction of the Association at Mr. Lutwidge's elevation to be a Commissioner in Lunacy.

Dr. WINSLOW seconded it, and stated that for several years before the Lunacy Commission existed, of which Mr. Lutwidge had been its first and most efficient secretary, he (Dr. Winslow) had been on terms of private intimacy with him, during which he always found Mr. Lutwidge a man of the highest honour and worth.—Resolution carried.

The case of the convict Dove having been submitted to the Association by Dr. Davey, who considered him not responsible for his acts, a long and desultory debate ensued, which, however, ultimated in no practical result. After the transaction of some further routine business, the chair was vacated by Dr. Hitchman, when a cordial vote of thanks was passed to him for his able and urbane conduct as President, as well as for the hospitable and sumptuous entertainment provided for the Association. The Visiting Justices of the asylum were also thanked for their permission being given with the best spirit to the Association to hold their annual meeting on the present occasion in their asylum, thus affording the opportunity of seeing all its departments, the completeness of which, in every respect, and the high order in which the institution was kept, elicited the warmest commendation of the Association.

In the evening the Association, with several invited guests, dined together, according to custom, Dr. Hitchman being in the chair. This was an exceedingly social and pleasant finale of the day's proceedings, the interchange of good feeling and friendship being abundant, and the speeches delivered on the occasion, especially by the President, being of a high order of eloquence and ability.

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### THE CONFESSION OF DOVE.

"I LEFT the farm at Whitewell, near Barnham, in February, 1855, and then went to reside at Normanton. I continued there until the 21st of December, 1855, at which time I removed to Cardigan-place, in Leeds. In September, 1854, I had some conversation with one John Hardcastle, who was employed as farm-labourer at Whitewell, about 'wise men' being able to find out thieves. I had shortly before that lost a dog. He said they could, and mentioned Harrison, of the South Market, in Leeds, as being a wise man. He then stated, as an instance, that he (Hardcastle) had heard that the bailiffs were going to enter his house with an execution; that he went over to consult Harrison, and to get him to do something to keep them from coming; that Harrison had caused the horse which was being driven by the bailiffs to take fright; that they were thrown out and injured so much, and were confined to bed so long, that he, Hardcastle, was able to remove the goods out of his house. Hardcastle lived about Meanwood at this time; he went home every Saturday night, and returned on Monday morning. He also stated that on a former occasion two guns had been stolen from some place at or near Roundhay, where he was then working; that he consulted Harrison, and Harrison told him that he would cause one of the men to pass by him the next evening and shoot a rabbit; that a man did so the next evening, and he was apprehended. I had at that time given a notice of my intention to quit my farm, and I was desirous of retaking it of Mr. King, the steward. I talked of this to Hardcastle, and he told me that Harrison could so work upon King as to induce him to let it me again. I then desired Hardcastle to see Harrison, and told him that the next time I went to Leeds I would see him with him (Hardcastle). We were



mowing the barley at the time when this conversation took place. Hardcastle afterwards told me that he had seen Harrison, and that Harrison would be glad to see me. In about a month after this I went over to Leeds with Hardcastle. We had some potatoes to take to the market at the time. After selling the potatoes we went to see Harrison. We met with him at his own house; this was about noon. He arranged to meet us at the Old Red Lion Inn (Orrell's), which is in Meadow-lane. He did meet us there almost immediately. We were in a room together there until about six in the evening. I told Harrison, in the presence of Hardcastle, that I wished to retake my farm, and Harrison then promised to come over to my house and see about it. He did make some arrangement as to when he would come, but I forget the time; my impression is that there was no particular conversation about any other matter that afternoon. I gave him the date of my birth to work on my nativity. We sat drinking together, and I paid for a good deal of it. In about ten days after this, Harrison came over to the Fox and Grapes Inn, in Kiddalane, near my farm, with Mr. Orrell, of the Old Red Lion. Harrison came to my house about nine o'clock in the morning. He left Orrell at the Fox and Grapes. I met Harrison near the gate leading out of the turnpike-road. Hardcastle was with me at the time. I then said to Harrison, in the presence of Hardcastle, 'I shouldn't like Mrs. Dove to know that you are here.' Harrison said that he would make all right. We then went into the fold-yard, and thence into the granary, on the eastern side of the buildings. Hardcastle did not accompany Harrison and myself into the granary. When I gave Harrison the date of my birth, at Orrell's, I understood that Harrison required that information to work on my nativity, before he could induce King to let me the farm again. When we got into the granary he pulled out a mahogany box, with a large mariner's compass in it, to see what were the cardinal points in which my house stood: after doing this he brought out of his pocket five little pieces of copper of the shape of halfpennies; on each of these he marked a kind of hieroglyphical form. I then asked him what those were for. He said, 'Your house and farm are bewitched; I'll show you what they are for.' I then turned round and gave him a few potatoes (three) of a large kind of sets; they were called flukes. We then went downstairs, and as we were going down Harrison slipped one of the copper pieces in between the steps leading out of the gangway into the fold-yard. When we got down the stairs, Harrison asked me if there was any way into that yard except by the large fold-gates. I told him there was a road through the cowhouse. We then went through the cowhouse and through a door opening into a shed; and while in that shed he, Harrison, turned and looked round, and then threw one of the copper pieces on to the wall-plate between the cottage and the shed, and then said, 'That's all right.' We then went round the end of the wagon-shed to the gate where I first met him, through that gate across the road to a gate opposite, at which place he produced another of the copper pieces, and he there placed that copper piece between the gate-post and the soil. We then returned to the first gate, where he produced another, which he placed between the gate-post nearest to the orchard and the soil there. When he had done that he commenced to pray, at the same time leaning his head upon his arm, which was then upon the gate-post. He prayed aloud, so that I could hear him. I do not remember the words, but it was a prayer in which he referred to the seven wise men, and of which he was one, and it was to free me and the farm from witchcraft. His prayer occupied about five minutes. When he had concluded, he said, 'There, you are all right now; no one can pass this gate to do you harm.' I then asked him where was the other coin. He said it was in his pocket, but that it must be planted in the house. We then went into the house, and I then introduced him to my wife as a dental surgeon, and as having known him some time. I then asked him to stop to dinner, and he

stayed. Before dinner, I and Mrs. Dove showed him round the house, and as we came down stairs Harrison told me that he had planted the other copper piece. My wife was then in the bed-room. I drew some beer, and whilst we were sitting in the common sitting-room my wife passed through that room into the kitchens, and Harrison then said to me there, 'No person will ever molest you,' and at the same time asked for pen and paper. I got them for him, and he wrote some hieroglyphical signs, and gave them to me, saying, 'If you want to retake the farm, and you put that paper in your pocket, you may then go to Mr. King, and he will let you it; only, you must let me know beforehand when you are going.' I put that paper in my pocket. Mrs. Dove then came into the room, and the conversation then ceased. In a short time Harrison made some remark about my wife's health,—she then looked sickly and weak. I told him that she had no appetite, and that she was never out of the doctor's hands. He then said to her that if she would only use herbs she would soon get well. He mentioned the herbs, and I was to obtain them at the druggist's, which I afterwards did. After dinner I accompanied Harrison, at his request, to the Fox. Harcastle was also then with us, and as we were going we met Orrell. As we were going I inquired of Harrison if he had written out my nativity? He said that he had not done it, but that he would. He had something to drink at the Fox. We stayed there until about three o'clock in the afternoon. I sat next to Harrison, and I gave him then half-a-crown. The other parties could not see me give him the half-a-crown. I next saw Harrison in two or three weeks after he had been over at the farm: this was at his own house. I then told him that I had not been able to see Mr. King, and that I had lost my paper, and I asked him to give me another. He gave me another paper, and it was then agreed between us that I should see Mr. King on the following Wednesday. I then told him that I and Mrs. Dove were unhappy together; but at this time some other person came into Harrison's, and he said, 'We'll have a glass together at Orrell's, and talk the matter over.' I went there, and he promised to follow immediately. He came there shortly afterwards, I and Harrison, and remained there about half an hour. At this interview I repeated the remark that I and Mrs. Dove were very unhappy together, and he replied, 'No wonder. Mrs. Dove is always vilifying and backbiting you to her friends, and she is two-faced.' I then asked him if anything could be done so that we might live happily together, for I had married her for love and nothing else. He immediately said, 'That can be done; but it will take some time to work it round.' I asked him to do it, and he promised, saying, I might go home and be content, for he would cause her to meet me with a smile. He then asked me what I was going to give him for coming over to my house, and I told him that if he would let Harcastle know what it had cost him I would pay him (Harrison) the next time I saw him. I then left him and went to the Black Swan Inn, at the bottom of Lowerhead-row, in Leeds (Mr. Swales's), for my horse, which I had left there in the morning. I got my horse, and at this time the ostler's wife at that inn told me that some sacks had been stolen from the inn-yard, and which were under her husband's charge. I then said to her, 'I know a man, or a wise man, who can tell you who has stolen them.' This was during the time that her husband was getting my horse out of the stable. When he came I took him into the house (that is, the house occupied by the ostler), and I took down the name of the owner, and number of the stolen sacks. I then mounted my horse with the intention of going to see Harrison, for the purpose of obtaining the information as to the thief. I started, and as I was passing Orrell's my horse stumbled and fell. I was thrown over the horse's head; my right arm was dislocated. I then went into Orrell's and got a bed there. Harrison came there, I believe, at Orrell's request. Harrison proposed to set my arm, but I preferred having our own surgeon. Mr. Mor-



ley's assistant came and set it. I had no further conversation with Harrison that evening. He was offended because I would not let him set my arm. I was removed home the same evening in a cab. In a short time after this, Hardcastle informed me that Harrison expected half-a-sovereign. Hardcastle was going to Leeds with potatoes for sale, and I ordered him to pay Harrison that sum out of the money which he would receive. I was afterwards informed by Hardcastle that he had paid it. In about ten days after my accident, I sent Hardcastle with a sample of wheat to sell in Leeds market, and which he sold to Sutcliffe and Hartley, of Bradford; but they never paid for it. The wheat was delivered on the Thursday, and the price was to have been paid on the Tuesday following. I went over on that Tuesday, but Sutcliffe and Hartley were not there; they had left word at the New Inn, Vicar-lane, that they would meet me on the following Tuesday. On that Tuesday I went with Hardcastle, but as they did not meet me at the New Inn, we went to Harrison's to request him to try to get the money. He went with us to several public-houses, but could not find the parties. He then said he would influence the parties to meet us on the following Tuesday, and pay the money. He said he would lay a spell upon them, which would cause them to meet and pay the money. I can't state whether Hardcastle heard this or not. On the following Thursday, Hardcastle was in Leeds, and saw Harrison. Hardcastle stated, on his return home, that Harrison and the parties would meet at the Talbot Inn on the following Tuesday. On that day Mrs. Dove accompanied me to Leeds in the phaeton, and Hardcastle went with a cartload of potatoes on the same day. We stayed at the Black Swan Inn. I and Mrs. Dove went to the Talbot at two o'clock. Harrison and Hardcastle came in there at that time; we waited some time, but the parties did not come. We then went to several public-houses to search for them. Mrs. Dove complained of fatigue, and said she would follow us.

"Harrison and Hardcastle went with me into the Ship Inn, and we there met with Hartley, who walked away. Harrison promised to get the money, but never did.

"About the back-end of October, 1854, my poor father was very poorly indeed. I then went to Harrison, and told him so. I asked him if he would get better; he said, 'No.' I then said to him, 'Do you know when he'll die?' Harrison answered, 'Between November and February.'

"In about a month afterwards I called upon Harrison again, and spoke about the disagreement with my wife. He then told me she never would be right until she had children, and that I had missed my mark by marrying her at all. He also said, if she would continue the medicine which he had mentioned—I mean the herbs—it would soon cause her to breed, and she would then be all right. He inquired if she had taken any of it. I told him that she had taken some little, but she would not take any more. He then said, Go home, and he would make all right.' After drinking more together, I left him.

"I met him at Orrell's accidentally in December, 1854. I told him that my father was not getting any better—could he tell me particularly when he would die? He said he could; and I then asked him if he would, and he then answered, 'Yes; he will not live till the 25th of December.' Nothing further passed at that time that I remember. My father died on the 24th of December in that year; but after the interview which I have just mentioned, and before my father's death, I had seen Mr. King, who would not let me have the farm. I, in consequence of this, saw Harrison. This was about ten days before my father's death. I told him of Mr. King's refusal, and that at the time he refused I had the paper in my pocket. Harrison said, 'Never mind; work your land as usual; he will let you the farm yet; he has a spell upon him; he is an Irishman, and will take a good deal of working upon; but rather than you should miss the farm, it will be death to him.' At this interview I rather

doubted Harrison's power; but my father's death happening before the 25th of December, I was impressed with a strong belief that Harrison was possessed of supernatural power.

"I left the farm in March, 1855, and went to reside at Normanton.

"About August, 1855, I had some unpleasantness with my wife, and I went over to Harrison at Leeds. I told him of it, and he promised to make it all right. He told me that I must let him know by letter how things went on. In two days after this I wrote to him, stating that my wife was no better, and that he must do something to cause peace. I sent this letter by a neighbour named Fisher, who was a porter at the station, to post. Mrs. Dove knew that I had written a letter, but didn't know what about. She therefore sent the servant to Fisher's to get it back. She did so. Mrs. Dove then took my letter out of the envelope, and sent a blank sheet of paper instead. I was not aware of this at the time; but hearing some whispering between Mrs. Fisher, Mrs. Dove, Miss Susan Jenkins (who was then staying with us), and the servant, I suspected there was some deception about the matter. I then wrote another letter to the same effect to Harrison, and posted it myself the same day before two o'clock. At three o'clock I went by train to Leeds to see Harrison. When I arrived, he had received the envelope with the blank sheet of paper therein and my letter. He inquired the reason of the blank sheet of paper, and I told him. I then again informed him of my unpleasantness and unhappiness with my wife. He then said, 'You never will have any happiness until she's out of the way.' I said, 'How do you know that?' He said, 'If you'll come upstairs, I'll tell you; for I've got your nativity marked out.' I then went upstairs with him. He there took out of a drawer a sheet of paper about the size of that now used by you, and on which there was a circle drawn, with the signs of the zodiac. There were also hieroglyphical forms, opposite various figures denoting years, beginning at 27 (my age), and continuing down to 50 or 52. The figures after 27 were 32 repeated twice or three times. He referred to the forms opposite the various figures, and read from a book my destiny. He said that between the age of 27 and 32 everything would go against me—I should have nothing but misfortunes—that at 32 the sun and moon would come in conjunction (I think conjunction was the word he used), and that then everything would be in my favour; that at 32 years of age I should lose my wife; that at 32 I should marry again; that at 32 I should have a child, and that at 32 I should have an addition to my fortune, and that for my sake he did not care how soon it was here, for until then I should never be a happy man; that after I was 32 everything would go on well for a few years. He made other remarks as to different periods of my life to this effect—that at one period I should have another addition to my fortune; at another that I must be careful what I was about to avoid a lawsuit; at another, I must neither travel by land nor by water, for if I did an accident would occur; but he ultimately said I should die respected by everybody around me.

"At this interview I asked him what description of woman I should marry for my second wife? He referred again to the same paper and to his book, and then said, 'The person that you ought to marry will have auburn hair, light complexion, and a good fortune;' and he added, 'If you had married a person of this description at first, you would have done well.' He then closed the book, and we then left and went to the New Cross Inn. We had a glass or two of ale each there, and then parted.

"The next time I saw Harrison was when I had walked over from Normanton to Leeds, I had a walking-stick with me, which had been given me by William Windsor, who is now with Mr. David Holmes, the auctioneer. I cannot mention the date, but I think it was about September last. Miss Jenkins was staying with us at the time. When I got to Harrison's he saw the stick, which had



my initials on it. He fell in love with the stick, and I gave it to him. My interview was in reference to my wife. I said to him—we were talking of a separation—‘Would she go?’ He replied, ‘She knew better; but if she would, let her go.’ I told him that I did not wish for a separation, but I wished happiness. He then said, ‘If she goes, she will return.’ We went to the New Cross Inn, and had some ale there, and then parted. My wife inquired about my walking-stick, and I told her that I had left it at Leeds. She afterwards, as I believe, informed my brother-in-law, Mr. Marsden, that I had dealings with Harrison, and that Harrison had got my stick, for in a short time afterwards I heard that Marsden had been at Harrison’s with a policeman, to get the stick back from him. I heard this from Marsden, who wished me to give him an authority to Harrison to deliver up the stick. I did not give the authority, but wrote to Harrison to keep it, as I had given it to him. My wife commenced upbraiding me about giving the stick, and told me that if I would not send for the stick she would send Miss Jenkins for it, or go herself. They both went, but Harrison would not deliver it up. Shortly before they went over, and also after they returned, we heard strange noises in our house at night, after we had gone to bed. The noise was like that caused by breaking of pots, and sometimes as if some heavy package was rolled across the floor. One night I thought some person was kicking the door, but when I looked at the door there were no marks. All the noises I attributed to Harrison. I afterwards told him so, but he denied it. On the next day, after Mrs. Dove and Miss Jenkins had been for the stick, I gave Miss Jenkins a letter to Harrison, requesting him to give her the stick, which he did. When the stick was returned the initials had been removed, and the letters ‘H. H.’ put in their place. The same evening that the stick was returned there were great noises in the house. I saw Harrison again in November about my wife’s temper. He said, ‘Never mind, all will soon be right; she’ll die before March or before the end of February.’ I am not certain which he said; but when he told me that my wife would die so soon, I said to him that he had before told me that she would die ‘at thirty-two,’ and he then answered before thirty-two,’ but ‘I did not say how much before.’ We then went to the New Cross Inn, and had some ale there. Nothing further occurred at that time that I remember. We removed to No. 3, Cardigan-place, in Leeds, on the 21st of December, 1855. In a few days afterwards I went to the New Cross Inn, and Harrison came in: the newspaper was produced, and Harrison read about Palmer’s case. I then asked him whether strychnia could be detected. He said, ‘No, nor yet any other vegetable poison.’ I then said, ‘What other vegetable poisons are there that cannot be detected?’ He replied, ‘Digitalis, belladonna, particularly if it was crystallized.’ These were all he remembered at the time. I then asked him if he could get or make me some strychnia? We had then got to our new house, and were much annoyed with cats. The house had been previously unoccupied. I wished to destroy the cats by poison. I had never heard of strychnia until Palmer’s case arose. Harrison refused to get me the strychnia, and I told him that I could get it elsewhere.

“I went to him again in January last about my wife. On this occasion I gave him a book, ‘The Magazine of Art.’ I told him about my wife’s temper, and he again said, ‘She won’t live long.’ I told him that she was poorly then. He said, ‘She’ll never get better, as I told you before; she will die in February.’ I had no further communication with Harrison until Thursday, the 6th of March, 1856. My wife died on the 1st of that month. On Thursday, the 6th of March, I went to the New Cross Inn, and after being there a few minutes I sent for Harrison. He came. I announced to him my wife’s death, at the same time informing him that an inquest was held as to my wife’s death. He inquired the reason why the inquest was held? I said, ‘My wife died very suddenly, and Mr. Morley, the surgeon, cannot account for it, and it is

known that I had strychnia in the house. Mr. Morley thinks some might have been spilt, and my wife have got some accidentally.' I then said to him, 'You told me that strychnia could not be detected, but I have since seen in the *'Materia Medica'* that it can. What is your opinion now? Can a grain or a grain and a half be detected? For there is great difference of opinion on the subject. Professor Taylor says that it cannot be detected twenty-four hours after death in the human body.' Harrison said, 'What! have you poisoned your wife?' I replied, 'No; I should be very sorry.' Nothing further passed at this time. He left me at the New Cross Inn between two and three o'clock in the afternoon.

"On Friday, the 7th of March, while the inquest was going on at Fleischmann's Hotel, I went to the back door of Harrison's house. This was about three o'clock in the afternoon. I then said to him that the inquest was going on, that several witnesses had been called, and that I was suspected of poisoning my wife; and I then said to him, 'How will the case go? Shall I be imprisoned?' He replied, 'It will be a very difficult case; but I can work you out.' I then said to him, 'You only say you can. Now tell me, will you?' Harrison replied, 'Set yourself altogether at rest; I will.'

"I did not see Harrison again until he was examined as a witness at the Court-house, on the 12th of March, and I had no communication with him between the 7th and 12th of March. I had no conversation with Harrison on the day of his examination. I merely heard the statement which he made as a witness on that day.

"On the 26th of March last, at which time I was in custody at York Castle, I wrote a letter to Harrison for the purpose of ascertaining what would be the result of my trial. I sent this letter by a militiaman who was leaving the prison. He promised to conceal the letter in his clothing, and to put it into the post-office. I sealed the letter. I afterwards learned that this letter had been found by the officers of the gaol, who had searched the militiaman on his leaving prison. I have not sent any other letter to Harrison or any other person secretly since I was committed to prison.

"WILLIAM DOVE.

"Taken by me—J. M. BARRET.

"(Signed at 2.50—23rd June, 1856.)"

Up to Thursday, Aug. 7, Dove maintained his innocence, but on Mr. Barret calling upon him that morning he desired him to call again, alone, in the afternoon, as he wished to say something to him about the murder. Mr. Barret accordingly did so, and the unhappy man then made the following confession, and a fearful thunderstorm which passed over the Castle at the time gave to the scene a character and effect which can never be forgotten by those present:—

"THE STATEMENT OF WILLIAM DOVE, MADE TO MR. BARRET, HIS ATTORNEY, ON THURSDAY, THE 7TH DAY OF AUGUST, 1856.

"I wish to repeat that the statement which I have previously made to you respecting Harrison is strictly true. Harrison has, during the time that I was at the farm at Bramham, and also when I lived at Norman-ton, and afterwards at Leeds, frequently told me that I should never be happy until my wife was dead. This was when I was pressing Harrison to put a spell upon her, so that I might live happily with her. About the end of last year, or the beginning of this, I was in Harrison's warehouse, opposite his house, and he then told me that belladonna could not be found in the human body after death, particularly if it was in a crystallized state; and he then offered to make me some, but I did not request him to do so. At this interview he stated very positively that I should never be happy until she was out of the way. I had no desire at this time to get rid of my wife. My belief was that Harrison was possessed of some supernatural power, and that he could, through some influence, compel her to live happily with me.



He kept continually telling me that I should not be happy until she was out of the way. I asked him in the month of February if he could do anything to get her out of the way, and he said he would lay her on a sick bed and she would never get better. The first strychnia was got, as mentioned by me in my former statement, on the 10th day of February last, and for the purpose of killing cats. It was not got for any other purpose, and at that time I never thought of poisoning my wife. The whole of the strychnia obtained on the 10th day of February was used for killing cats. The second quantity of strychnia was got by me, I believe, on the Thursday or Friday following, but I won't be sure as to the day. The first and second quantities of strychnia were kept in the razor-case, which was placed on the mantelpiece in my bed-room. I did not when I got the second quantity of strychnia think of poisoning my wife. I should not have got the second quantity of strychnia but for the wish expressed by Mr. Morley's assistant to have the skin of a cat for a tobacco-pouch. I had before this given a book to Harrison, and on the day that Elizabeth Fisher left our house I had considerable unpleasantness with my wife about Harrison having that book. She had a bad opinion of Harrison, and I think feared him. I had told her when at Normanton that he had predicted her death at the end of February. On the Saturday after Elizabeth Fisher left, I took the paper containing the strychnia out of the razor-case, and put it in my waistcoat-pocket. I then went to my mother's house. In the afternoon I had previously called at Mr. Morley's for my wife's medicine. It was an effervescing draught in two bottles. At my mother's that evening I took the cork out of one of the bottles and touched the wet end of it with the strychnia. I then put the cork in the bottle again and shook up the draught. Before this I ought to have stated that I had during that Saturday afternoon put a very small quantity of the strychnia, perhaps half a quarter of a grain, in some jelly which my sister Janè brought from my mother's. My wife took a spoonful, and made a remark about how bitter it was, and she then requested Mrs. Fisher to take some. She did, and then remarked it was bitter as aloes. I then took a spoonful, but did not taste the bitterness. I then stated that I did not find the bitterness, and requested Mrs. Fisher to taste again, but she refused. I then took a second spoonful, and tasted the bitterness. I did not swallow any. The remainder was thrown away at that time. It was after this that I went to Mr. Morley's and my mother's. On that Saturday evening my wife took some of the draught in Mrs. Whitham's presence. Mrs. Whitham tasted it, and stated that it was bitter. The draught was not shaken that night before it was taken. My wife did not suffer from the effects of it at all. On the way from my mother's towards home on that Saturday I threw the remainder of the strychnia away. I cannot tell you the feelings of my mind when I put the strychnia into the jelly and into the mixture. I cannot describe them. I did not think at the moment when I put it in as to its effects or consequences. On the Sunday evening following, which was the 24th day of February, I went into Mr. Morley's surgery, and, there being no person in at the time, I took perhaps ten grains of strychnia and folded it in paper. When I got home I placed it in the stable. On the Monday morning I gave my wife her draught (the effervescing mixture) about half-past nine, and at ten o'clock she had the attack as mentioned by Mrs. Fisher and Mrs. Whitham. At the time my wife took that draught she complained very much of the bitterness, and added, that she would tell Mr. Morley about it. There were three or four doses left in the bottle after that draught was taken, and I broke the bottle in my wife's presence, fearing that Mr. Morley might taste it. The mixture was changed on the Monday. The mixture then given was very bitter. On the Tuesday night, or Wednesday morning, I applied the wet end of the cork of the medicine bottle to the strychnia, as before. I think there might

be from half a grain to a grain of strychnia on the cork when I put it in the bottle. I shook the mixture up. There were then only two or three doses in the bottle. I don't remember my wife having any attack on the Wednesday. She took her mixture on that day. On the Thursday I got another bottle of medicine from Mr. Morley's, and I again applied the wet end of the cork to the strychnia as before. About the same quantity of strychnia adhered as on the former occasion. The last dose of that mixture was taken on Friday night, at ten o'clock, and my wife was taken seriously ill in half an hour, but she had no arching of the back on that occasion that I recollect. Mrs. Fisher is mistaken, I think, on that point, but her statement in other respects is true, I believe. On that Friday night I got another bottle of medicine from Mr. Morley's. This mixture was directed to be taken four times a-day. I did not put any strychnia into that mixture or medicine, and I did not put any upon the cork of the bottle. Mrs. Whitham gave a dose out of that bottle in the afternoon of Saturday. The strychnia was in the stable, where I had first placed it, and there was no strychnia in the razor case on that day, nor during any part of that week. I was drinking at Sutcliffe's public-house on that Saturday, and I was more or less affected by liquor all the afternoon and evening. About three o'clock in the afternoon I went into the stable and took about a grain and a-half of strychnia out of the paper, and put it in another paper, which I placed in my waistcoat pocket. I put that strychnia into the wineglass, which contained a little water—I believe the water which was left in the glass by Mrs. Whitham after giving my wife the third dose in the afternoon; but I have no recollection as to the time when I put the strychnia into the glass. I gave the mixture in the evening, in the presence of Mrs. Whitham and Mrs. Wood, as stated by them in their evidence. I poured the mixture into that wineglass which contained the water and strychnia. I did not put the strychnia into the wineglass in the presence of Mrs. Whitham and Mrs. Wood, or either of them. I know that I put the strychnia in before, but I cannot remember how long before giving the medicine. I did not, when I gave the medicine on the occasions mentioned, think of the consequences of giving it; but when I saw my wife suffering from the attack on the Saturday night, it flashed across my mind that I had given her the strychnia, and that she would die from its effects.

"I was muddled before this, and didn't know what I was doing. When the thoughts of her death crossed my mind, I immediately regretted what I had done, and I believe if Mr. Morley had come in at that moment I should have told him what I had given her, so that he might have used means to restore her. I cannot disguise the anguish I felt when I returned from Mr. Morley's and found my wife dead.

"Palmer's case first called my attention to strychnia, but I never should have thought of using that or any other poison for the purpose of taking my poor wife's life but for Harrison, who was continually telling me that I should never have any happiness until my wife was out of the way. I felt my situation immediately after seeing my poor wife's corpse, and I then feared a *post-mortem* examination taking place within twenty-four hours after death, as I understood that Professor Taylor had stated that strychnia could not be detected after that number of hours had expired. Harrison had told me that I should marry a lady for my second wife having auburn hair and light complexion, as I before stated to you. I did think that when my wife should die that I would make Mrs. Whitham an offer of marriage at a suitable time. I did not think that what I was doing would cause my wife's death, and I did not give the strychnia with a view to destroying my wife to get Mrs. Whitham. Mrs. Whitham always treated me as a neighbour, and no more, and I wish to add that I believe her evidence against me is strictly true.

"I have not the slightest recollection of my wife ever stating that she wished



her friends to have a *post-mortem* examination, as stated by Elizabeth Fisher, and I do not believe that my wife ever made any such statement to Elizabeth Fisher, or any other person. I once told my wife when she was ill, some weeks before her death, that if she died there should be a *post-mortem* examination. I said this because she told me her friends would blame me if anything happened to her. She immediately objected, and requested that I would never consent to such an examination, and added, 'My uncle Bishop will see that you have not one.'

"I continued to believe in Harrison's power for some weeks after I was committed to prison. I believed that he had the power to save me until June or July. On the day when I wrote the letter commencing 'Dear Devil,' I was in a low, desponding, and queer state. I can't describe my feelings. I during that day thought of committing suicide. The instrument which was found upon me on the search made that day would have been probably used for that purpose. In the evening of that day I wrote that letter, but I cannot tell you my feelings at that time. I did feel certain that the devil would come to me that night according to my request. I wrote that letter, but never intended it to be seen by any person. When they commenced to search me for the instrument I tried to conceal the letter, but the deputy-governor accidentally saw it, and took it away. I did not write that letter in consequence of any suggestion from any person or persons, and never mentioned that letter, or the search which had been made on the 24th of April, to Mr. Barret, my attorney, until within two or three days of my trial, and then only because he stated that he had received information on the subject on the Saturday before my trial. I have only to add that the verdict of the jury was just and correct, and that I freely forgive every person who has been concerned against me, as I hope to be forgiven.

"WILLIAM DOVE.

"Condemned Cell, York Castle, August 7.

"Signed in my presence, J. M. BARRET, 5.30 p.m."

The concluding portion of the letter addressed by Dove to Mr. Barret on Friday evening was as follows:—

"I would wish to remark, that I committed the crime through the instigation of that bad man, Henry Harrison, of the South-market, Leeds. Had it not been for him I never should have been in these circumstances.

"I remain, respected sir, yours respectfully,

"J. M. Barret, Esq."

"WILLIAM DOVE.

## STATISTICS OF CRIME.

A BLUE BOOK lately published contains tables of criminal offenders in the year 1854, preceded by explanations and calculations from the pen of Mr. Redgrave of the Home Office. It appears that the total number of commitments during the twenty-one years from 1834 to 1854 amounted to 196,864, of which 29,359 took place in 1854. The commitments of 1854 exhibited an increase of no less than 8·5 per cent., and exceed the average of the ten preceding years by 7·5 per cent.

This increase is unhappily general, only six of the English counties being exempted from its influence—viz., Yorkshire, Cambridge, Cumberland, Lincoln, Oxford, and Salop, where a slight decrease appears. In the metropolitan counties the increase was considerable—viz., in Middlesex, 13·4 per cent.; in Surrey, 12·8 per cent.; and in Kent, 11·9 per cent. Lancashire shows an increase of 8·0 per cent.; Derby, one of 24·9; Notts, one of 31·1; Leicester, one of 36·5; Warwick, one of 14·7; and Worcester, one of 13·9. In Essex and Herts—agricultural counties—the increase was respectively 13·4 and 23·2.

In North Wales a decrease of 2·0 per cent. is reported, and in South Wales an increase of 14·1 per cent. It is satisfactory to add that the increase is confined to the least grave classes of crime, and that violent offences have, on the whole, declined. In murder, manslaughter, and infanticide the aggregate decrease is 13·6 per cent. There is an increase in the unnatural crimes, but a decrease of 7·6 per cent. in rapes and attempts to violate the person. In the newly-defined offence, "assault and inflicting bodily harm" (14 & 15 Vict., c. 19), the numbers are 23·7 per cent. less. There has been an increase in burglary and violent robberies, and the robberies without violence include above four-fifths of the commitments for indictable offences; and in this large class the increase of 11·0 per cent., observes Mr. Redgrave, shows how largely the increased commitments of 1854 are made up of the less grave offences. Picking pockets forms an exception to this increase; while there is a large and progressive increase in larcenies by servants and frauds. Malicious offences against property do not comprise 1 per cent. of the total of the commitments. In forgeries, the number of commitments has been stationary, except as regards bank notes, in which offence an increase of 33 per cent. is reported, progressive for the last ten years. Coining is also on the increase, probably owing to the frequent refusal of the Mint to prosecute. There is a marked decrease of offences against the Game Laws. Perjury has been on the increase since the alteration of the law of evidence. Of the 29,359 offenders committed, 6,274 were acquitted and set free, 38 detained as lunatics, and 23,047 convicted of the crimes charged against them. Of these 23,047 convicts, 49 were doomed to death, 310 to transportation, 2,108 to penal servitude, 20,388 to imprisonment, and 192 to be fined or whipped. The decreased proportion of acquittals in 1854 is very remarkable, the increased commitments having added exclusively to the convictions. The effect of any diminution in the severity of punishment has not been confined to the offences to which it immediately referred; but has practically operated as a reduction of the whole scale of punishment. Of the 49 persons sentenced to death, only five expiated their crimes on the scaffold. It is sad to observe that the constantly increasing proportion of female committals only slightly decreased, while the actual number committed increased. In 1854, the proportion was 29·2 females to 100 males; in 1853, 29·5; and in 1852, 25·7. In 1842 it was only 21·6. In 1854, 14,673 prisoners were tried at County Quarter Sessions, 3,119 at the Middlesex Sessions, 5,394 at borough sessions, 4,571 at the assizes, and 1,512 at the Central Criminal Court.

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### To Correspondents.

Our Foreign Abstract of Psychological Literature will appear in the next Number.

**CASE OF MR. SNAPE.**—In this case the grand jury ignored the bill of indictment, and of course all proceedings in the matter have ceased.

**VACANT APPOINTMENTS.**—Cornwall County Lunatic Asylum, caused by the resignation of Dr. Boisragon; and County Lunatic Asylum, Bucks.



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